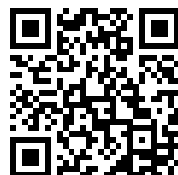


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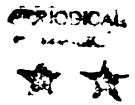
**EDITED BY**  
**CARLETON BROWN**  
**SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION**

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The annual volume of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* is issued in quarterly installments. It contains articles which have been approved for publication by the Editorial Committee. To a considerable extent these are selected from papers presented at meetings of the Association, though other appropriate contributions are also accepted. The first number of each volume includes, in an Appendix, the *Proceedings* of the last Annual Meeting of the Association and its Divisions; the fourth number of each volume contains a list of the members of the Association. A limited number of reprints of the *List of Members for the current year* have been bound up separately and will be sent postpaid at the rate of one dollar a copy.

Volumes I to VII of the *Publications*, constituting the Old Series, are out of print, but Volumes I to IV, inclusive, have been reproduced, and can be supplied at \$3.00 each. All of the New Series, beginning with Volume VIII, may be obtained of the Treasurer at the rate of \$3.00 a volume, or \$1.00 each for single numbers.

From January, 1921, the annual subscription to the "*Publications*" is \$4.00; the price of single numbers is \$1.30.

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AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1924\*

Members of the Association are requested to see that copies of monographs, studies or dissertations in the field of the Modern Languages which may appear in University series during the current year be sent to the editor of the appropriate section of the American Bibliography.

1. ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

It is an interesting fact that of late years the branch of philological study that has attracted greatest interest, especially in England, is the investigation of place-names. It is true that American scholars have not as yet gone extensively into the field, partly because of the inaccessibility of local records and other necessary material; but we are making a beginning. G. T. Flom writes on "Place-name Tests of Racial Mixture in Northern England" (*MLN*, xxxix. 203-212) and gives useful lists of themes classified as habitation names, culture names, and nature names, with sub-classes according to the language

\* Italics indicate book titles; quotation marks indicate articles. Periodicals are referred to by the following abbreviations: *PMLA*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America; *MP*, Modern Philology; *MLN*, Modern Language Notes; *MLR*, Modern Language Review; *JEGP*, Journal of English and Germanic Philology; *MLJ*, Modern Language Journal; *SP*, Studies in Philology; *PQ*, Philological Quarterly; *Archiv*, Archiv für das Studium der Neuren Sprachen; *ES*, Englische Studien; *AnglB*, Anglia Beiblatt; *RR*, Romanic Review; *RHL*, Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France; *RLC*, Revue de Littérature Comparée; *ZRP*, Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie; *BH*, Bulletin Hispanique; *RH*, Revue Hispanique; *Hisp*, Hispania; *RFe*, Revista de Filología Española; *SS*, Scandinavian Studies and Notes; *ASR*, American Scandinavian Review. Titles appearing as theses or in the publications of universities are followed where possible by the name of the university.

from which the elements are derived. In "The Study of Place-names, with Special Reference to Norway" (*JEGP*, xxiii. 199-216) he surveys the history of place-name investigation, considers certain principles of the science, and attempts a classification of place-names. Kemp Malone offers a few "Notes on the *Writing Scholar's Companion* (1695)" (*MLN*, xxxix. 502-504) supplementing Ekwall's introduction to the 1911 reprint, and in "Granville Sharp (1767) on English Pronunciation" (*PQ*, iii. 208-227) gives an account of Sharp's treatise with generous quotations. F. A. Pottle, "Romantic—of Places: Early Use" (*N & Q*, cxlvi. 116) cites an earlier instance of the word than in the *NED*. J. S. Kenyon has published an excellent book on *American Pronunciation*, ostensibly "a text-book of phonetics for students of English" but in reality much more. Miss Louise Pound's "Notes on the Vernacular" (*American Mercury*, iii. 233-37) is concerned with the liberties which humorists take with English spelling.

The "Report of the Committee on Metrical Notation Approved at Philadelphia 1922" has been published (*PMLA*, xxxix. lxxvii-xciv). J. Routh believes that "Anglo-Saxon Meter" (*MP*, xxi. 429-434) is not artificial, but is based upon a simple pattern ( $x'x-x$ ) in which  $x$  represents either unaccented syllables or pauses, and is thus capable of being sung to a regular tune. G. R. Stewart, Jr. offers "A Method toward the Study of Dipodic Verse [ $\sim \sim \sim$ ]" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 979-989), and E. C. Hills makes some observations on the "Metre in Anglo-American Free Verse" (*Univ. of California Chronicle*, xxvi. 299-310).

In the literature of the Old English period M. G. Frampton makes an exhaustive study of the fifteen texts of "Caedmon's Hymn" (*MP*, xxii. 1-15) of which we have a record and decides that N (Moore MS. at Cambridge) preserves the poem in its earliest form. J. M. Lindeman, "A Note on Cynewulf" (*MLN*, xxxix. 397-399) argues for the literal interpretation of "flint unbræcne" on the ground that flint was used for churches in East Anglia in Cynewulf's time. A. S. Cook, "The Old English *Andreas* and Bishop Acca of Hexham" (*Trans. Conn. Acad.*, xxvi. 245-322), following a suggestion made by Krapp that the poem may have been written at Hexham, attributes the authorship to Acca, probably between the years 709 and 740. The same author offers a series of interesting hypotheses



and conjectures about "Aldhelm's Legal Studies" (*JEGP*, xxiii. 105-113). He thinks Aldheim's book may have been the 'Breviary' of Alaric, which is extant in a manuscript of William of Malmesbury's. Professor Cook also seeks to connect "Beowulf 1422" (*MLN*, xxxix. 77-82) with Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* and, since the latter must have been written at a date not far from 684, to establish thus a *terminus a quo* for the poem. In "Bede and Homer" (*Archiv*, cxlvii. 93-94) he shows that Bede's three references to Homer in the *De Arte Metrica* are at second hand. O. F. Emerson publishes brief "Notes on Old English" (*Archiv*, cxlv. 254-58) dealing respectively with Ælfric's *Hexameron* and the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*. Kemp Malone's "Ptolemy's Skandia" (*Amer. Jour. Phil.*, xlv. 362-70) takes up some details in Ptolemy that have a slight bearing on Widsith and one or two other Old English texts.

In Middle English there have been two books dealing with the romance. Miss Laura A. Hibbard's *Medieval Romance in England; A Study of the Sources and Analogues of the Non-Cyclic Metrical Romances* (Wellesley) is a valuable survey with important bibliographies. Miss Sarah F. Barrow's *The Medieval Society Romances* (Columbia) is an interesting dissertation on a cross-section of the romance. The type is marked by a predominance of sentiment over adventure, by a strong disposition toward analysis of motives and mental states, and by a prevaillingly courtly, or aristocratic atmosphere. Kemp Malone in "The Historicity of Arthur" (*JEGP*, xxiii. 463-491) identifies Arthur and Uther etymologically and decides against a historic original. J. J. Parry, "An Arthurian Parallel" (*MLN*, xxxix. 307-309) finds a parallel to the final disposing of Excalibur in a Welsh folk-tale of Hugh Llwyd, who was considered a magician by his neighbors. On his death-bed he directs his daughter to throw his books into the river. She cannot bring herself to destroy them and has to be sent back. A. C. L. Brown concludes his series of studies on "The Grail and the English *Sir Perceval*" (*MP*, xxi. 79-96; 113-132), summing up his arguments for believing that the grail is originally a Celtic cup of plenty and that the English *Sir Perceval* retains much of what was a source of the first part of Chrétien's *Conte du Graal*. J. R. Reinhard in "Strokes Shared" (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, xxxvi. 380-400) has collected

analogues illustrating the growth of the theme, found in *Sir Cliges*, in which one who seeks to enter a court is allowed to do so only on condition that he share his reward with the porters, and so asks for twelve blows. A. G. Brodeur, "The Grateful Lion: A Study in the Development of Medieval Narrative" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 485-524), traces a two-fold development of the theme from classical times, one branch being transmitted without much change, the other "giving rise to an expanding series of tales which, disseminated for the most part orally during the earlier Middle Ages, reached its highest development in Chrétien's *Yvain*." R. J. Menner in "Notes on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*" (*MLR*, xix. 204-208) discusses three difficulties in the text which need more detailed study than he can give them in his forthcoming edition of the poem. Mention may finally be made of R. S. Loomis's note on "Bleheris and the Tristram Story" (*MLN*, xxxix. 319-329) in which he builds up an interesting argument in support of the belief that the Breri mentioned by Thomas was an actual person who visited the court of William of Poitiers, father of Eleanor of Poitou, and that by him courtly love was introduced into the matter of Britain.

Carleton Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century* contains a number of new pieces, still others in new texts, all edited with full apparatus. E. C. Knowlton continues his study of "Genius as an Allegorical Figure" (*MLN*, xxxix. 89-95). G. H. Gerould prints from a manuscript belonging to Professor Mather of Princeton "A New Text of the *Passio S. Margaritae* with Some Account of its Latin and English Relations" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 525-556). Miss Margaret Schlauch discusses the "Literary Exchange between Angevin England and Sicily" (*RR*, xiv. 168-188) and Miss Hope E. Allen prints a brief note "On 'Some Fourteenth Century Borrowings from *Ancren Riwele*'" (*MLR*, xix. 95). "Cain's Jaw-Bone" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 140-146) is the title of a posthumous paper by J. K. Bonnell concerning the tradition that Cain slew Abel with the jaw-bone of an ass, showing that it originated in England but had spread to the continent by the close of the fourteenth century. H. W. Robbins has published a dissertation on *Saint Edmund's 'Merure de Seinte Eglise,' An Early Example of Rhythmical Prose*, (Minnesota). Mention may also be made of

the translation of *Master Walter Map's Book De Nugis Curialium* (*Courtiers' Trifles*) published by Fr. Tupper and M. B. Ogle, and of H. R. Patch's "Desiderata in Middle English Research" (*MP*, xxxii. 20-34).

Work on Chaucer has been of considerable variety. E. P. Kuhl, "Chaucer and Aldgate" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 101-122), assembles data about the changes of tenants in the other city gates and considers the political factors that may have affected Chaucer's situation in 1386. W. H. Wells under the title "Chaucer as a Literary Critic" (*MLN*, xxxix. 255-268) collects the critical utterances of Chaucer and arranges them under heads without, however, much attempt to interpret them or to correlate them with the poet's actual practice. Miss Mary E. Reid, "The Historical Interpretation of the *Parlement of Foules*" (*Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 18, pp. 60-70), defends the Richard-Anne theory against its opponents and opposes Miss Rickert's interpretation. R. K. Root in collaboration with H. N. Russell for astronomical assistance has made a very important contribution to Chaucer chronology in "A Planetary Date for Chaucer's *Troilus*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 48-63). The basis is an allusion (lines 624-8) to an astronomical occurrence of May 1385 which never falls oftener than once in sixty years and which on this occasion was noticed three times by Walsingham in his chronicles. E. C. Knowlton offers an interpretation of the remarks of "Chaucer's Man of Law" (*JEGP*. xxxii. 83-93) in the headlink to his tale. He thinks the Man of Law was not a wholly serious person and that, being interested in romances, he tells a tale that is appropriate to him. W. C. Curry's "Chauntecleer and Pertelote on Dreams" (*ESL*. lviii. 24-60) is an interesting interpretation of Chaucer's dream-psychology in the light of medieval notions. J. L. Hotson in "Colfox vs. Chauntecleer" (*PMLA*. xxxix. 762-781) points out that Colfox was a proper name and that there were two people of that name whom Chaucer might have known or known of: Richard, a friend of Lewis Clifford and prominent at court, and Nicholas, one of the murderers of the Duke of Gloucester in 1397. He thinks Chaucer may have intended political allusions in the piece, especially to the latter. If so, the tale told by the Nun's Priest is one of the latest of the *Tales*. S. F. Damon, "Chaucer and Alchemy" (*PMLA*, xxxix.

782-788), observes that the last 54 lines of the Canon's Yeoman's Tale were considered by subsequent alchemists from 1477 to 1857 as definitely indicating that Chaucer was sympathetic to alchemy and that he was an initiate. He believes that Chaucer was not attacking alchemy in the tale, "that Chaucer intended to attack false alchemists . . . but that under cover of this attack, he deliberately introduces material calculated to stimulate those rare experimenters who knew something of the real secret." Miss Grace W. Landrum in "Chaucer's Use of the Vulgate" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 75-100) concludes that "he had a more accurate as well as a more comprehensive and direct acquaintance with the Vulgate than has hitherto been supposed." In "Chaucer and Religious Reform" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 64-74) E. K. Maxfield asserts that Chaucer was no Lollard but that his position was apparently reasonably conservative. W. Farnham, "England's Discovery of the *Decameron*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 123-139), makes it probable that the *Decameron* was slow to become known in England, as in other countries, and that it was not known even to many literary men long after Chaucer's death. A. S. Cook, "Chaucer and Venantius Fortunatus" (*MLN*, xxxix. 376-378), finds Chaucer's "cold has chilled the bird's song" in an Easter poem of Venantius. E. F. Piper reproduces "The Miniatures of the Ellesmere Chaucer" (*PQ*, III. 241-256) with interpretation and comment.

The contemporaries and successors of Chaucer have received a share of attention. Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* has been edited by Henry Bergen. B. P. Kurtz has a note on "The Prose of Occleve's *Lerne to Dye*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 56-57) and its source in the Breviary. Miss E. P. Hammond prints from MS. Fairfax 16 the unique text of "How a Lover Praiseth His Lady" (*MP*, xxi. 379-395), and the same author in Charles of Orleans and Anne Molyneux" (*MP*, xxii. 215-216) publishes a poem in English by Charles d'Orleans of which the initial letters of the various lines spell "Anne Molins." R. R. Aurner contributes "Caxton and the English Sentence" (*Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 18, pp. 23-59), another instalment of his historical study of the English sentence. Miss Louise Pound reaffirms her position with respect to "The Term 'Communal'" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 440-454) and in "Hinkie Dinkie Parlevous" (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, xxxvi. 202-203) replies to

A. L. Hutch's "Communal Composition in the A.E.F." (*Ibid.*, xxxv. 386-389). She admits improvisation even by members of a group, but denies that such efforts ever develop into song-narratives or ballads. R. P. Gray's *Songs and Ballads of the Maine Lumberjacks, with Other Songs from Maine*, however, presents statements of lumberjacks to the effect that some of their narrative songs have originated in this way. The volume also contains some versions of English ballads. Miss Martha W. Beckwith, "The English Ballad in Jamaica: A Note upon the Origin of the Ballad Form" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 455-483), stresses the intimate relation of folk-tale and song in combinations similar to that of the *chante-fable* and the bearing of this fact on the origin of the ballad.

In connection with the early drama Miss T. E. Allison, "The Paternoster Play and the Origin of the Vices" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 789-804), believes the inspiration of the Paternoster play was a treatise by Hugo of Saint Victor and that the rôle of the vice was evolved from a synthesis of the traits of the *Vitia*. M. Roberts, "A Note on the Sources of the English Morality Play" (*Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 18, pp. 101-117) points to a vision of Hildegard (1098-1179) which is almost dramatic in form and constitutes a link between the *Psychomachia* and moralities. C. R. Baskervill presents a study and collection of six new texts of "Mummers' Wooing Plays in England" (*MP*, xxi. 225-272). In this place also belongs J. Q. Adams' *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas; A Selection of Plays Illustrating the History of the English Drama from its Origin down to Shakespeare*.

Studies in the Elizabethan Period are, as usual, numerous. H. H. Hoyt, "Grimald's Translations from *Beza*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 388-394), shows that eleven of Grimald's poems in Tottel's *Miscellany* are translations of Theodorus Beza's *Poemata Juvenilia* (1548), a fact which has additional significance because the beginnings of certain tendencies in Elizabethan poetry which have been noted in Grimald are thus traceable to renaissance Latin poetry. R. R. Cawley derives "'Areytos' in Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 121-123) from Eden's *Decades* of Peter Martyr. B. M. Hollowell, "The Elizabethan Hexanetrists" (*PQ*, iii. 51-57), defends the seriousness of their purpose and justifies their attempts in the light of the rather low ebb of English poetry in the seventies.

For Spenser, F. I. Carpenter, "The Marriages of Edmund Spenser" (*MP*, xxii. 97-98), notes two records of marriages of an Edmund Spenser (one new), probably not the poet; but if either did refer to the poet, it would dispose of what otherwise seems an improbable fact, that Spenser was not married until he was past forty. F. F. Covington, Jr. publishes two small "Biographical Notes on Spenser" (*MP*, xxii. 63-66) in Ireland in the period 1581-1584. In her dissertation on *Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory* (Washington) Miss Susannah J. McMurphy offers a study supplementary to those of Dodge and Gilbert. She stresses the allegorical interpretations of Ariosto by sixteenth century commentators, especially Fornari (1549), and their currency in England, and interprets certain parallels between Ariosto and Spenser. F. M. Padelford's "The Allegory of Chastity in *The Faerie Queene*" (*SP*, xxi. 367-381) is a defence of the third book as a unified and organic treatment of its theme. J. W. Draper, "The Narrative Technique of the *Faerie Queene*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 310-324), surveys the influences that resulted in the plan and management of Spenser's poem and the possible effect of renaissance Italian critical theory upon him. Miss Margaret E. Nicholson discusses certain "Realistic Elements in Spenser's Style" (*SP*, xxi. 382-398). F. F. Covington, Jr. in a well-organized paper on "Spenser's Use of Irish History in the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland*" (*Texas Studies in English*, No. 4, pp. 5-38) shows that Spenser's knowledge of Irish history was fairly wide, although not profound or exact, and that he derived it chiefly from Holinshed. F. I. Carpenter also offers two conjectures as to the identification of the "G. W. Senior and G. W. I." (*MP*, xxii. 67-68) who wrote commendatory sonnets prefixed to Spenser's *Amoretti* in 1595. R. A. Law, "Tripartite Gaul in the Story of King Leir" (*Texas Studies in English*, No. 4, pp. 39-48), suggests an interpretation of two or three difficult passages in Spenser and Shakespeare. Finally, J. T. Shipley writes on "Spenserian Prosody: The Couplet Forms" (*SP*, xxi. 594-615) and their origin.

J. W. Hebel opposes Jenkins's interpretation of "Drayton's *Sirena*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 814-836) and suggests other identifications of the characters. Miss Rosalie G. Goree, "Concerning Repetitions in Greene's Romances" (*PQ*, iii. 69-75), adds three

long passages which Greene transferred from one work to another, to those noted by Hart and Atkins (Cf. *CHEL*, III. 405). Douglas Bush, "The Classical Tales in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*" (*JEGP*, XXIII. 331-341), corrects Jacobs in numerous identifications of source, says that Painter translated rather literally for an Elizabethan, skipping rather than epitomizing, and that he depended upon Latin versions of his Greek authors, not hesitating to use English translations if they existed. Henry Roberts has edited a reprint of *A Most Friendly Farewell to Sir Francis Drake* (1585) and G. B. Parks furnishes data bearing on "The Ancestry of Richard Hakluyt" (*N & Q*, CXLVI. 334-337). G. M. Vogt, "Richard Robinson's *Eupolemia* (1603)" (*SP*, XXI. 629-648), prints a petition in which Robinson detailed the particulars of his various books, to whom they were dedicated, and how much each patron bestowed upon him. Miss Ruth Kelso's "Saviola and His Practise" (*MLN*, XXXIX. 33-35) adds another item to the list of Elizabethan translations from the Italian. Paul Kaufman traces "The Touchstone Method of Judging Poetry" (*MLN*, XXXIX. 124-125) to William Webbe (1586). Archer Taylor, "Proverbia Britannia" (*Wash. Univ. Studies, Humanistic Series*, XI. 409-423), edits, with prefatory survey, the first alphabetical collection of English proverbs, that published by Janus Gruterus in 1611. A few more general works deserve notice. The *Catalogue of Early English Books in the Library of John L. Clawson*, of Buffalo, N. Y., prepared by Seymour de Ricci is of value to students of the period 1560-1660. E. N. S. Thompson has published a collection of essays, *Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance*, which includes a discussion of Character Books, Emblem Books, War Journalism of the Seventeenth Century, Familiar Letters, Books of Courtesy, and Thomas Fuller. Special points of view are to be found in C. W. Camp's *The Artisan in Elizabethan Literature* (Columbia) and H. W. Wells' *Poetic Imagery Illustrated from Elizabethan Literature*. (Columbia.)

In the field of the Pre-Shakespearean drama J. M. Berdan suggests the possibility that "Marlowe's *Edward II*" (*PQ*, III. 197-207) was written with a conscious appreciation of the similarity between the situation of Edward and of James VI of Scotland, and is a "golden defense of English monarchy." W. D. Briggs, "On the Meaning of the Word 'lake' in Marlowe's

*Edward II*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 437-438), reinforces his interpretation 'underground dungeon or pit.' Joseph de Perott again takes up the question of the sources of "The Mirror of Knighthood" (*MLN*, xxxix. 441-442).

Shakespearean studies are less numerous than at times in the past. A. K. Gray, "The Secret of *Love's Labour's Lost*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 581-611), correlates elements in the play with certain matters of historical fact which took place in and about the year 1591, especially the attempt of Burleigh to force Southampton into marriage with his granddaughter. M. P. Tilley explains the phrase "Good Drink Makes Good Blood" (*MLN*, xxxix. 153-155) in *Much Ado*. T. W. Baldwin, "Shakespeare's Jester: The Dates of *Much Ado* and *As You Like It*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 447-455), dates the former between the late summer of 1598 and the winter of 1598-99, and the latter, March-August 1600 on the basis of the acting of Kemp and Robert Armin in these plays. Miss M. H. Shackford, "Shakespeare and Greene's *Orlando Furioso*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 54-56), records another suggestion for *As You Like It* which Shakespeare may have got from Greene. F. G. Hubbard edits *The First Quarto Edition of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet* (Wisconsin) with introduction and notes. O. R. McGuire answers affirmatively the question "Did Shakespeare Know His Julius Caesar?" (*Texas Rev.*, ix. 277-280). M. W. Bundy considers "Shakespeare and Elizabethan Psychology" (*JEGP*, xxiii. 516-549) with special reference to *Hamlet*, in which the downfall is brought about by the subjection of the will to the lower souls, to passion, appetite, and imagination working in conjunction with these." A. H. Krappe proposes "A Byzantine Source of *Othello*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 156-161), A. W. Crawford suggests interpretations of "The Apparitions of *Macbeth*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 345-350; 383-388), and Miss Pauline Taylor, "Birnam Wood, 700 A.D.-1600 A.D." (*MLN*, xxxix. 244-247) traces the story of a moving wood through nearly a thousand years. Miss J. G. Wales in "Character and Action in Shakespeare: A Consideration of Some Skeptical Views" (*Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 18, pp. 118-145), takes issue with Stoll and insists that Shakespeare portrays human nature from life as he saw it. M. P. Tilley, "Pun and Proverb as Aids to Unexplained Shakespearean Jests" (*SP*, xxi. 492-495), proposes interpretations for three



passages in Shakespeare. R. M. Alden, in what is probably the last article he wrote, takes up "The Punctuation of Shakespeare's Printers" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 557-580). He questions the inferences of Pollard and J. Dover Wilson regarding the uniformity and authority of Elizabethan punctuation, as well as its interpretation. Karl Young in a lengthy article on "Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare: One Aspect" (*Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 18, pp. 146-226) presents an interesting survey of the critics before Johnson as they gradually began to study Shakespeare in relation to his sources, and evaluates Johnson's own contribution to the historical method. Paul Kaufman has published a useful *Outline Guide to Shakespeare*, in which a good bit of scattered information is conveniently assembled. Of a bibliographical nature are Hardin Craig's "Shakespeare Today" (*English Journal*, xiii. 539-549), E. E. Stoll's "Recent Criticism of Hamlet" (*Contemporary Review*, 1924, pp. 347-357), and T. S. Graves, "Recent Literature of the English Renaissance" (*SP*, xxi. 403-465).

In turning to Shakespeare's contemporaries and successors, we may note first a short paper on "*The Shoemaker's Holiday* and *Romeo and Juliet*" (*SP*, xxi. 356-361) in which R. A. Law calls attention to certain features of the plot and certain phrases in the former that he thinks are reminiscent of Shakespeare. Miss Kate L. Gregg's dissertation, *Thomas Dekker; A Study in Economic and Social Backgrounds* (Washington), is an attempt to determine the extent to which the economic and social forces of Dekker's day influenced him, and the degree to which he reflects the conflicting interests of Elizabeth's reign. R. G. Martin champions Creizenach's opinion about "The Sources of Heywood's *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 220-222). G. S. Greene suggests a later date (1607) in "A New Date for George Wilkins's *Three Miseries of Barbary*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 285-291). T. S. Graves, "Ralph Crane and the King's Players" (*SP*, xxi. 262-266), prints some autobiographical verses and suggests some questions for consideration. T. W. Baldwin, "The Three Francis Beaumonts" (*MLN*, xxxix. 505-507), maintains that the praise of Francis Beaumont for Chaucer and Spenser should not be credited to either Judge Beaumont or the dramatist, but to a Francis Beaumont who was at Cambridge and wrote in the manner of the old school.

R. Withington makes a conjecture regarding the textual crux "F. S. in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*" (*N & Q*, CXLVI. 379; but cf. also pp. 419 and 475). E. S. Lindsey, "The Music of the Songs in Fletcher's Plays" (*SP*, XXI. 325-355), points out that eighteen pieces of music for these songs have come down to us, and prints transcriptions of them. W. D. Briggs indicates certain parallels between the "First Song in *The Beggar's Bush*" (*MLN*, XXXIX. 379-380) and the *Colloquies* of Erasmus. H. E. Rollins edits "*The Drinking Academy, or The Cheaters' Holiday*" (*PMLA*, XXXIX. 837-871) from a MS. of about 1620 long known to be in the possession of Mr. W. A. White of Brooklyn. A. M. Witherspoon has published a dissertation on *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama* (Yale).

*The English Bible* is the title of a volume by W. O. Sypherd. *Two Early Lives of John Milton* (Western Reserve) have been reprinted by W. H. Hulme, namely, those by John Toland (1698) and Elijah Fenton (1725). *Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art: An Essay, with a Collection of Illustrative Passages from his Works* is a dissertation (Cornell) by Miss Ida Langdon. W. C. Curry, "*Samson Agonistes* Yet Again" (*Sewanee Rev.*, XXXII. 336-352), asserts its organic structure while denying any relation to Greek tragedy. In "Milton and Bodin's *Heptaplomerer*" (*SP*, XXI. 399-402) L. I. Bredvold publishes some correspondence in connection with Milton's possessing a copy of this rare heretical tract. H. Fletcher, "Milton and Yosippon" (*SP*, XXI. 496-501), traces a conception of Milton's to the Pseudo-Josephus rather than to Zohar (see American Bibliography for 1922). M. A. Larson notes verbal identities in several speeches which give clear evidence of "The Influence of Milton's Divorce Tracts on Farquhar's *Beaux' Stratagem*" (*PMLA*, XXXIX. 174-178). *The Country Wife and The Plain Dealer* of Wycherley have been edited with critical apparatus by G. B. Churchill. In "Thomas Heywood, D'Avenant, and *The Siege of Rhodes*" (*PMLA*, XXXIX. 624-641) A. Thaler adds *The Fair Maid of the West* to the list of sources from which D'Avenant drew. J. W. Krutch's *Comedy and Conscience* after the Restoration (Columbia) is a valuable study of conditions surrounding the Jeremy Collier controversy. R. P. McCutcheon cites the *Muses Mercury* of 1707 on another

reason besides Collier's for the suppression of Dryden's Prologue to the *Propheteess*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 123-124). A. H. Nethercot continues his study of Cowley with a similar account of "The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the 17th Century" (*JEGP*, xxiii. 173-198). This paper takes up successively Carew, Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan, and Quarles, considers Dryden's attitude towards these poets, and in general constitutes a document in the study of changing taste. H. E. Rollins has compiled *An Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (issued as first number of *SP*, xxi. [1-324]). J. B. Wharey, "Bunyan's Mr. Badman and the Picaresque Novel" (*Texas Studies in English*, No. 4, pp. 49-61), stresses Bunyan's influence on the development of the novel, an influence at last becoming more generally recognized. W. H. Vann has published privately a small volume of bibliographical *Notes on the Writings of James Howell* (Waco, Texas). M. W. Croll continues a vein which he has long been interested in with "Muret and the History of 'Attic' Prose" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 254-309). In "A Proposal for an English Academy in 1660" (*MLR*, xix. 291-300) Edmund Freeman suggests Robert Hooke as the author of *New Atlantis Continued* and discounts somewhat the claim made for Dryden as the first after the Restoration to advocate an academy for England. Space may be found for mention of two pleasant titles, Gamaliel Bradford's "Pepys and Humanity" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, cccix. 507-518) and the same author's volume, *The Soul of Samuel Pepys*.

*Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe* (Illinois) is the title of a valuable monograph by A. W. Secord. J. H. Neumann's "Shakespearean Criticism in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 612-623) gathers together all the important critical utterances about the dramatist in these periodicals. F. B. Kaye, "The Mandeville Canon: A Supplement" (*N & Q*, cxlvi. 317-321), opposes certain attributions to Mandeville. R. H. Griffith presents "*The Sylvan Dream: or, The Mourning Muses* [1701], reprinted with notes" (*Texas Studies in English*, No. 4, pp. 62-87). Miss C. F. Tupper assigns certain "Essays Erroneously Attributed to Goldsmith" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 325-342) to Smollett. In "*Rasselas in the New World*" (*Yale Rev.*, xiv. 95-107) C. B. Tinker gives an account of an American

edition of *Rasselas* together with some new facts about Johnson's meeting with William White of Philadelphia, who called his attention to this edition. J. M. Beatty, Jr. in "Doctor Johnson and 'Mur'" (*MLN*, xxxix. 82-88) writes of Arthur Murphy and his relations with Johnson. R. C. Whitford's "A Little Littleton" (*PQ*, III. 302-308) concerns Archibald Campbell, author of two prose satires which contain "vigorous and unconventional views of Samuel Johnson and several of his eminent contemporaries." C. B. Tinker's edition of *Letters of James Boswell* includes in its two volumes a hundred never before printed. F. A. Pottle has contributed several notes on Boswell: "Boswelliana: Two Attributions" (*N & Q*, cxlvii. 281; 375), which concerns the identification of two pamphlets with Boswell; "*A North Briton Extraordinary*" (*Ibid.*, 259-261; 403-404), in which he denies the attribution of two other pamphlets to him; and "Boswell's 'Matrimonial Thought'" (*Ibid.*, 283), in which he identifies a poem which Boswell read to Johnson. C. W. Nichols illustrates the timeliness of the "Social Satire in Fielding's *Pasquin* and *The Historical Register*" (*PQ*, III. 309-317) by reference to the periodical and pamphlet literature of the day. D. C. Croissant's "A Note on *The Egoist: or, Colley upon Cibber* [1743]" (*PQ*, III. 76-77) gives evidence to show that Colley Cibber was himself the author of it. O. K. Lundeberg finds "The True Sources of Robert Dodsley's *The King and The Miller of Mansfield*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 394-397) in an English broadside ballad of the same name, the main lines of which he follows closely, but to which he adds a sub-plot. G. Betz's "Lichtenberg as a Critic of the English Stage" (*JEGP*, xxiii. 270-288) has value for students of eighteenth century drama. R. P. McCutcheon in "The *Journal des Scavans* and the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*" (*SP*, xxi. 626-628) denies that the English journal was an imitation of the French one. Miss Amy L. Reed's *The Background of Gray's Elegy: A Study in the Taste for Melancholy Poetry, 1700-1751* (Columbia) explains itself. H. H. Clark similarly presents "A Study of Melancholy in Edward Young" (*MLN*, xxxix. 129-136; 193-202). Miss Lois Whitney's "English Primitivistic Theories of Epic Origins" (*MP*, xxi. 337-378) is a Chicago dissertation. A. O. Lovejoy's "On the Discrimination of Romanticisms" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 229-253) is a very penetrating

discussion, in which three not always harmonious "romanticisms" are distinguished. G. F. Evans prints "An Overlooked Sonnet" (*MLN*, xxxix. 184-185) between Milton and Gray, to which A. D. McKillup adds "Some Details of the Sonnet Revival" (*Ibid.*, 438-440). T. O. Mabbott prints "A New Poem by Thomas Chatterton" (*MLN*, xxxix. 226-229) from a MS. in the Columbia University library, and G. R. Potter discusses "Thomas Chatterton's *Epistle to The Reverend Mr. Calcott*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 336-338). F. E. Pierce couples "Blake and Seventeenth Century Authors" (*MLN*, xxxix. 150-153) whom he seems to have been indebted to. Harold Bruce in "William Blake and His Companions from 1818 to 1827" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 358-367) gives some account of the friends who surrounded the poet in the last years of his life.

O. F. Emerson has written at length on "The Early Literary Life of Sir Walter Scott" (*JEGP*, xxiii. 28-62; 241-269; 389-417) and G. W. Robinson interests himself in one of Scott's contemporaries in "A Bibliography of Thomas Pringle's *Afar in the Desert*" (*Papers of Bibl. Soc. of America*, xvii. 21-54). E. Colby continues his interest in Thomas Holcroft with "Thomas Holcroft: Translator of Plays" (*PQ*, iii. 228-236) and "Financial Accounts of Holcroft Plays" (*N & Q*, cxlvi. 42-45; 60-63) from the theatre account books. In "A Supplement on Strollers" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 642-654) he adds considerable material to Thaler's paper (cf. *PMLA*, xxxvii. 243-280). R. H. Thornton discusses "R. W. Elliston and John Poole" (*N & Q*, cxlvi. 359) and gives data about the Drury Lane Theatre c. 1820.

E. N. S. Thompson makes a survey of "The Interest of English Poets in Italian Freedom" (*PQ*, iii. 172-191) from 1815 to 1870. S. F. Gingerich has published a volume of four *Essays in the Romantic Poets*, treating Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Byron. B. S. Allen in "Minor Disciples of Radicalism in the Revolutionary Era" (*MP*, xxi. 277-301) takes up Godwin's influence on some younger and lesser radicals. Miss Muriel Morris finds additional parallels between the two poets in "A Note on Wordsworth and Vaughan" (*MLN*, xxxix. 187-188) and G. H. Clarke in "The Fields of Sleep" (*London Times Lit. Sup.*, 1924, p. 240) proposes an interpretation of a line in Wordsworth. R. L. Rusk, "Keats in the Wordsworth Country" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxix. 392-7) reprints from an

obscure Kentucky magazine of 1836 a chapter from Keats's journal. In "Shakespeare and Keats's *Hyperion*: A Study in the Processes of Poetical Composition" (*PQ*, III. 139-158) C. L. Finney declares the influence of Shakespeare on Keats to be greater than he is usually credited with, especially in comparison with the influence of Spenser and Milton. The same writer in "Drayton's *Endimion and Phoebe* and Keats's *Endymion*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 805-813) considers it quite possible that Keats could have seen a copy of Drayton's rare volume, and, on the basis of certain structural and individual similarities, thinks it very probable. Miss Martha H. Shackford writes of "Keats and Adversity" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxii. 474-487), considering the misfortunes and struggles of Keats's life and his attitude towards the presence of evil in human existence. W. E. Peck has published a number of notes on Shelley: "Keats, Shelley, and Mrs. Radcliffe" (*MLN*, xxxix. 251-252), showing that both poets seem to have known *The Mysteries of Udolpho*; "Unpublished Passages from the Pforzheimer MS. of Shelley's *Philosophical View of Reform*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 910-918), pointing out that the edition of the MS. by Rolleston (Oxford, 1920) contains inaccuracies and omissions which in one case amount to six pages of the MS.; "Shelley's Reviews Written for the *Examiner*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 118-119), which concerns Shelley's reviews of *Frankenstein* and *Rhododaphne*; "An Essay by Shelley" (*London Times Lit. Sup.*, 1924, pp. 797-798), in which he prints an essay which he attributes to the poet on the basis of internal evidence; "Trelawny's 'Recollections'" (*Ibid.*, p. 112), a note concerning Shelley's death; and "On the Origin of the Shelley Society" (*MLN*, xxxix. 312-314), in which he defends his views against N. I. White, "The Shelley Society Again" (*MLN*, xxxix. 18-22). *Shelley in Germany* (Columbia) is a dissertation by Solomon Liptzin. Other Shelley items are A. L. Keith, "The Imagery of Shelley" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxiii. 61-72; 166-176), A. S. Walker, "A Sidelight on Shelley" (*MLN*, xxxix. 121); and of collateral interest to students of Shelley is O. F. Emerson's "Notes on Gilbert Imlay, Early American Writer" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 406-439).

The Byron centenary has resulted in increased interest in the poet. S. C. Chew's *Byron in England: His Fame and After-fame* traces the fluctuations in the poet's reputation. To this may

be added R. A. Rice's *Lord Byron's British Reputation* (Smith) and the same author's appended discussion of *Wordsworth since 1916*. H. M. Jones's "The Influence of Byron" (*Texas Review*, ix. 170-196) aims at a somewhat popular survey. Mrs. Dora N. Raymond has taken up *The Political Career of Lord Byron* and C. T. Goode's *Byron as Critic* presents much useful material not very well digested. G. R. Elliott, "Byron and the Comic Spirit" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 897-909), concludes that Byron just misses "the balance and poetic comeliness of the true comic spirit that we are groping for now." Miss Fannie E. Ratchford, "Byron's First Composition of the *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*" (*Texas Review*, ix. 250-254) studies 22 lines of the poem as they appear in the first draft. The same author has published "Notes on Byron" (*Texas Studies in English*, No. 4, pp. 88-90), these being on a first draft of the Appendix attached to *The Two Foscari*, which contains a paragraph not in the published text. L. L. Mackall quotes the opinion of the late Sir William Osler that "The Cause of Byron's Death" (*London Times Lit. Sup.*, 1924, p. 253) was meningitis. R. H. Griffith and H. M. Jones have prepared *A Descriptive Catalogue of an Exhibition of Manuscripts and First Editions of Lord Byron . . . [at] the University of Texas*, which has independent value. F. E. Pierce discusses "Byron and This Century" (*Lit. Rev.*, 1924, 701-702); and adaptations of Byron in Spain are noted by E. B. Williams in *The Life and Dramatic Works of Gertrudis de Avellaneda* (cf. pp. 68, 88-89).

"Coleridge Marginalia on Wieland and Schiller" are printed by L. L. Mackall (*MLR*, xix. 344-346) from a volume in his possession. T. M. Raysor's "Coleridge's Manuscript Lectures" (*MP*, xxii. 17-25), compares the *Lectures on Shakespeare* and *Miscellanies*, as published by his nephew, with certain manuscript materials and marginalia in the British Museum on which they were based. The editor in patching together fragmentary notes not intended for publication in their original form has taken some liberties, but on the whole has done his work faithfully and without misrepresentation. Paul Kaufman furnishes evidence of "The Reading of Southey and Coleridge: The Record of their Borrowings from the Bristol Library, 1793-1798" (*MP*, xxi. 317-320). Miss Alice D. Snyder, "Coleridge's Cosmogony:

A Note on the Poetic 'World-View' " (*SP.* xxi. 616-625), continues a line of investigation suggested by Professor Herford's Warton lecture in 1916. B. H. Lehman calls to mind "A Paragraph Deleted by Coleridge" (*MLN*, xxxix. 58-59) which supports the other evidence of Coleridge's early Jacobinism. R. S. Newdick traces in the scanty remarks of "Coleridge on Hazlitt" (*Texas Review*, ix. 294-300) a growing estrangement between the two men, Coleridge passing from restraint to vindictiveness and finally ridicule. S. P. Chase writes on "Hazlitt as a Critic of Art" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 178-202) and E. M. Clark shows "The Kinship of Hazlitt and Stevenson" (*Texas Studies in English*, No. 4, pp. 97-114) by numerous close parallels between passages in the essays of the two men, clearly indicative of indebtedness on Stevenson's part. Miss Miriam M. Thrall, "A Phase of Carlyle's Relation to *Fraser's Magazine*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 919-931), considers the authorship of certain articles which contain parallelisms to the known work of Carlyle. E. Neff contrasts *Carlyle and Mill: Mystic and Utilitarian* (Columbia). A. Whitridge has edited some *Unpublished Letters of Matthew Arnold*, R. M. Gummere contributes an essay on "Matthew Arnold" (*Quarterly Rev.*, 1924, pp. 142-155), and S. T. Williams considers "Matthew Arnold as a Critic of Literature" (*Univ. of California Chron.*, xxvi. 183-208). The same author writes of "Hartley Coleridge as a Critic of Literature" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxiii. 73-78) and "Macaulay's Reading and Literary Criticism" (*PQ.* iii. 119-131). P. F. Brown's "Coventry Patmore's Literary Criticism" (*Univ. of California Chron.*, xxv. 244-260) was omitted from last year's survey. Robert Withington, "Of the Romantic Essay" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxiii. 269-276), treats of the romantic, especially subjective, elements in the essay.

*Shelley and Browning; A Myth and Some Facts* is the title of a small volume by F. A. Pottle. C. N. Wenger has published an interesting book on *The Aesthetics of Robert Browning* and Mrs. F. T. Russell writes about "The Pessimism of Robert Browning" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxii. 69-77). The same writer, "Gold and Alloy" (*SP.* xxi. 467-479), thinks Browning was laboring under an illusion as to how truthfully he was representing his source in *The Ring and the Book*. Rufus M. Jones has published a little essay on *Mysticism in Robert Browning*.



H. Golder tries to recover the complex flux of the poet's reminiscences out of which "Browning's *Childe Roland*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 963-978) came. A. S. Hoyt seeks to define *The Spiritual Message of Modern English Poetry*. Miss S. P. Wilson writes of "William Morris and France" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxiii. 242-255). Newton Arvin considers "Swinburne as a Critic" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxii. 404-412), rightly calling attention to his unusual ability to convey the character of a piece of literature. Miss F. E. Ratchford describes the MS. of "The First Draft of Swinburne's *Hertha*" (*MLN*, xxxix. 22-26) in the Wrenn Library and publishes the text. H. Hoffman's "An Angel in the City of Dreadful Night" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxii. 317-335) has to do with the influence of Shelley on James Thomson. J. S. Harrison, "Pater, Heine, and the Old Gods of Greece" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 655-686), traces through its various forms in Pater's work an idea of Heine that at "the advent of Christianity the old gods of Greece were not destroyed but exiled and driven from their thrones into distant places, where they lived in disguise, often in the form of devils or evil spirits." Two interesting books on the novel have appeared: M. E. Speare's *The Political Novel; Its Development in England and America* and Dorothy Brewster and Angus Burrell's *Dead reckonings in Fiction*, which is more concerned with contemporary writers.

On contemporary literature there are fewer things to be mentioned. Miss H. Harvitt in "How Henry James Revised *Roderick Hudson: A Study in Style*" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 203-227) finds no fundamental changes in the story, but a most minute revision of the style in the direction of extreme introspection and analysis. J. G. Palache appraises "The Critical Faculty of Henry James" (*Univ. of California Chron.*, xxvi. 399-410). C. E. Whitmore, "Mr. Hardy's *Dynasts* as Tragic Drama" (*MLN*, xxxix. 455-460), finds an analogy in the oratorio and the medieval sacred drama, especially as developed in France by such a writer as Greban. R. M. Smith discusses "The Philosophy in Thomas Hardy's Poetry" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxx. 330-340). R. S. Hoffman considers "Proportion and Incident in Joseph Conrad and Arnold Bennett" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxii. 79-92) and G. H. S[argent] gives a list of "Conrad Manuscripts in America" (*Bookman's Jour.*, x. 137-139). Wilbur Cross writes about "The Humor of Max Beerbohm"

(*Yale Rev.*, XIII. 209-227) and M. Y. Hughes has a paper on "A Great Skeptic: W. H. Hudson" (*Univ. of California Chron.*, xxvi. 161-174). Two papers on contemporary poets are "Lascelles Abercrombie: Poet and Critic" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxx. 319-329), by Llewellyn Jones, and "The Poet Laureate" (*Lit. Rev.*, 1924, pp. 625-626) by J. C. Ransom. Mention may finally be made of Clayton Hamilton's *Conversations on Contemporary Drama*.

A few titles of too broad or too general a nature to belong in any of the preceding paragraphs will complete this survey of the work done by American scholars and critics during 1924. J. S. P. Tatlock, "Levenoth and the Grateful Dead" (*MP*, xxii. 211-214) traces a story found in Matthew Paris. B. V. Crawford's "Teaching by Dialogue" (*PQ*, III. 23-31) follows the didactic use of dialogue from Ælfric's *Colloquium* and the *Dialogus de Scaccario* down to the catechisms of the nineteenth century. E. Colby discusses "Bibliography as an Aid to Biography" (*Papers of Bibl. Soc. of Amer.*, xvii. 1-11). T. S. Graves writes in a popular way of "The Literal Acceptance of Stage Illusion" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxiii. 124-140) and J. S. P. Tatlock considers "Dramatic Irony" (*Univ. of California Chron.*, xxv. 212-222). T. S. Graves, "A Neglected Side of Dramatic Criticism" (*Texas Rev.*, ix. 213-220) writes pleasantly of extempore reviews by dramatic critics past and present. W. C. Brownell's *The Genius of Style* gathers together articles originally published in magazines. Miss Rose F. Egan continues her study of *The Genesis of the Theory of Art for Art's Sake* (Smith) with a second part. C. E. Whitmore defends "The Validity of Literary Definitions" (*PMLA*, xxxix. 722-736), believing that they fulfill a purpose even though they are not so exact as scientific formulas. A. Torossian's "Some Aspects of the Romantic and the Classic Tendencies in Art" (*Univ. of California Chron.*, xxvi. 47-64) stresses their interdependence. The following three papers should be considered together: E. H. Zeydel's "Some Sociological Aspects of Literary Criticism" (*MLN*, xxxix. 460-466); W. E. Leonard's "A Little Sermon on Life and Letters" (*Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 18, pp. 5-22); and E. E. Stoll's "Literature no 'Document'" (*MLR*, xix. 141-157).

ALBERT C. BAUGH

## II. AMERICAN LITERATURE

In "Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia, 1612" (*Geograph. Rev.*, xiv, 433-443) Worthington C. Ford suggests that the map in Smith's tract was made by Nathaniel Powell. Kenneth B. Murdock has collected evidence on "The Puritans and the New Testament" (*Pub. of the Colonial Society of Mass.*, xxv, 239-243) that goes to show that the Puritans were not "more concerned with 'thou shalt not' than with the Sermon on the Mount." H. J. Hall has edited *Poems by Benjamin Tompson*. O. F. Emerson's "Notes on Gilbert Imlay, Early American Writer" (*PMLA*, xxxix, 406-439), deal with Imlay's relations with Crèvecoeur, Mary Wollstonecraft, and the schemers of an American Pantisocracy, and describe his published works and their reception in England. Thelma Louise Kellogg has written *The Life and Works of John Davis, 1774-1853* (*Univ. of Maine Studies*, Second Ser., No. 1), in the course of which she holds that "but for Davis" the Pocahontas legend "might have lapsed into obscurity."

Letters by Edgar A. Poe are the subject of two studies by James Southall Wilson: "The Letters of Edgar A. Poe to George W. Eveleth" (*Univ. of Virginia Alumni Bull.*, xvii, 34-59) and "Unpublished Letters of Edgar Allan Poe" (*Century Mag.*, cvii, 652-656), the latter dealing with letters written from Richmond, 1835-36, to Judge Beverley Tucker. A study of Melville's *White Jacket* by Carl Van Doren is entitled "Melville before the Mast" (*Century Mag.*, cviii, 272-277). A fresh attempt to reveal *The Real Daniel Webster* has been made by E. R. Kennedy. An extensive study of Lincoln's literary style is the subject of Daniel K. Dodge's *Abraham Lincoln, Master of Words*. Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* has been subjected to scholarly editing, by Emory Holloway (Inclusive Edition), who gives two dates for each poem. Mr. Holloway has also presented two papers on Whitman: "More Light on Whitman" (*Am. Mercury*, ii, 183-189), in which he states what has recently been learned concerning Whitman's writings for the Brooklyn *Evening Star* in 1845-46, and "A Whitman Manuscript" (*ibid.*, iii, 475-80), in which he deals with a small notebook of the period during which the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* was evolving. T. O. Mabbott, in "Walt Whitman and

the *Aristidean*" (*ibid.*, II, 205-207), studies four contributions by Whitman to T. D. English's magazine of that name. From the unpublished fourth volume of Horace Traubel's Camden diary on Whitman, two selections have been made: "Whitman on his Contemporaries" and "Walt Whitman on Himself" (*ibid.*, II, 328-332, III, 186-192).

Many unpublished writings by Lafcadio Hearn and many new facts about him have appeared during the year. A collection of his New Orleans work was published with the title *Creole Sketches*. Edward Larocque Tinker, after extensive research, tells in detail the story of *Lafcadio Hearn's American Days* from his arrival from England to his departure for the Orient, giving by far the most space to his life and writings in New Orleans. Mr. Tinker also discusses, in "Lafcadio Hearn and the Sense of Smell" (*Bookman*, LVIII, 519-527) the question whether Hearn wrote a book entitled *The Perfume of Women*. *An American Miscellany* (2 vols.) contains articles and stories by Hearn now first collected by Albert Mordell, with an introduction of 79 pages setting forth the evidence of authorship and giving information regarding Hearn's life in Cincinnati and New Orleans, especially in the former city. *Mark Twain's Autobiography* (2 vols.), with an introduction by his biographer A. B. Paine, throws much light on the author; not all of the original has been printed. *William Dean Howells, A Study* by Oscar W. Firkins is an extensive critical review of Howells's various forms of expression, with a bibliography. W.S. Kennedy, who knew Burroughs intimately, has sought to portray *The Real John Burroughs*, and W. F. Badè has written, in 2 vols., *The Life and Letters of John Muir*, a collection of letters and scattered or unpublished manuscripts linked with explanations. Both Burroughs and Muir have been reviewed by a scientist, Henry Fairfield Osborn, in *Impressions of Great Naturalists*. *Eugene Field's Creative Years* is a biography by a friend, C. H. Dennis. In *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson*, edited by Martha Dickinson Bianchi, the titles used in previous editions of her poems but not by the poetess herself have been rejected. The editor of this volume is also the author of *The Life and Letters of Emily Dickinson*, in the course of which some of the facts regarding her significant love affair are disclosed. Conrad Aiken has published, in England, *Selected Poems by Emily*

*Dickinson*, with a critical preface. The difficult task of estimating "The Poetic Philosophy of William Vaughn Moody" (*Texas Rev.*, ix, 97-112) has been assayed by N. F. Adkins. Carl Van Doren, in "Stephen Crane" (*Am. Mercury*, i, 11-14), holds that "modern American literature may be said, accurately enough, to have begun with Stephen Crane thirty years ago." The Centaur Bibliographies now include *Stephen Crane, A Bibliography* (1923), by Vincent Starrett. *Bliss Carman* is the subject of a book by Odell Shepard, containing a brief account of his life, an extended study of his writings, and a bibliography. Montrose J. Moses and Virginia Gerson devote a volume to *Clyde Fitch and His Letters*. Two Centaur Bibliographies of living authors have appeared: *A Bibliography of the Writings of H. L. Mencken* and *A Bibliography of the Writings of James Branch Cabell*.

Of studies of popular literary tradition, the following may be mentioned: "Navaho Folk Tales," by Elsie C. Parsons, "Western Mono Myths," by E. W. Gifford, "Songs from Kentucky," by Florence Truitt, (all in *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, xxxvi (1923), 368-375, 301-367, 376-379); a book of *Songs and Ballads of the Maine Lumberjacks*, edited by Roland P. Gray; and three studies of the negro, viz., "Folk-Songs of the American Negro" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxii, 206-224), by J. H. Smith, "The English of the Negro" (*Am. Mercury*, ii, 190-195), in which George Philip Krapp considers the negro's "acquisition of mature English," and *An Anthology of Verse by American Negroes*, edited by Newman I. White and W. C. Jackson, with a critical introduction, bibliographical notes, etc.

The remainder of the present survey concerns studies of a more or less general nature. Morris E. Speare is the author of *The Political Novel: Its Development in England and in America*, in which the chief American subjects are Henry Adams, Paul Leicester Ford, and Winston Churchill. On the drama, there is a book by Thomas H. Dickinson, *Playwrights of the New American Theatre*, and an article by Arthur Hobson Quinn, "Modern American Drama.II. The American Spirit in Comedy and Tragedy" (*Eng. Jour.*, xiii, 1-10). In *From Whitman to Sandburg in American Poetry* Bruce Weirick attempts to trace the evolution of American poetic art since 1870. Richard Foster Jones discusses "Nationalism and Imagism in Modern American

Poetry" (*Wash. Univ. Studies*, XI (1923), 97-130). Harriet Monroe surveys "The Free-Verse Movement in America" (*Eng. Jour.*, XIII, 691-705). Percy H. Boynton has collected a number of his essays, in a volume entitled *Some Contemporary Americans*. Henry S. Canby in *Definitions: Second Series*, Stuart P. Sherman in *Points of View*, and Carl Van Doren in *Many Minds* have dealt with individual writers and with some of the large problems of American literary history. Joseph Collins, in *Taking the Literary Pulse*, has continued his psychological studies, a number of which concern recent American writers. Philip Marshall Hicks has written a dissertation (Pennsylvania) on *The Development of the Natural History Essay in American Literature* from the beginnings to Burroughs. Southern literature is the subject of several studies: a monograph by Francis Pendleton Gaines on *The Southern Plantation*, in which the literary and the actual plantation are compared; an article by Charles Forster Smith on "Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve: An Intimate View" (*Sewanee Rev.*, XXXII, 162-175); a book which concerns the background of Southern literature, John Wade's *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, A Study of the Development of Culture in the South*; a "Bibliography of Alabama Authors" (*Howard College Bull.*, LXXXI (1923), 1-44) by Caroline P. Engstfeld; "Author List of Caroliniana in the University of South Carolina Library" (*Bull. of the Univ. of S. C.*, No. 134, Dec., 1923) compiled by Elizabeth D. English; and Armistead C. Gordon's anthology of *Virginia Writers of Fugitive Verse* (pub. 1923). Dorothy Dondore contributes a paper on "Points of Contact between History and Literature in the Mississippi Valley" (*Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XI, 227-236), and Ralph L. Lusk is the author of a two-volume work on *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*. The contemporary American attitude toward Byron, and the Byronism of American poets, are studied by Samuel C. Chew in "Byron in America" (*Am. Mercury*, I, 335-344). Richard Fay Warner has written on "Godey's Lady's Book" (*Am. Mercury*, II, 399-405). American magazines, especially those of recent date, are the theme of *Some Magazines and Magazine Makers*, by John E. Drewry. Two books relating to the history of journalism are *Joseph Pulitzer, His Life and Letters*, by Don Seitz, and *Memoirs of an Editor: Fifty Years of American Journalism*, by Edward P. Mitchell.

NORMAN FOERSTER

## III. FRENCH

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American contributions to French scholarship during 1914 are found most largely in the field of medieval literature. Among modern authors Balzac has been most extensively studied. A new series of publications has been begun by Dr. van Roosbroeck and A. Constans entitled *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire littéraire*, and the series of Romance Studies issued by Harvard, by Johns Hopkins, and by Pennsylvania have each added a new volume.

The most important work connected with word studies is D. S. Blondheim's "Essai d'un vocabulaire comparatif des parler romans des Juifs au moyen âge" (*Romania*, XLIX. 1-47, 343-388, 526-569), in which he publishes a list of 166 Romance words found in Jewish texts, some of them rarely or never elsewhere, others which are characteristic of the speech of the Church. This vocabulary agrees with that of the ancient Latin Bible, *Vetus latina* or *Itala* and hence indicates a very considerable Judeo-Romance influence on translations of the Bible. The articles make a valuable contribution to Romance philology as well as to the history of modern civilization. U. T. Holmes (*MP*, XXI. 423-427) proposes a new derivation for the word *mire*. C. H. Livingston (*MLN*, XXXIX. 410-414) holds that "Old French: Davedet, Davoudet, Davoudel < Latin David + *ellus* or *Ittus*, chanteur, joueur de flûte, vantard, un vaniteux, un arrogant, pipeur, trompeur."

T. A. Jenkins's edition of *La Chanson de Roland* will be of the greatest value to all French scholars and at the same time facilitate greatly the understanding of the epic by English speaking students and our lettered public in general, for whom it is primarily intended. John R. Reinhard gives us the first printed text of *Le Roman d'Eledus et Serene*, a medieval North French recension of a thirteenth century Provençal original. H. W. Robbins has published Saint Edmund's '*Merure de Seinte Eglise*', the Anglo-Norman, and as he believes the original, version of Edmund Rich's *Speculum Ecclesie*. Mary S. Crawford as a Pennsylvania dissertation edits with an introductory study Wace's *Life of St. Nicholas* from MS. Bibl. nationale 902 fonds fr.

A. C. L. Brown in "The Grail and the English Sir Perceval" (*MP*. XXII. 79-96, 113-132) continues a series of articles of

interest to Arthurian scholars, in which he argues that the grail was primarily of Celtic origin. R. S. Loomis in "Bleheris and the Tristram Story" (*MLN.* xxxix. 319-329) holds that this Welshman was the "founder of the Tristram Legend" and that he was first person to mingle "colorful Celtic fantasy with the Provençal idealization of love." According to L. M. Levin, "A Note on *Raoul de Cambrai*" (*MLN.* xxxix. 470-475), Parts I and II of *Raoul de Cambrai* originally constituted a single poem. He supports the same thesis in "An Allusion to *Raoul de Cambrai*," (*MP.* xxi. 272-276). A. H. Krappe finds that the "Origin of the *Geste Rainouart*" (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, xxiv. 1-10) lies in folktales such as those of the *Bear's Son* and *Strong John*. N. C. Brooks throws some light upon the staging of mystery plays at Paris in 1539 and 1541 and at Béthune in 1562 in "Notes on Performances of French Mystery Plays" (*MLN.* xxxix. 276-281). E. P. Hammond prints and discusses a poem written in English by Charles d'Orléans (*MP.* xxii. 215, 216) and addressed to an English woman. C. H. Livingston shows in "The Jongleur Gautier Le Leu" (*RR.* xv. 1-67) that the three Gautiers to whom *fabliaux* have been attributed were really one man, Gautier Le Leu, a trouvère and jongleur probably of the first half of the thirteenth century and whose extant work includes 8 *fabliaux* and 2 *dits*. He also publishes 4 *fabliaux inédits* and portions of a fifth.

F. C. Green studies Marot's qualities as editor and critic as displayed in his Preface to the works of Villon (*MP.* xxii. 69-77). The question of the first French sonneteer has been discussed by N. H. Clement (*RR.* xiv. 189-190) and by W. L. Bullock (*MLN.* xxxix. 475-478). The priority of Marot had already been established by Villey, as Bullock points out. Clement holds that the first sonnet was written by him in 1545, but Bullock corrects several of his statements and concludes that the first sonnet that can be dated was written by Marot in 1536, that the first to be published (1539) was also by him, that Saint-Gelais wrote no sonnet before 1538-1542 and that his first published sonnet appeared in 1546.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An article omitted from last year's bibliography: G. L. van Roosbroeck, "Un Débat sur Marot au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle" (*RSS.* fasc. 2-3 of 1922 (issued in 1923)).



C. H. Livingston in "The *Heptaméron des Nouvelles* of Marguerite de Navarre (RR. xiv. 97-118) shows the relation of these *Nouvelles* to Philippe de Vigneulles and argues that investigation of Marguerite's sources "Minimizes the importance of the historical character of the tales." In "*Decameron* VIII, 2; Earliest French Imitations" (MP. xxii. 35-43) he publishes the 71st tale from a collection by Vigneulles, composed in 1505-1515, and the 148th from that of Nicolas de Troyes, whose collection was compiled in 1536.

W. A. Nitze points out an influence of Petrarch (or of Claudian?) upon the ninth sonnet of Du Bellay's *Regrets* (MLN. xxxix. 216-219). W. H. Storer has published his dissertation (Illinois) in *Virgil and Ronsard*, in which he succeeds in adding a certain amount of evidence even to the work of Laumonier. John C. Dawson makes a biographical study of "Bernard de Poey: A contemporary of the Pléiade" (RR. xiv. 119-130) and publishes those of his poems that won prizes in the *Jeux floraux* (1551-1560). He also publishes an article on *The Custom of the Essay in the Poetic Contests of the College of Rhetoric at Toulouse*, in the Howard College Bulletin (Vol. lxxxi. No. 4).

R. C. Williams, in "The Studies in Epic Theory," (MP. xxii. 133-158) discusses the attitude of various French and Italian writers as to the rôle of verisimilitude and decorum in the epic and also points out the extensive use made of Tasso by Georges de Scudéry in the preface to his *Alaric*.<sup>2</sup> In "Notes on Cyrano de Bergerac: a Mythical Translation of the *Histoire comique . . . de la Lune*" (MLN. xxxix. 96-98) W. H. Storer shows that a supposed English translation of this book in 1638 is really John Wilkins' *Discovery of the World in the Moone*. F. B. Kaye points out a possible influence of La Rochefoucauld on the character of Dryden's *Zimri* (MLN. xxxix. 251). G. L. van Roosbroeck makes an important contribution to the history of parody in his "*Chapelain décoiffé: a Battle of Parodies*" (PMLA. xxxix. 872-896) in which he not only discusses the authorship of this poem and various problems connected with it, but also publishes the *Colbert enragé*, a parody of the

<sup>2</sup> An article omitted from last year's bibliography: G. L. van Roosbroeck and A. Constans, "The first two editions of Gomberville's *Polexandre*," (MLR. July, 1923).

*stances* in the *Cid*. G. Atkinson publishes his third book on French travel literature, devoting himself this time particularly to the important contribution they made towards the development of eighteenth century ideas. His volume is entitled *Les Relations de voyages du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle et l'évolution des idées*. G. B. Watts discusses "François Gacon and his enemies" (*PQ*. III. 1, 58-68).

In collaboration with A. Constans G. L. van Roosbroeck begins their new series by publishing *Polichinelle, comte de Paonfier*, a parody of Destouches's *Glorieux*. With it is published *les Champs Elysées* of Caumont and Destouches. A second volume published by G. L. van Roosbroeck in the same series is entitled *Poésies inédites du Marquis de La Fare*. C. H. Gershoff finds indications of the influence of Fontenelle upon Bodmer's *Noah* (*MLN*. xxxix. 434-436). G. L. van Roosbroeck publishes two poems of Fontenelle that were printed in Holland in 1750 and 1751 (*MLN*. xxxix. 249-250) and two by Gresset (*MP*. xxii. 45-62), points out that Diderot's earliest publication was a poem that appeared in *Le Perroquet* in 1741 (*MLN*. xxxix. 504-505), and contributes several interesting notes on Voltaire (*MLN*. xxxix. 1-10). G. B. Watts writes an article of the same nature in which he publishes two letters, one by Voltaire, the other written to him, and gives a variant reading for his *Oedipe*.

G. Chinard discusses *Les amitiés Américaines de Mme d'Houdetot* and publishes a number of her letters to Jefferson. H. P. Thieme adds to our knowledge of French versification by publishing "Un Manuscrit inédit de Fabre d'Olivet" (*RHL*. xxxi. 261-457-482). J. van Ness Smead publishes a careful study of *Chateaubriand and the Bible* (Johns Hopkins dissertation). H. S. Spring contributes to our knowledge of the same writer's biography in his *Chateaubriand at the Crossways* (Columbia Dissertation). H. E. Smith discusses Bonald's contribution to the history of relativism (*MP*. xxii. 193-210). M. C. Baudin studies "Le Suicide dans le Drame Français contemporain" (*PQ*. III. 2, 132-138). In the same publication (III. 1, 48-51), Charles E. Young discusses Scribe as a possible forerunner of the social drama.

G. M. Fess devotes a dissertation (Pennsylvania) to *The Correspondence of Physical and Material Factors with Character*

in *Balzac*. W. S. Hastings publishes a number of Balzac's letters (*MLN*. xxxix. 65-77), written from Germany to his housekeeper from May to July, 1845. H. S. Worthington studies the same writer's admiration for Beethoven and its influence upon one of his novels in "The Beethoven Symphony in Balzac's *César Birotteau*" (*MLN*. xxxix. 414-419). N. S. Bement shows that his rate of production has been much exaggerated and that during the years 1831-1835 he averaged slightly less than two printed pages a day (*MLN*. xxxix. 26-30).

N. C. Arvin has published a book called *Eugène Scribe and the French Theater* (1815-1860) in which he gives Scribe's biography, a list of his plays, and a general estimate of his value as a dramatist. O. H. Moore finds that Victor Hugo's sources for *Quatre-vingt-treize* were chiefly Louis Blanc, Duchemin-Descepeaux, Lamartine, Garat, Du Rosel and Michelet (*PMLA*. xxxix. 368-405). Irving Brown has published a dissertation (Columbia) in Leconte de Lisle. B. M. Woodbridge points out that an incident in Maupassant's *Bel Ami* is common to various types of literature (*MLN*. xxxix. 185-187). T. F. Tracy in "A source of Anatole France: Benvenuto Cellini" (*MLN*. xxxix. 188-190) shows that France made use of Cellini for the episode of the salamander in the *Rôtisserie de la reine Pédauque* (pp. 49, 50).<sup>3</sup> G. L. van Roosbroeck publishes in *Vlaamsche Arbeid* for May an article entitled "A forgotten Precursor of *Modernisme*: Della Rocca de Vergalo."

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

#### IV. SPANISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The importance of the contributions in 1924 to Spanish linguistics compensates for their limited number. K. Pietsch edits *Spanish Grail Fragments*. *El libro de Josep Abarimatia, La estoria de Merlin, Lançarote* (Chicago) from the unique manuscript at Madrid. He studies the linguistic features and adduces proof of the unity of the Spanish cycle and of its probable priority to the Portuguese cycle. In the same scholar's "Zur Frage der portugiesischen Uebersetzung von Gowers *Confessio Amantis*" (*Manly Anniversary Papers*, 323-327) he

<sup>3</sup> This conclusion had already been reached by D. S. Blondheim (*MLN*. xiii, 334).

argues on lexicographical grounds that the Spanish version is derived from a Portuguese translation. R. H. Keniston edits the *Fuero de Guadalajara* (1219) (*Elliott Monographs*) from two manuscripts in the Library of Cornell University and in the Biblioteca del Escorial. He discusses the language of the text and traces the main outlines of the development of the *fuero* during the first half of the thirteenth century. D. S. Blondheim makes important contributions to the lexicography of the various Romance languages in his "Essai d'un Vocabulaire comparatif des parlers romans des Juifs au Moyen Age" (*Romania*, XLIX, 342-388; 526-569). In his article "Prepositional Complementary Clauses in Spanish with special reference to the works of Pérez Galdós" (*RHi*, LVI, 1-264) F. C. Tarr limits himself to noun clauses introduced by prepositions as distinguished from prepositional supplementary clauses which function as adverb clauses, and gives the historical background of modern usage. He treats the same subject from a different angle in "Some Characteristic Uses of the Noun Clause in Modern Spanish" (*MLJ*, ix, 73-81). P. P. Rogers studies "The Forms of Address in the *Novelas ejemplares* of Cervantes" (*RR*, xv, 105-120) and finds that especially with respect to the use of *vos*, the practice of Cervantes does not always correspond to statements by grammarians.

In the field of literary history prior to 1500, A. H. Krappe compares "*The Cantar de los Infantes de Lara* and the *Chanson de Roland*" (*Neuphil. Mitteil.* xxv), and in "The Ploughman King (II)" (*RHi*, LVI, 265-284) he makes a new contribution to a previous study of the Spanish and Portuguese legends of King Wamba and of similar motifs found among the Slavs of Bohemia and Hungary. By references drawn from many sources he argues that these legends "originated with an ancient agricultural rite practised at an early state of European and Mediterranean society." He also finds that the story of "The Vassal of the Devil" (*Archivum Romanicum*, vii, 470-477) is an Anglo-Saxon tale of Pagan origin which received its salient features from the cult of Othin. Medieval Christianity furnished the moral, and in the form of a fable it spread to the Continent where it received its most perfect form in the *Libro de los enxiemplos* of Don Juan Manuel. In still another study in comparative literature Dr. Krappe traces "La Légende de la

maison fermée de Tolède" (*BHi.* xxvi. 305-311) to Babylonia. Mentioned by two early Greek authors, it was carried by the Arabs to China and to Spain. A. G. Solalinde describes "Un códice misceláneo con obras de Alfonso X y otros escritos" (*RFE.* xi. 178-183) preserved in the Library of Toledo Cathedral and containing fragments of the *Septenario*, the *Siete Partidas*, *El Purgatorio de San Patricio*, etc. H. A. Holmes discusses *Ethical and Religious Elements in the Poema del Cid*.

A number of books and articles deal with Spanish prose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. R. E. House's "Notes on the Authorship of the *Celestina*" (*PQ.* iii. 81-91), written in collaboration with Miss Margaret Mulroney and Miss Ilse G. Probst, show striking divergences in word order, length of dialogue and pronoun forms between the first act, acts II-XVI and the additions included in the edition of 1502. He believes that Alonso de Proaza was the author of the additions of 1502, and points out that the differences found between the first act and the remainder of the 1499 version offer a promising field for study. G. I. Dale contributes "An Unpublished Version of the *Historia de Abindarráez y Jarifa*" (*MLN.* xxxix. 31-33) which throws no light upon the problems of authorship and date of composition. R. Schevill and A. Bonilla y San Martín have published the second volume of the *Novelas ejemplares* in their excellent edition of the complete works of Cervantes. G. T. Northup finds that "Cervantes' Attitude toward Honor" (*MP.* xxi. 397-421) differed considerably from the honor code of his time as reflected in the theatre. "He subscribes to everything in the code which was noble and generous. His common-sense leads him to reject what was silly; his sweet and chivalrous nature condemns what was mean and cruel." In answering the query: *¿Hay una filosofía en el Quijote?* (*Instituto de las Españas*) D. Rubio finds no systematic philosophy, but merely a philosophy of faith in the ideal, in the value of effort and in the merit of sacrifice. In his article "Sobre un caso de amores de la novela *Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro* de D. Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses" (*Hisp.* vii. 368-376) J. M. Osma shows that this novel owes much to the Spanish translation of Eneas Silvio Piccolomini's *Historia de Duobus Amantibus*. Lena E. V. Sylvania's "Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor: A Contribution to the Study of her Works" (*RR.* xiv. 198-232) gives bibli-

ographical data and studies the sources and analogues of two of the stories. E. Buceta notes "La admiración de Gracián por el infante D. Juan Manuel" (*RFE*. xi. 63-66) to illustrate the continuity of ideas from the Middle Ages to the Golden Age. Alfonso de Salvio's "Voltaire and Spain" (*Hisp.* vii. 157-164) presents Voltaire's comments on Spanish literature of the seventeenth century, which apparently were based upon insufficient knowledge.

W. S. Hendrix studies *Some Native Comic Types in the Early Spanish Drama* (Ohio State) which include the cleric, foreign and dialectal types and various comic devices found in sixteenth century plays. J. E. Gillet describes "The Original Version of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria* (*RR.* xiv. 265-275), preserved in the Public Library of Oporto, which offers notable variants with the text published in the *Propalladia*. S. G. Morley edits "*Ya anda la de Mazagatos—comedia desconocida atribuida a Lope de Vega*" (*BHi.* xxvi), hitherto believed to be lost and preserved at the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid. In "The Missing Lines of *La Estrella de Sevilla*" (*RR.* xiv. 233-239) the same scholar argues that M. Foulché-Delbosc is mistaken in his belief that *romances* were written in quatrains in the plays of Lope's day, and that therefore his assumption of missing lines from the *romance* passages of *La Estrella de Sevilla* is unwarranted. W. L. Fichter proposes new dates of composition for a number of Lope's plays based upon internal evidence in "Notes on the Chronology of Lope de Vega's *Comedias*" (*MLN.* xxxix. 268-275). H. C. Heaton describes "Lope de Vega's Parte XXVII Extravagante" (*RR.* xv. 100-104), a bibliographical rarity preserved at the Institut d'Estudis Catalans of Barcelona. In "Lope de Vega's *El vellocino de oro* in Relation to its Sources" (*MLN.* xxxix. 142-149), H. M. Martin shows that in this and other plays of classical subject Lope frequently deviated from Ovid's narrative and used other sources, notably Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum*. Miss M. M. Harlan examines carefully *The Relation of Moreto's 'El desdén con el desdén' to suggested Sources (Indiana)*. It has many points in common with Tirso's *Celos con celos se curan*, but most of the other plays mentioned as possible sources had no influence upon the composition of Moreto's play. Miss Winifred Smith discusses French and Italian plays derived from

Coello's *El Conde de Sex* in her study on "The Earl of Essex on the Stage" (*PMLA*. xxxix. 147-173). H. Alpern points out the frequent occurrence of "Jealousy as a Dramatic Motive in the Spanish Comedia" (*RR*. xiv. 276-285).

A considerable amount of new material in the lyric poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been made accessible this year by American scholars. J. E. Gillet discovers "A Neglected Chapter in the History of the Spanish Romance" (*RHi*. lvi. 434-457) in a collection of *relaciones* in *romance* form printed in the latter part of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century, preserved as *pliegos sueltos* in the Biblioteca Nacional. They are chiefly of interest as border-products from the field of balladry, as additions to dramatic bibliography, and as indices to the later popularity of seventeenth century dramatists. S. G. Morley reprints "Una glosa de romances viejos por Romero de Cepeda" (*Rev. de la Bibl Arch. y Museo*, xi. 349-361). Each of the 35 strophes ends with two ballad verses, some of which are not found elsewhere. J. E. Gillet publishes "A Forgotten Sonnet of Lope de Vega" (*MLN*. xxxix. 440-441) addressed to Juan Antonio de Herrera Temino, whom Lope mentions in the *Laurel de Apolo* and elsewhere. E. Buceta notes Southey's comments on "El latín de Lope de Vega" (*RHi*. lvi. 403-404). J. M. Hill describes a manuscript of the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century entitled *Poestas barías y recreación de buenos ingenios* (Indiana), preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional, and publishes the verses not already printed. All of these are anonymous in the manuscript. He also makes known "Cinco poesías de Cardenio" (*RHi*. lvi. 405-422); "Some unpublished Verse of Armendáriz" (*PQ*, iii. 192-196), and in his "Notes on Alfay's *Poestas varias de grandes ingenios*" (*RHi*. lvi. 423-433) he describes variations in five copies of this collection, all published in 1654.

There is but one contribution to the much neglected literary history of the eighteenth century. G. M. Fess shows the indebtedness of Meléndez Valdés to Pascal in his note "Meléndez Valdés' *Vanidad de las quejas del hombre contra su Hacedor* and the *Pensées* of Pascal" (*MLN*. xxix. 282-284). P. H. Churchman returns to a favorite topic in his article "Some Espronceda Miscellany" (*RHi*. lvi. 508-521). He reprints three brief

articles of dramatic criticism and one *costumbrista* essay published by Espronceda in *El Artista* of Madrid (1835-36). *The Life and Dramatic Works of Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (Pennsylvania)* by E. B. Williams contributes new facts regarding the sources of the plays, the influence of contemporaneous dramatic genres, and the development of the author's esthetic ideals. Much new material regarding Spain's most eminent bibliophile is brought together in M. A. Buchanan's "Notes on the Life and Works of Bartolomé José Gallardo" (*RHi.* LVII. 160-201). In "*Un drama nuevo* on the American Stage" (*Hisp.* VII. 171-176) J. D. Fitz-Gerald discusses Tamayo's play from a new standpoint in connection with its unpublished adaptations by Augustin Daly and William Dean Howells.

In the field of Spanish-American letters, S. E. Leavitt's *Argentine Literature. A Bibliography of Literary Criticism, Biography, and Literary Controversy* (North Carolina) will serve admirably as a point of departure for any serious study of the literature of Argentina. E. H. Hespelt writes on "Hugo Wast, Argentine Novelist" (*Hisp.* VII. 360-367). In the fifth article of his series on "Peruvian Literature" (*Hisp.* VII. 147-156) G. W. Umphrey discusses Ricardo Palma as a *tradicionalista*.

The second volume of A. M. Espinosa's collection of *Cuentos populares españoles* (Stanford) has appeared, containing a number of tales of enchantment, and other stories.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

## V. ITALIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Sound scholarship, breadth of view and graceful presentation are found in C. H. Grandgent's *Discourses on Dante* which consist of eight addresses and two poems inspired by the sexcentenary year, 1921. In the chapter on "Dante Six Hundred Years After," we are brought into intimate contact with the physical and spiritual world in which Dante moved; "Dante and Italy" discusses the poet as the supreme representative of Italian nationality; the quality of inspiration of inborn genius is described in the chapter on "Illumination"; symmetry in the *Divina Commedia* is explained in the chapter on "The Centre of the Circle"; knowledge as the ultimate perfection of the soul is illustrated in the chapter "All Men Naturally Desire



to Know"; "The Choice of a Theme" deals with Dante's literary background; Dante's verse is treated in the eighth chapter and "Lost Poems of Dante" closes the volume.

In "Dante Notes, IV-VI" (*MLN.* xxxix. 338-345) H. D. Austin attempts to justify the reading *le tre dee* instead of *l'altre dee* in *Paradiso* xxviii, 121; he discusses the symbolism of the color of Beatrice's robe in the three supreme visions of the Lady; he objects to the translation "a thousand miles" of the words *mille milia*, *Paradiso*, xxvi. 78, as given in the first commentary to the new critical text of the Divine Comedy and translates the phrase: "which was reflecting back effulgent from the more than a thousand eyes all about them." The words *mille milia* are explained as a reminiscence of the *millia millium* of *Revelation* V, 11. W. P. Mustard in "Dante and Statius" (*MLN.* xxxix. 120) suggests a parallel for the famous opening verse of the Divine Comedy in *Thebais* I, 390:

medio de limite vitae  
In senium vergens,

with which Dante shows an acquaintance in a passage of the *Convivio*. E. Goggio discusses "The Teaching of Dante in America" (*MLJ.* viii. 275-280) from Ticknor and Longfellow to the present day.

A. H. Krappe studies "An Italian Legend in Pierre Damian" (*RR.* xv. 94-99) and its Italian analogues. C. L. Livingston finds the earliest French imitations of "*Decameron*, VIII, 2" (*MP.* xxii. 35-43) in a work of Philippe de Vigneulles (1505-1515), in the *Légende de Maistre Pierre Faifeu* (1526) and in a tale of Nicolas de Troyes (1536). "England's Discovery of the *Decameron*" (*PMLA.* xxxix. 123-139) is described by W. Farnham. E. H. Wilkins contributes an article on the "Early Alphabetical Indexes" (*Manly Anniv. Papers*, 315-332) found in Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum* and other texts.

The chief emphasis is upon English literature in E. N. S. Thompson's *Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance*, but students of Italian will find here much of interest, especially in the chapters on emblem books, familiar letters and books of courtesy. J. M. Osma's article "Sobre un caso de amores de la novela *Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro* de D. Gonzalo de

Céspedes y Meneses" (*Hisp.* vii. 368-376) points out borrowings from Eneas Silvio Piccolomini's *Historia de Duobus Amantibus*. W. L. Bullock's "The Genesis of the English Sonnet Form" (*PMLA.* xxxviii. 729-744) shows that the sestet rhyme scheme of the sonnet used by Wyatt was probably borrowed from Benedetto Varchi. In his "Two Studies in Epic Theory" (*MP.* xxii. 133-158) R. C. Williams calls attention to the wide diversity of opinions held by sixteenth and seventeenth century Italian and French critics regarding verisimilitude in the epic, and the questions of decorum, the marvelous element and the use of true names. The second part discloses Scudéry's borrowings from Tasso's *Discorso del Poema Heroico* in the Preface to *Alaric ou Rome vaincue*. The same scholar emphasizes "The Originality of Daniello" (*RR.* xv. 121-122) with respect to other critics of his day. F. Ettari publishes from the autograph manuscript and edition of 1490 portions of "*El Giardino* of Marino Jonata Agnonese, an Italian Poem of the Fifteenth Century" (*RR.* xiv. 131-167), referred to in last year's summary. In an important article, "Les Mythologistes italiens de la Renaissance et la Poésie élisabéthaine" (*RLC.* lv. 5-25) F. L. Schoell discusses the mythological collections of Lilio Gregorio Giraldi and Natali Conti and shows George Chapman's indebtedness to them. In an article of a somewhat similar nature entitled "Lope de Vega's *El vellocino de oro* in Relation to its Sources" (*MLN.* xxxix. 142-149), H. M. Martin shows that Lope de Vega frequently made use of Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum* in writing plays on classical subjects. A. H. Krappe finds "Quelques Sources grecques de Niccolò Machiavelli" (*Etudes Italiennes*, vi. 80-86) in Plutarch, Procopius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Miss Winifred Smith's article "The Earl of Essex on the Stage" (*PMLA.* xxxix. 147-173) discusses French and Italian plays derived from Coello's *El conde de Sex*, and publishes a scenario from the Biblioteca Casanatense entitled *La Regina d'Inghilterra*. Straparola's *Notti Piacevoli*, VII, 3 and similar tales are studied by J. R. Reinhard, "Strokes Shared" (*Journ. of Am. Folk-Lore*, xxxvi. 380-400).

P. S. Zampière finds "The Italian Source of Antonio Scoppa's Theory on French Versification" (*RR.* xiv. 305-315) in Giovenale Sacchi's *Della Divisione del Tempo nella Musica, nel Ballo*,

*e nella Poesia.* E. N. S. Thompson describes "The Interest of English Poets in Italian Freedom" (*PQ.* III. 172-191) as reflected in the verse of Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Mrs. Browning and Swinburne. The brilliant essays by Miss R. S. Phelps entitled *Italian Silhouettes* present to the general reading public the work of Carducci, Pascoli, Annie Vivanti, Guido Gozzano, Papini, Ada Negri, Pirandello, Fucini, Amalia Guglielminetti, Salvatore di Giacomo, Panzini, Sibilla Aleramo and Renato Serra. D. Vittorini discusses "Tendenze principali nella Letteratura Italiana Contemporanea" (*MLJ.* VIII. 497-503), limiting himself to recent fiction. P. Arcari writes on the "Religion of Giovanni Papini" (*Catholic World*, CXIX. 95-104) and J. H. Brovedani on "Giovanni Verga" (*Queen's Quarterly*, XXXI. 49-68). "Benedetto Croce's Theory of Æsthetic Criticism" (*SP.* XXI. 480-491) is studied by T. O. Wedel.

In the field of Italian linguistics, only one American contribution has come to our notice, "A French Etymology: Fr. *bis*, Ital. *bigio* (*Manly Anniversary Papers*, 351-361) by T. A. Jenkins who suggests Lat. *buteo*, *buteonem*, "a kind of falcon," as the source.

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## VI. GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Gothic is represented by only one article, "The Gothic Adjective *bals*" (*MP.* XXI. 435-7) by C. N. Gould, who interestingly discusses a hitherto unidentified Gothic adjective occurring in Procopius' *Gothic War*. In O. H. G. Geo. F. Lusky, "Uerdan und Uesan mit dem Partizip Passiv in der ahd Tatian-Uebersetzung" (*JEGP*, XXIII. 342-369) shows that *uerdan*, unlike *uesan*, never denotes a condition or fact already existing, but always the beginning of a condition or fact. This use, he concludes, is not influenced by the Latin alone, but must be explained in part from the OHG. itself. E. C. Metzenthin, "The *Heliand*; A New Approach" (*SP.* XXI. 502-539) tries to show by the deviations from the Biblical text that the author was a learned cleric. C. H. Bell, "Helmbrecht 1251" (*MLN.* XXXIX. 327-376), discusses the meaning of the word *sparrâdern*, which is wrongly translated by Schade and Lexer, and shows that it sometimes has the meaning of 'sinews'

in general and at other times of 'ham strings' or 'tendons of Achilles.' J. A. Walz, "Fahrwohl! Eine wortgeschichtliche Untersuchung" (*MLN.* xxxix, 399-410) proves conclusively that this German expression, while not an anglicism, was, nevertheless, introduced into the poetic German vocabulary through English influence, especially through Bodmer's and Wieland's translations. One of the most valuable contributions of the year is the exhaustive treatise by Maximilian J. Rudwin entitled *A Historical and Bibliographical Survey of the German Religious Drama* (*Univ. of Pitts. Studies in Lang. and Lit.*).

The sixteenth century is represented by several articles. Under the title "Grundlagen des geistigen Lebens in frühneu-höchstdeutscher Zeit" (*PQ.* III, 107-118) Alfred Goetze ably discusses the background of the intellectual movements in Germany at that time. Wilhelm Braune, "Die Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke" (*MLN.* xxxix. 212-215) treats briefly various *Drucksprachen* of the sixteenth century and points out what excellent material his series of reprints furnishes for linguistic investigations. Otto Clemens, "Flugschriften des 16. Jhs." (*JEGP.* xxiii. 325-330) talks somewhat casually about the contents of the pamphlets appearing in his two collections. W. Kurrelmeyer in a review of Kluge's etymological dictionary (*MLN.* xxxix. 350-7) has contributed many early citations of various words as supplementary material for a new edition. Samuel Kroesch, *Germanic Words for 'Deceive'* (*Hesperia*, No. 13) has given a detailed study in semantics.

The barren seventeenth century is represented only by an English translation of Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* by A. T. S. Goodrich with an introduction by Wm. Rose (Dutton).

Many articles deal with the literature of the eighteenth century. Under the title "Johann Christopher Schwab and the Relative Merits of the European Languages" (*PQ.* III. 285-301) E. H. Zeydel, continuing his studies of Schwab's views, shows his preference for French language and literature, as opposed to Bodmer and Breitinger and above all to Lessing. The same scholar under the caption "Some Sociological Aspects of Literary Criticism" (*MLN.* xxxix. 460-466) forcibly urges the need of considering the sociological factors in works of literature. A. H. Koller, "Herder's Conception of *Milieu*" (*JEGP.* xxiii. 217-240) and 370-388) shows that Herder obtained his idea

of the importance of the environment from Kant, but developed and enlarged it under the influence of various French and German writers. A. L. Carter, "Did Lessing Say the Final Word on Description" (*English Journal*, XIII. 396-401) believing with Lessing that the briefer the description the more powerful the effect illustrates this by various instances and concludes by deploring the present tendency to encourage students to write descriptions of from 1200 to 2000 words. In a brief article "Lessing's Set of Horses Identified" (*PMLA*. xxxix. 343-5) W. C. Decker discusses the statement of Robert Chambers in his *Lives of Eminent Scotchmen*, III. 55, that Henry Mackenzie translated Lessing's *Set of Horses*, together with two or three other dramatic pieces from the German. She shows that this piece, erroneously ascribed by Chambers to Lessing and which in Mackenzie's volume is attributed to an unknown writer, was in reality written by an Austrian dramatist Cornelius Herrmann von Ayrenhoff, born Vienna 1733. The drama in question bore the title *Der Postsug oder die noblen Passionen*, but in Mackenzie's French source was called *Attelage de Poste*. C. H. Ibershoff in an article, "A French Source of Bodmer's *Noah*" (*PQ*. III. 168-171), shows that a passage in Bodmer's epic is clearly borrowed from Mme. de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Peruvienne*. The same scholar has run to earth two other borrowings by Bodmer, first in *MLN*. xxxix. 257-7, where he calls attention to two correspondences between Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Bodmer's *Noah*; second, "Another French Source of Bodmer" (*MLN*. xxxix. 434-6) where he discusses resemblances between Bodmer and Fontanelle's *Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes*. John A. Kelly, "Schiller's Attitude toward England" (*PLMA*. xxxix. 346-357) emphasizes the poet's admiration for that country. Julius Goebel, "Schiller's Philosophische Briefe" (*JEGP*, xxiii. 161-172) discusses some of the principles by which Schiller sought to solve the question of the relation of mind to matter. Walter Wadepuhl, *Goethe's Stellung zur französischen Romantik*, a monograph which appeared this year, although finished in 1921, shows Goethe's active interest in French romanticism, although he did not believe that it would produce works equal to those of the classical period. Max J. Rudwin, "Nodier's Fantasticism" (*Open Court*, xxxviii 8-15) has traced the influence exerted upon this French roman-

ticist by various German writers, such as Goethe and E. T. A. Hoffmann. W. Rose, *From Goethe to Byron* (Dutton) has discussed at length the development of *Weltschmerz* in German literature. G. A. Betz, "Lichtenberg as a Critic of the English Stage" (*JEGP.* xxiii. 270-288) reviews the opinions of this Göttingen professor on Garrick and other English actors whom he had seen in England.

A number of articles are devoted to Heinrich von Kleist. John C. Blankenagel, "A Wieland Quotation by Heinrich von Kleist" (*MLN.* xxxix. 442-3) notes a passage which Kleist lifted bodily from Wieland without acknowledgement. An admirable piece of work has been done by Walter Silz in his monograph *Heinrich von Kleist's Conception of the Tragic* (*Hesperia*, Nr. 12). The same scholar in "Nature in Heinrich von Kleist's Letters" (*JEGP.* xxiii. 63-77) shows the poet's fine appreciation of the beauties of natural scenery. A welcome addition to American editions of German dramatists of the eighteenth century is that by L. M. Price of Johann Elias Schlegel's charming comedy, *Die stumme Schönheit*. Apropos of the hundredth birthday of Rudolf Hildebrand, Julius Goebel (*JEGP.* xxiii. 94-104) gives interesting personal reminiscences of this German scholar and publishes some letters received from him. Helmut Wocke, "Briefe Rudolf Hildebrands" (*JEGP.* xxiii. 1-27) prints twenty-four letters exchanged between Jacob Grimm and Hildebrand. A life and criticism of Heine by Michael Monahan has appeared under the title *Heinrich Heine, Romance and Tragedy of the Poet's Life*. The appreciation of the English poet Shelley in Germany is studied by Solomon Liptzin in his monograph *Shelley in Germany* (*Col. Univ. Studies*). Ernst Rose "Das erste moderne Christusdrama der deutschen Literatur" (*JEGP.* xxiii. 492-511) discusses a drama *Jesus der Christ* written in 1855 and published in 1865 by Albert Dulk, an East Prussian poet. Louise Brink in a Columbia dissertation, *Women Characters in Richard Wagner*, has subjected the female characters of Wagner's *Ring* to such a detailed psycho-analysis that it is published as No. 37 in the *Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series*. The musical critic, E. Newman, has published a study, *Richard Wagner as Man and Artist*.

A volume on the *Modern German Novel* by H. W. Hewetts Thayer consists mainly of a series of essays on particular points and authors but contains a brief survey of the more recent movements. *Women in the Life and Works of Gutzkow* is the subject of a monograph by Otto P. Schinner (*Col. Univ. Germanic Studies*). L. A. Shears, "Theodor Fontane as a Critic of the Novel" (*PMLA*. xxxix. 389-400) discusses Fontane's views of various types of novels. Walter Silz, "Freitag's *Soll und Haben* and Raabe's *Der Hungerpastor*" (*MLN*. xxxix. 10-17) points out certain similarities between the two novels, but thinks they are not sufficient to establish direct influence. T. M. Campbell, "Gerhart Hauptmann, Christian or Pagan" (*MLJ*. III. 353-361) contrasts the Christian mysticism of *Emanuel Quint* with the pagan sensitiveness to the beauty of women in *Griechischer Frühling* and the *Ketzer von Soana*. A. B. Benson has published from the collection of W. A. Speck eleven letters by the well known German æsthetician Friedrich Theodor Vischer, which treat of Hegel's *Weltanschauung* and contain references to Goethe's *Faust* (*PQ*. III. 32-47). Friends and admirers of Calvin Thomas will hail with pleasure the publication of several essays by him together with a sketch of his life and work by Wm. G. Braun, under the title *Calvin Thomas, Scholarship and Other Essays* (Holt).

In the German American field Charles F. Dapp has published an interesting monograph, *The Evolution of an American Patriot, a Study of the Patriotic Activities of John Henry Miller, German Printer, Publisher and Editor of the American Revolution* (*Proceedings of Penna. Ger. Soc.* vol. 32). F. F. Schrader contributes a volume on *Germans in the Making of America* to the *Knights of Columbus Racial Contribution Series*.

Old Norse is represented by several items. Geo. T. Flom has issued the second part of his admirable study of the *Language of the Konungsskuggsjá* (*Univ. of Ill. Studies in Lang. and Lit.* vol. 8). A. M. Sturtevant "Old Norse-ðr from \*nn+r" (*JEGP*. xxiii. 78-82) discusses in detail the different theories in this little understood linguistic change. The same scholar in "*Flu*, Runische Form für Aisl *Fé*, 'Vieh'" (*JEGP*. xxiii. 512-515) seeks to justify this form over against Bugge's féu. Further in "Old Norse *Sko*" (*MLN*. xxxix. 378-9) Sturtevant sees a shortened form of the imperative *skoða*, exactly parallel to

Gothic *sai* from *saihvan* and English *lo* from Anglo-Saxon *lōca*.

Lee M. Hollander, "Recent Studies in Helgi Poems" (SS. VIII. 108-125) has discussed with considerable acumen the theories of Hederström and Much, dealing with the original home of the Helgi lays, and further Miss Phillpott's view of a dramatic origin of the older Eddic poems. K. Malone, "King *Aun* in the Rök Inscription" (MLN. xxxix. 223-5) discusses a possible connection between this character of the Swedish inscription and *Eanmund* of the *Beowulf* and comes to the conclusion that *Aun II* is the Scandinavian counterpart of *Eanmund*. The same scholar has written an able article, "Ptolemy's Scandia" (Am. J. of Phil. XLV. 362-370) treating in detail Ptolemy's conception of this country and identifying some of the tribes, such as the *Suiones* and the *Finns*. Knut Gjerset in his *History of Iceland* (Macmillan) has dwelt at considerable length on Icelandic literature. W. W. Worster, "Four Icelandic Poets" (ASR. XII. 346-351) discusses the work of Jonas Gudlaugsson, Johan Sigurjonsson, Gunnar Gunnarsson and Gudmundur Kamban. A. B. Benson has described "Bayard Taylor's Visit to Iceland" (ASR. XII. 678-684) and discussed briefly some of his poems written under Scandinavian influence.

Turning now to Norway, we find Geo. T. Flom, "The Study of Place Names with Special Reference to Norway" (JEGP. XXIII. 199-216) treating various aspects of these names, including their importance, their classification and the fundamental principles of name study. As usual several articles are devoted to Ibsen. Olav K. Lunderberg, "Ibsen in France" (SS. VIII. 93-107) discusses the introduction, vogue and influence of Ibsen's dramas on the French stage. T. T. Sternberg, "Ibsen's *Catilina* and Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (MLN. xxxix. 329-335) interestingly points out resemblances between the two plays which make the influence of Goethe's drama on Ibsen's plausible. Geo. B. Foster, "Ibsen's Philosophy of Religion" (Open Court, XXXVIII. 193-202) treats Ibsen's views on religion as they appear in his dramas, especially in *Emperor and Galilean*. The same writer discusses Bjørnsen's religious views in "The Message of Bjørnsen" (Open Court, XXXVIII. 321-338), the article being edited by J. N. Nash from unpublished notes left by Dr. Foster at his death. A. Orbeck, "Bjorne



Bjornson and the Norwegian Stage" (*ASR.* xxi. 340-5) shows how the Norwegian national theatre largely owes its very existence to this most successful actor-manager. Hanna A. Larsen," Arne Garborg" (*ASR.* xii. 275-283) interestingly criticises this Norwegian realist and his works. B. Blessum has an article on "The Norse Fairy Tale" (*ASR.* xii. 655-664) in which he treats of Asbjørnsen and Moe and of the different types of their tales.

The letters of the Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer have been edited by A. B. Benson and published under the title *America of the Fifties*, as vol. xxiii of the *Scandinavian Classics*. Henry A. Bellows has sketched her travels in this country under the title "Fredrika Bremer and America" (*ASR.* xii. 671-677). Carl A. Helmecke, *Buckle's Influence on Strindberg* (Univ. of Pa. diss.) has shown how strongly the Swedish poet stood under the influence of the English philosopher.

Under the caption "Literary Tides in Denmark" (*ASR.* xii. 295-301) Signe Toksvig discusses some of the recent Danish books on criticism and also recent Danish poetry and novels.

DANIEL B. SHUMWAY

## I. THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD: A MIRROR OF CHANGING DOCTRINE

In a study of the Latin, French, and English versions of the allegory of *The Four Daughters of God*, published some years ago,<sup>1</sup> I found it necessary to include also a description of two Dutch versions in order to account for certain modifications of the allegory in fourteenth and fifteenth century French forms. These arose through the introduction of what Heinzel<sup>2</sup> calls the *Processus Belial*, a suit between the devil and the Virgin which is only settled when the four Virtues enter the debate.

At the same time it is not satisfactory to accept a Dutch original for this modification, because it would be wholly contrary to literary tradition that the several more or less complete Latin, French, and Catalan versions of the *Processus Belial* should derive from a Dutch one. Accordingly I have continued my search for a more probable source, and, though the desired Latin original has not been discovered, it is possible, I believe, to explain how the *Processus* came into existence by tracing the origin and development of the four component parts into which it falls: (1) The enmity between Christ and the devil brought to a crisis by the harrowing of hell; (2) the contest between the devil's procurator and the Virgin; (3) the scales motive; (4) the debate between the Virtues.<sup>3</sup> This investigation has revealed the variety and antiquity of elements composing, not merely the *Processus Belial*, but the whole allegory of the Four Daughters; their long evolution and frequent transformation; and the curiously unrelated systems of belief, by many condemned as heretical, whence they originally derived.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. Traver: *The Four Daughters of God. A Study of the Versions of this Allegory with Especial Reference to those in Latin, French and English.* (Bryn Mawr Coll. Monographs VI, 1907).

<sup>2</sup> Heinzel: *Z. f. d. A.*, XVII, 45.

<sup>3</sup> The introduction of the Virtues, or Daughters of God, follows the Virgin's refusal to accept the procurator's crafty suggestion for a compromise, a division of mankind between them to be decided by weighing in a balance the good and evil of men. Many versions break off the trial before this point.

<sup>4</sup> The importance of these elements is thus brought to light and their close connection with the history of the developing doctrines of the Church makes

In the antagonism of redemptive and destructive powers, which appears with striking dramatic vividness in the *Processus Belial* but is essentially present in all the versions of the Four Daughters, one catches echoes from the main controversies and problems which engrossed the thought of the Early Church: the eschatological question; the rise of Mariolatry; and the doctrine of the Work of Christ viewed from the objective side. The subjective side of the Redemption, its result in the union of the soul with Christ, finds no illustration in the *Processus Belial*, unless in its remote affiliations with Mariolatry, but, as will later be seen, is present in other versions of the Four Daughters. This belief, too, originated in the most ancient theories of salvation, and was subjected to searching criticism and controversy. Thus it becomes apparent that the wide variations among the several versions of the Four Daughters in the arguments against mercy presented now by the devil, now on the side of God's justice, and now on that of His truth, are not due merely to the varying personal tastes of the authors of these versions, but also reflect the changing doctrine of the Church itself.

Looked at from this point of view, the history of allegory assumes a new significance, for one may regard an allegory as a mirror reflecting for the people, sometimes dimly, sometimes in distorted images, but often in clear and beautiful light, the procession of theological questions more abstractly debated by the clergy in learned theses. As a mirror often clarifies and illumines a landscape, so issues become simplified through allegory. As a mirror presents surfaces only, one cannot look here for the depth of thought that informs learned treatises; it is the pageantry of the narrative that is emphasized most often, though occasionally, as in Greban's *Mystère*<sup>5</sup> and the French versions which follow it,

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explicable the remarkable vitality of this allegory of the Four Daughters, as illustrated by the fact that versions continue to be produced in modern times: among them a nineteenth century French poem (Frederic de Rougemont: *Un Mystère de la Passion*. Neufchâtel, 1876), the *Vorspiel* printed with the text of the Passion Play which I witnessed at Erl in the summer of 1912 (*Das Erlser Passionsbuch*: Herausgegeben von der Spielleitung, Erl in Tirol, 1912, pp. lxxiii-xciii), and a similar prelude to the Nativity Play which Longfellow introduces into his *Golden Legend*.

<sup>5</sup> See Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-112.

the scene is weighted by more scholastic argument. Third, as a mirror reflects not only the image itself but its environment and background, so in allegory one catches glimpses of an environment that varies with the country<sup>6</sup> for which the allegory is written and of a background of oral tradition reaching back often to pagan folklore. Such traditions are preserved longer in popular allegory than in the more orthodox teachings of the learned theologians.<sup>7</sup>

In the following pages I shall show how far into the past extends the perspective mirrored in this allegory, and how varied and often antagonistic in their origin are its component parts. Some derive from the apocalypses, others from the legends of the Virgin, still others from the Marcionite and Valentinian heresies, or the efforts of the Church Fathers to suppress these, and from the legalistic interpretation of Christianity which arose during the same controversial period. A very direct connection appears also with the commentaries, both Jewish and Christian, on *Genesis* and *Psalms*. All these elements converge in the picture presented in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries through the revival of mysticism, the renewed struggle against heresy, and the flourishing of juristic and scholastic debate.

For the development of the eschatological features one turns

<sup>6</sup> This national variation must not be overemphasized or presented as if opposed to the unity of the Church in the Holy Roman Empire. Yet certain national traits may be described. These are revealed in the feudal tone of English and French versions influenced by the *Chateau d'Amour* (See Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-40), the legalistic development of the Processus Belial in Italy and France, the rivalry with the secular romances of France which produced such forms as followed the *Gesta Romanorum* type (See Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-124), a slight classical tinge in Italy, a pronounced eucharistic development in Spain, and a reflection of the Reformation in Germany. I have ready for publication a discussion of the versions developing in Italy and Spain, and intend to follow this by a similar treatment of the German versions.

<sup>7</sup> At a future time I hope to illustrate further this conception of the growth of allegory by studying the evolution of certain allegories more or less connected with that of the Four Daughters. Such a study will, I believe, reveal a closer affiliation than is now recognized between allegories apparently unrelated or, if not an organic affiliation, at least a number of points of contact or cross-development. To state my hypothesis otherwise, a comparative study of several allegories might show that these allegories were simply different reflections of common problems, as the mirror was turned to their several aspects at different stages of development.

to the apocalypses, both Jewish and Christian. Through these can be traced the growing preoccupation with a claim for mercy at the judgment scene; at first that of the race, later of the individual soul. Here one sees, as in the *Processus Belial* and in the Last Judgment scenes in the mystery plays, the setting of the stage for the trial, its imposing panoply of thrones and witnesses, of scales for weighing the soul or books of good and evil deeds, the introduction, in one case at least, of the devil as an adversary, and the increasing tendency to interpose mediators between man and God—a compassionate patriarch, intercessory angels or Virtues, Michael the Archangel, or Mary the Virgin.

The growth of Mariolatry in the West gave rise to a great body of vision literature, more limited in scope than the older apocalypses and dealing frequently with the Virgin's interposition in behalf of sinners who have prayed to her. This literature, with a few exceptions, lies outside my field but the *Processus Belial*, though not cast in vision form, is, I believe, indebted to it as to the older apocalypses for much of the machinery indicated above. Moreover, in the impressive figure of the Virgin in the trial scene, we may recognize the influence of the widely popular legends of Our Lady.

The conception of the Redemption, objectively considered, as the victory of mercy or goodness over justice when Jesus destroyed the power of His antagonist was first presented by Marcion but was immediately attacked as heretical. Refutations or modifications of this heresy engaged the attention of the leading Greek and Latin Fathers from Irenaeus to Augustine, and reappeared in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the works of Anselm, Hugo, and Bernard.

Redemption, subjectively considered as the soul's rescue by Christ, was interpreted as a meeting of mercy and truth, justice and peace in the *Pistis Sophia*, a possible outgrowth of the Valentinian heresy. This is the earliest instance I have found in which *Psalm* 84:11 (Vulgate numbering) was employed with reference to the Redemption. The later romantic development of the Allegory, represented by the *Gesta Romanorum* type,<sup>8</sup> shows closer affiliation with Valentinus' conception, but receives its chief spiritual impulse from Bernard.

<sup>8</sup> See Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-124.

After the suppression of heresy by Augustine the elements for the allegory of the Four Daughters continued without essential modification until the time of Anselm, Hugo, and Bernard. But it remains to note two contributions which were made in commentaries of the fifth century. One of these occurs in Augustine's commentary on *Psalm* 84,<sup>9</sup> especially the part which deals with verses 11 and 12; the other in the commentary on *Genesis* (but utilizing *Psalm* 84:11—12) in the *Bereshith Rabba*,<sup>10</sup> a *Midrash* which probably assumed its present form not later than the fifth century. In Augustine's commentary are found many of the details which reappear later in Hugo and Bernard; in the *Midrash*, the living allegory emerges; the four virtues are personified and they debate before God's throne concerning the fate of mankind—here his creation, later, usually, his redemption. In the long line of commentaries on the *Psalms* between the fifth and eleventh centuries, many of which simply echo Augustine, I have found no addition of significance for the development of the allegory of the Four Daughters, unless possibly in the defense of the allegorical method by Cassiodorus and Rabanus, and in the statement of the former in his commentary on *Psalm* 84:1 that personification is implied in the very words of the Psalm (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* LXIX).

But in the eleventh century the various elements of the allegory are fused.<sup>11</sup> The blending of elements from the apocalypses and the age-long discussion of the Redemption which had its beginnings in the Marcionite controversy is perceptible in Hugo's commentary on *Psalm* 15 and his masterly treatise *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei*. It was but a single step from the juristic scene thus established to the Processus Belial itself by adding the arguments concerning mercy or justice drawn respectively from Hugo's or Bernard's commentary on *Psalm* 84, and by substituting the Virgin for Christ. Thus in Hugo

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of Augustine's treatise see below, p. 88f. It is not impossible that Augustine may have known the *Midrash* as he was fairly well versed in Hebrew.

<sup>10</sup> See Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>11</sup> This fusion was effected by Hugo and Bernard in their tractates on *Psalm* 84:11, see Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-17. The present paper is concerned only with two of the classes treated in my earlier paper, the evolution of the Processus Belial and the genesis of the type represented in the *Gesta Romanorum*.

and Bernard converge several lines of development and from them radiate as many: among them, the Processus Belial in the one direction; in the other, versions more mystical, represented by the *Gesta* type.

## I

After this general survey of the field we may proceed to consider in turn the contributions which each part made to the allegory of the Four Daughters. Some of these have been noted previously but that of the apocalypses has hitherto, I believe, escaped attention, and may, therefore, be treated here with greater fullness. These apocalypses are of the highest importance, not only because the earliest of them show a modification in Jewish conceptions after the period represented by the Old Testament canon—an evolution which has left its impress both on the New Testament and on the Midrashic Haggada—but also because the later apocalypses, both Jewish and Christian, supply the framework of the completely developed eschatology of the medieval church. What is more germane to the present discussion, they often exalt mercy in judgment, a point which has been ignored by those whose interest lay rather in the visions of torment. Though such constitute the more striking part of the apocalypses, one must remember that the origin of the apocalypse lay in the longing for a fairer world.

From the earlier apocalypses, says Dr. Charles,<sup>12</sup> Christianity derived three great truths: (1) its belief in a blessed future life, (2) a new heaven and a new earth, and (3) that the end of the present world would be catastrophic. Dr. Charles shows that as Job's despair drove him to seek satisfaction in a world beyond, so from the trials and persecutions of the Maccabean period a new philosophy developed, that the present domination of evil augured the nearness of its overthrow. When the years passed without the consummation of the hope of a

<sup>12</sup> R. H. Charles: *The Rise and Development of the Belief in a Future Life in Judaism and Christianity*. Oxford, 1912, p. 6. For interesting summaries of the origin and development of the apocalypses, their early importance and later decadence, see F. C. Burkitt: *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, London 1914, pp. 1-16, 44-47; F. C. Porter: *The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*, New York, 1911, pp. 5, 14-15, 49-52; and Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-23.

restored world empire for the Chosen People, a grander conception arose of a new earth fashioned after heavenly models and ruled by heavenly powers, but preceded by a general assize or judgment in which all wrong would be put right, though not always with specific regard to individuals. As early as the end of the first century there developed among the Christianized Jews a new apocalyptic vision, now more universal and individual than national, and dealing, not with the Last Judgment, but with the fate of individual souls. The first of this new series was probably *The Apocalypse of Peter* which, though in its original form it was condemned as heretical, survived in countless imitations and adaptations and at last was set forth on the grandest scale in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, just as the earlier apocalypses found their apotheosis in *The Revelation of St. John* on the one hand, and, on the other, in Michael Angelo's great pageant of the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel. Finally, a third type of apocalypse is illustrated in *The Ascension of Isaiah*, in which the idea that the end of the world is the chief thing in history is crossed by the new Christian idea that the chief thing was the Incarnation of the Messiah, an event already past. This new idea, which began with St. Paul and attained more and more fixity and definiteness as time went on, was really fatal to great apocalyptic writing, but it is not surprising that vision literature continued to be popular among the people throughout the medieval period, though no new ideas enter the medieval eschatology.

In the three types of apocalypse thus differentiated one finds respectively the sources of the Processus Belial, of the Last Judgment play in the great mystery cycles, of morality plays or legends dealing with the judgment of an individual, and the beginning of the docetism<sup>13</sup> which marks gnostic writings and leaves its impress on both the Processus Belial and the *Gesta* type. These several manifestations are mainly the outgrowth of the highly developed angelology which distinguishes the apocalypses, a result, on the one hand, of oriental influences

<sup>13</sup> This last point is illustrated when Isaiah, describing the vision of the Seventh Heaven and the descent of the Blessed, the Son of God, through the seven heavens to earth and His victorious return, explains how it came about that He was not observed and records the great wrath of Belial thereat. See Burkitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47.



and, on the other, of the tendency in Jewish thought to stress the transcendency of God, which resulted in the introduction of intermediary beings between Him and the world: in the Jewish apocalypses, a patriarch or Michael, preeminently the guardian angel of Israel; in the Christian, an apostle, Michael, or later the Virgin. These intermediaries serve to present the ever-increasing demand for mercy which it is our present purpose to trace. In order to save space I omit summaries of fairly accessible texts, not only in the case of the apocalypses but throughout this paper.

The earliest illustration of such intercession is found in *The Book of Enoch*,<sup>14</sup> which is dated between 170-64 B.C. In this apocalypse it is related that Enoch, after being sent from heaven to announce to the fallen angels their approaching end, returned to God to present their petition for forgiveness which they could not themselves present since they could no longer speak with the Lord nor lift up their eyes to Him for shame. A similar letter of entreaty for mercy was entrusted to a messenger from heaven in some versions in my earlier study and in certain Spanish versions to be described later. The statement that the fallen angels cannot lift up their eyes for shame reminds one that in many versions of the Processus Belial the devil's advocate cannot raise his eyes to Mary, though hardly through contrition.

A late version of *The Book of Enoch*, (dating perhaps from the fourth century A.D.)<sup>15</sup> shows among other variants two which are of interest to us. First, we are told that Satan, in conspiracy with the guardians of Persia and Rome, continually sends in accusations against Israel; and that the Seraphim are constantly engaged in burning these. Possibly we have here a reminiscence of the fruitless petition presented by Enoch though with different aim. At all events, the bills of accusation sent by Satan anticipate the formal letter of procuration which the devil's advocate displays in the Processus Belial. Their interest for us lies in illustrating Satan's rôle of accuser, which

<sup>14</sup> Ed. by R. H. Charles: *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, Vol. II, pp. 163-281. *The Book of Enoch*.

<sup>15</sup> This version of *The Book of Enoch* is described in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*; it shows, according to this authority, intimate dependence upon the Slavonic version.

became a favorite theme in medieval literature. In fact, much earlier than this redaction of *Enoch*, we find this rôle already developed in *The Assumption of Moses*. The second variant occurs toward the end of the book. Here the patriarchs weep over the bondage of Israel and Michael pleads for the delivery of the Chosen People. Then follows a vision of the Messianic era to come, and God avers that though there is no righteous man on earth whose intercession could bring about Israel's delivery, yet He will save them for His own sake and for the sake of His justice and His goodness. Though this reconciliation of Justice and Mercy is not here brought into connection with the incipient Processus Belial suggested, we can see a dim foreshadowing of their later combination.

Another of the earliest apocalypses is *The Assumption of Moses* (4 B.C.-10 A.D.).<sup>16</sup> The part of special interest to us is no longer extant, but its nature is apparent from various references, the best known of which is *Jude* 9. A scholion to a good Greek manuscript (Bodl. Arch. E. 5.9) sums up the points separately given in the other references.

Hereby he shows that the Old Testament agrees with the New, both being given by one God. For the Devil resisted, trying to deceive, saying: "The body is mine; for I am the Lord of matter," and was answered by: "The Lord rebuke thee," that is, the Lord who is Master of all Spirits. Others say that God, willing to show that after our departure hence demons oppose our souls on their upward course, permitted this to be beheld at the burial of Moses. For the devil also blasphemed against Moses, calling him a murderer because he smote the Egyptian. Michael the Archangel, not enduring his blasphemy, said to him: "The Lord rebuke thee, devil!" He also said this, that God had lied by bringing Moses into the land which He swore he should not enter.

*The Assumption of Moses* differs from the other apocalypses to be cited in the absence of any intercession for mercy. On the other hand, it definitely presents what is lacking in those, the rudiments of a dispute between Satan and a heavenly power.<sup>17</sup> The devil makes three points: (1) he claims sover-

<sup>16</sup> See M. R. James: *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament*. Lond. 1920, pp. 42-51.

<sup>17</sup> In the second chapter of *Job* is presented an amicable discussion between God and Satan; in *Zechariah* III: 1-2 a dispute is suggested, but not developed. The devil claims only the body of Moses in this apocalypse, but in tradition this soon became a claim for the soul.

eignty over the human race; (2) he accuses Moses of sin; and (3) he charges the Lord with a lie, i.e., with not fulfilling His sentence against Moses. Precisely these three points—with the substitution of humankind for Moses—are presented by the devil's advocate in every *Processus Belial*.

*IV Esdras* (?70–100 A.D.), the next apocalypse to be considered, is better known because it is included in the Apocrypha of the modern Bible. As an introduction to the visions of the Last Things it presents a long debate between Esdras and the angel Uriel in which Esdras pleads God's mercy against His justice.<sup>18</sup> Nowhere else before the complete development of the allegory of the Four Daughters in the twelfth century will one find so sustained a presentation in debate form of the claims of mercy against justice. Almost every argument has its parallel more or less close in one or another of the versions of the debate between the Daughters of God. One has only to substitute "Justice" for "judgment" or "righteousness" and "Mercy" for "goodness" and "faith" to see this clearly. Hugo of St. Victor's simple version of the debate between Mercy and Truth really goes little further than to show the same grief of Mercy (instead of Esdras) at the thought of God's judgment, the same fear that none could escape condemnation, the same unwillingness expressed by the other speaker that grace should subvert justice, and the same conclusion in forgiveness to those who repent before death.

The Christian *Revelations of Esdras*<sup>19</sup> is a weak imitation of *IV Esdras*. The late composition of this apocalypse is clear from the mention of Christ and the apostles, the greater stress upon unceasing intercession for grace, and the importunity of the demand for mercy rather than justice seen when Esdras is provoked by God's reminder of Adam's sin and its consequences to exclaim, "Was he not protected by an angel? . . . How was he deceived who was guarded by angels?"<sup>20</sup> I present

<sup>18</sup> The passages which best illustrate this are as follows: III: 1-7, 21-22, 25-8, 34; IV: 1-21; V: 31-4, 40; VI: 35-8, 54-9; VII: 1-21, 26-8, 31-5, 45-50 62-70; VIII: 1, 25-6, 35-40, 46-7, 55.

<sup>19</sup> In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*: Vol. VIII, pp. 371-74.

<sup>20</sup> This is a daring implication that God is responsible for man's sin and cannot, therefore, justly punish it, and is similar to the stand sometimes taken by Mercy in mystery plays which utilize the debate between the Daughters

it, not to trace possible borrowings, but simply to note certain general correspondences with the scene in the mystery plays where Mercy pleads against Justice in behalf of man's salvation.

Only one of the four motifs mentioned above in the analysis of the Processus Belial scene is represented in the two apocalypses of *Esdras*, though the first contains also a hint of the scales motif. Other apocalypses, however—probably much earlier than *The Revelations of Esdras*—furnish close analogies to two other motifs and also supply a suggestion for the conflict between mercy and justice, although they do not include an actual debate such as that in which *Esdras* engages. It is significant that the first of these to be considered, *The Testament of Abraham*<sup>21</sup> (of which the present form dates perhaps from the second century after Christ), is practically a sermon on mercy. God commanded Michael to unroll before Abraham a vision of judgment and of the torments allotted to sinners in order to impress upon him the gravity of his lack of compassion when, having been granted just before his death a view of the whole creation, he had been so roused by the enormity of sin which he saw that he called down God's curse upon the offenders and they were consumed by fire from heaven. "But I," continued God, "have made the world and desire not to destroy any one of them, but wait for the death of the sinner until he be converted and live." Abraham was stricken with remorse by this vision; whereupon God granted his passionate prayers, seconded by Michael's, for the release from punishment, first of a soul whose good and evil deeds weighed equally in the balance, then of those whom he had cursed.<sup>22</sup>

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of God. An attempt to meet this difficulty is made in an Armenian *Life of Adam and Eve*. Adam, explaining to Seth the sin of Eve, says that her Guardian Angel had mounted to heaven to make its customary report to God, "and when the angel departed from her the enemy, seeing that neither I nor the angels were near, came and spoke unto her and deceived her . . ." (See J. Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament found in the Armenian MSS. of the Library of St. Lazarus*, Venice, 1901, p. 14.)

<sup>21</sup> J. A. Robinson: *Texts and Studies. Biblical and Patristic Literature*. II, 2. *The Testament of Abraham*, ed. by M. R. James, Cambridge, 1892.

<sup>22</sup> In this apocalypse only does intercession secure the rescue of a soul; in those of Paul and the Virgin next to be discussed the pleas for mercy secure merely one day's intermission of torture. M. Dods (*Forerunners of Dante*. Edinburgh, 1903, p. 176) thinks the tradition of Pope Gregory's prayers for

If much of the dialogue in certain later versions of the allegory finds its origin in the apocalypses of *Esdras*, the scenario was furnished by the *Testament of Abraham*. Here for the first time<sup>22</sup> we find an original for the judicial and trial scenes of the many medieval versions grouped under the *Processus Belial*, and of the Judgment scene in mystery or morality plays. The avenging spirits exulting in the cruel torments they inflict, the throne of the awe-inspiring judge surrounded by glory, the table about which the trial progresses, the book of deeds and recording angels, the balance, and the three judgments—one or more appear in all of them. Only "the trumpet full of fire" which tests the souls (or actions) have I failed to find in medieval versions.

One notable effect of this apocalypse is seen in the vogue of psychostacy in medieval literature. The metaphor of the

the soul of the Emperor Trajan the first instance of such a rescue. Not intercession but hopeless grief appears in *The Testament of Abraham* where Abraham sees between two gates, seated on a gilded throne, one of terrible mien sometimes exulting when a few entered the narrow gate, oftener weeping over the thousands thronging the broad gate of destruction who were being pitilessly lashed by spirits of fiery aspect. A passage very like this occurs in what is perhaps "the most dramatic, realistic, and fiendish of all visions," (ed. Luard, *Rolls Series*, II, 497-511) which appeared in 1206 to Thurchill, an Essex husbandman. Under the tree of Paradise sits Adam: "With one eye he laughs for the blessed, with the other he weeps for the damned." The scales motive also reappears here. St. Paul and the devil sit one at each end of a large pair of scales in which are weighed the black souls. Ernest Becker (*Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell with special Reference to the Middle English Versions*, Baltimore, 1899, pp. 16-17, 96) finds in this *Vision of Thurchill* a remarkable survival of Egyptian conceptions: the great judgment hall, the guide, the three judges (cf. Horus, Anubis, and Thoth), and the use of the scales. In the Egyptian account the final sentence is pronounced by Osiris, king of the infernal world. May not the selection of Abel as judge in *The Testament of Abraham*, an idea not elsewhere found in Jewish literature, be also "a reminiscence of the Egyptian myth of Osiris, who after his own victory in the case brought against him by Set became the judge of all men? For Osiris and Abel were both righteous men who were murdered by an evil brother; and it was a characteristic of Alexandrian Christianity to adopt the features of foreign religion under the guise of traditional names." One novel feature in the *Vision of Thurchill* is a theatre where devils amuse themselves by making sinners act their crimes and tortures. For Adam's weeping, see also the Mohammedan tradition related by P. L. Johnstone (*Muhammad and his Power*, 1901, pp. 84 ff.).

<sup>22</sup> A germ for this may be seen in *Daniel* 7:7-14.

scales for the weighing of good and evil deeds, which owes its origin to Egypt, appears in a few passages in the Bible but is first presented in concrete form in this apocalypse.<sup>24</sup> The chief developments are to be found in isolated Visions of the Middle Ages and in innumerable illustrations in sculpture, fresco, and illuminated manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> But these later documents and

\* Note the famous word "Tekel" on the wall at the feast of Belshazzar, also *Job* 31: 6, *IV Esdras* 3:34, *Psalms* 62:9 etc. "The only other apocalypse belonging to an early period is a Coptic apocalypse of which Oscar von Lemm gives scanty particulars in *Brückstücke Sahid. Bibelübersetz.*, p. viii. . . . In Mohammedan mythology, as given by Wolff (*Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 140), the weighing of souls is a process which takes place at the day of judgment. Each man has his sins recorded on forty-nine enormous rolls. In the case of a believer, a leaf no bigger than an ant's head inscribed with the confession of faith will outweigh all these." (M. R. James, *Texts and Studies*. ed. J. A. Robinson, Cambridge, 1892; II, 2, pp. 71-72).

\* A. Maury (*Recherches sur l'Origine des Représentations Figurées de la Psychostacie ou Pèsement des Ames et sur les Croyances qui s'y rattachaient in Revue Archeologique*, 1844. I, 235-49, 291-307) assembles a number of most interesting illustrations in art and literature of the belief in psychostacy and describes the various trickeries to which the devil resorts, but always to be frustrated by the Virgin or some saint, usually St. Michael. The legend of St. Martin rescuing from perdition Odo, Count of Champagne, whose life had been wholly unedifying, approaches the form which is of interest to us: St. Martin, appealing to Divine Mercy and the redemption of which the benefits belong to all men, confounded the devils by his eloquence and by the skill with which he reversed the natural action of the scales. I do not know the date of this legend, so cannot tell whether it preceded the use of the scales motive in *The Vision of Thurchill* above mentioned or that of an eloquent pleading for mercy in the legend recounted by Caesarius von Heisterbach which I discussed in my earlier study (pp. 58-60). Maury, like Dr. James, finds in Egypt the origin of the scales motive and traces it from there to Greece. In this connection he gives three illustrations from early Christian art which show confusion between Mercury, the weigher of souls in Virgil, and Michael, the conductor of souls in Jewish and early Christian literature. This introduction of Mercury into early Christian psychostacy he ascribes to gnostic influences upon the early Church. He also quotes St. Augustine's development of the scales idea: "Erit tibi sine dubio compensatio bonorum malorumque et velut in statero posita utraque pars, quae demerserit illa eorum quo momentum vergitur, operarium vendicabit si erga malorum multitudo superavit, operarium suum pertrahit ad gehennam. Si vero majora fuerint opera bonorum summa vi obsistent, et repugnabunt malis atque operatorem suum, ad regionem vivorum in ipso etiam gehennae confinio, convocabant." He records an interest in this scales motive in de Deguileville, Bartolus, Milton, Klopstock, and Schiller, all of whom I have discussed either in my work already published or in that to come. K. Cust (ed. *The Booke of the Pylgrymage of the Soule translated from the*

monuments show one remarkable difference from *The Testament of Abraham* in that they almost uniformly introduce as a party in the case the accusing Satan, who tries by foul means to depress the scale in his favor. Though Satan appears to be absent in *The Testament of Abraham*, he had already appeared as accuser in *The Assumption of Moses*, and it is possible that this motive developed into a complete judgment and trial scene in the lost *Apocalypse of Peter*, a very popular Vision which, according to Dr. James<sup>26</sup> inspired not only *The Testament of Abraham* but also *The Vision of Paul*, the next document to be discussed. Origen,<sup>27</sup> who was fond of showing "how the opposing powers, or the devil himself, contends with the human race," says that evil spirits approach souls at death in the endeavor to carry them away. They try the souls, and attempt to seize them, even when they cannot prove them guilty, but God rescues them. Therefore we pray: "Sed libera nos a malo." Origen presumably had in mind *The Apocalypse of Paul*, or its probable source *The Apocalypse of Peter*, but was sparing of references to New Testament apocalypses, preferring to use *The Testament of Abraham*.

The *Visio Pauli*,<sup>28</sup> which was probably compiled about 388 A.D., the year in which it purports to have been discovered at Tarsus, enjoyed great popularity throughout the Middle Ages, notwithstanding the fact that it was condemned by Augustine, as "crammed with fables." The importance of this apocalypse lies in the fact that the soul and conscience and the guardian angel here first take an active part in the judgment scene, an interesting approach to the judgment scenes in the medieval

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*French of Guillaume de Guileville, printed by William Caxton, Anno 1483, with Illustrations taken from the Manuscript Copy in the British Museum, Egerton 615, London 1859) notes in appendix B, the interest taken in the scales motive by Homer (Iliad viii. 68; xxii. 209), Virgil (Aeneid xii. 72), Milton (Paradise Lost iv. 999) and that Æschylus founded a tragedy on the same idea, of which only a few fragments remain but which from Plutarch's account of it and a drawing from it on an Etruscan vase seems to have had close analogy with our subject. Achilles and Memnon are in the scales before Jupiter, and at either side are their mothers, praying for them. Cf. also Mâle, E.: L'Art Religieuse du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle en France. Paris, 1919.*

<sup>26</sup> See James, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-26.

<sup>27</sup> Origen; *Homilia V in Psalmos*.

<sup>28</sup> *Anto-Nicene Fathers*. New York, 1906. IX, 153-163.

moralties allied to the Processus Belial.<sup>29</sup> Though we have no mention of scales in the trial of the soul, the weighing of good and evil deeds is implied in connection with the testimony furnished by the guardian angel. The animosity of the evil spirits is clearly evident in their efforts to seize upon the soul as it emerged from the body in order to carry it to hell and in their delight in torture; but they do not mount into heaven to present accusations. Finally, the intercession for mercy upon the condemned is more fully developed than in *The Testament of Abraham*, and rather suggests *IV Esdras* and the much later *Apocalypse of Esdras*, especially in the responses to these pleadings.

One more apocalypse remains to be mentioned: *The Apocalypse of the Virgin*,<sup>30</sup> probably not earlier than the ninth century, is a clumsy compilation from the Assumption legends and from the *Visio Pauli*. As in the apocalypses of Abraham, Paul, Esdras, Baruch, and Sedrach, the main feature is intercession for the lost. Its interest for us lies in its emphasis upon the Virgin as the advocate *par excellence*, though her prayers are seconded by Moses, John, Paul, and Michael.

## II

The cult of the Virgin grew steadily from the ninth to the thirteenth century, though it originated much earlier. In considering the worship of the Blessed Virgin in so far as it expressed itself in forms relating to our allegory, it will be well to show first how in popular tradition Mary gradually supplanted other intercessors, particularly Michael.

In virtually all the apocalypses and Jewish traditions Michael is a leading figure.<sup>31</sup> It is he who conducts Enoch, Abraham, Paul, and others on their celestial journeys; to him the condemned cry for succor; and at God's tribunal his is the glory

<sup>29</sup> This is particularly characteristic of the Spanish morality plays, or Autos Sacramentales.

<sup>30</sup> *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IX, 169-174.

<sup>31</sup> See W. Lueken, *Michael: Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael*, Göttingen, 1898, pp. 22-26; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Doctrine of Mediation*. London, 1910, pp. 39-47; Heber, *The Personality and Office of the Christian Comforter . . . Bampton Lectures*, Oxford, 1816, pp. 250-251, 287; and C. H. Wright, *Zechariah and his Prophecies*, Bampton Lectures, Oxford, 1878, On Zechariah III: 1.



of defeating the accusation of Samael. The pious fancy of the Jews pictured a heavenly court where Michael stood before the judge of the world as advocate for Israel against the accusations of Satan, now sunk from the lofty position which he held in the *Book of Job* to that of a mere accuser. Thus in the *Book of Enoch* (40:6-7) and in *Zechariah* (3:1-2) we see his intercession for mankind as he warded off the accusations of Satan. The "angel of the Lord" in the latter reference is probably Michael as in *Daniel* 12:1 and elsewhere. Irenaeus<sup>22</sup> testifies to this identification with Michael: "Illi [sc. Hebraei] rursum in communibus per Synagogas precibus (Genebrardo interprete) sic orant: 'Accusationis Samuelis [sic!] ne recorderis: memento autem defensionem Michaelis'." This is illustrated in *Shemoth Rabba*, Paracha 18: "To whom shall I liken Michael and Samael? To the advocate and the accuser, who stand before the tribunal... so stand Michael and Samael before the Shekinah as Satan makes the accusation and Michael protests the deserts of the Israelites; but now comes Satan and will speak also. Then Michael bids him be silent."<sup>23</sup> Many like references might be given.

Among the Oriental Christians, who were in close touch with the learned Jews of Alexandria and Palestine, this belief in angels reappears. The gnostics, too, developed a complete system of angelology.<sup>24</sup> In this, Michael became advocate for all humanity, not simply for the faithful Israelites. After his overthrow of the rebellious Sabael (Sataniel) he was regarded as protector against all demons and thence as the conqueror of Antichrist. This is bringing him close to Christ Himself, and attempts have been made to consider the two identical. That even in the Apostolic age the danger of the adoration of angels was recognized may be inferred from Paul's insistence against angel worship in *Colossians*, and his glorification of Christ above all angelic powers and principalities in *Ephesians*. One may note also that the author of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* transfers to Christ the Hebrew belief in Michael as Melchisedec.

<sup>22</sup> Irenæus, ed. Graba. Oxon. 1702. p. III, N. I.

<sup>23</sup> See Luecken, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> Luecken, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 86, 129-50; Heber, *op. cit.*, 286-287; and Bousset; *Antichrist*, pp. 151 ff.

Among the early Christians of the West, however, Michael did not generally attain so exalted a position. The tendency was to transfer to the Virgin the honor of mediation for humanity and to consign to Michael the duty of attending upon the soul at the moment of its departure from the body, there to defend it against the demons' attacks, and to conduct it to heaven for trial. More frequently this office is performed by angels unnamed in the medieval versions where such occurrences are described. In Deguileville's *Pelerinage de L'Ame*,<sup>35</sup> on the other hand, Michael's position in the trial itself is a most honorable one. He presides over the preliminary judgment of souls here as does Abel in *The Testament of Abraham*. Frequently it is he who holds the scales in which mankind is weighed. An instance of this appears on the tomb of Albert of Cluny (†1095). In a sculpture of the Last Judgment at Autun cathedral, dating from 1150, Michael instead of the Virgin is shown not only as holding the scales, but as the protector of a multitude of souls sheltered under his mantle.<sup>36</sup> The device of the mantle, though differently used, appears also on an ancient monument in Ely Cathedral where Michael is shown carrying a soul to heaven in a fold of his mantle.

The Virgin, who figures most frequently as the protector with the mantle, in two cases at least appears in conjunction with Michael.<sup>37</sup> Thus in a fourteenth century fresco of the Last Judgment in the chapel of Marienburg at the right hand of God stands the Virgin with the souls of the saved in her mantle, while on the other hand, beside the lost souls, is Michael with

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Traver, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>36</sup> This sculpture greatly puzzled P. Perdrizet (*La Vierge de Misericorde* Paris, 1908, p. 19) who noted it as a solitary instance of such regard for an archangel as opposed to an immense series in which the Virgin of the Mantle figures. He felt that it must be due to a mere fantasy of the artist's brain, not based upon any such text as he discovered for the Virgin's series in a legend recorded by Cæsarius von Heisterbach, between 1220-1230 A.D. But we have seen how prominent for centuries before the development of Mariolatry has been the worship of Michael as protector of souls. In the *Encomium of Eustathius* (ed. E. A. W. Budge, p. 128; tr. p. 102) Michael spreads out his garment of light to invite the soul of that blessed woman. Compare also the vision of Oswald the Saxon who saw St. Columban extending his great mantle over a whole battlefield to protect it. (Perdrizet, p. 24).

<sup>37</sup> Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116, 123, 205.

the scales. The second instance I admit as conjectural. A banner in the Church of San Francisco at Perugia shows at the top Christ with Justice on His right brandishing her sword, Mercy on the left sheathing hers. He is in the act of hurling javelins at the city of Perugia below; but His purpose is frustrated by the Virgin, a gigantic figure whose mantle completely shields from His perilous darts the Perugians cowering beneath it. Less fortunate are those outside the city walls. Here Death, ruthlessly striking down the travelers along the highway, is confronted by an archangel armed with a lance. This archangel I believe to be Michael, who appears as champion in so many rabbinical or early Christian legends. The persistence, therefore, of Jewish influences, apocryphal or rabbinical, is manifest in this continuance of reverence for Michael, even though to the Virgin was finally transferred the chief honor as intercessor.

I shall not attempt to trace the growth of the cult of the Virgin, but only to discuss such manifestations as may have influenced the development of different forms of the allegory of the Four Daughters, especially through the Processus Belial. Mariolatry is a natural development from three causes: (1) a tendency to conceive and worship the ideal woman; (2) the desire for symmetry, for a new Eve to counterbalance Christ as the new Adam; (3) the longing for an intercessor whose interest would be for mercy without the necessity for thought of justice. Perhaps the earliest reference to her as intercessor, and this is not indisputable, is found in Irenaeus: "Mary was persuaded to obey God that the Virgin Mary might become the advocate of the virgin Eve. And as the human race was bound to death through a virgin, it was saved through a Virgin; the scales being equally balanced—virginal disobedience by Virginal obedience."<sup>38</sup> Whether or not Irenaeus himself intended here to recognize Mary after her death as intercessor for mankind, the title 'advocata nostra' was accepted by the Church with this meaning. The Nicene Council established her parallel with Eve and her part in salvation because in her was accomplished the union of the Logos and the Flesh; and at the Council of Ephesus, held 431 A. D. in that Temple of Diana at Ephesus

<sup>38</sup> Irenaeus, *Contra Haeresia*, V. 19.

which was now rechristened as the Church of the Mother of God, she was solemnly recognized as the mother of God and acclaimed with many extravagant phrases as powerful to save.<sup>39</sup> Even before this, Gregory Nazianzen (†389) told the story of a Christian maiden Justina who through her prayers to Mary saved herself from the love of Cyprian Martyr, then still a heathen.

More significant, however, of the strength of the Virgin cult are the hymns in praise of Mary written by Ephrem Syrus,<sup>40</sup> many of which Jerome says were early translated into Greek and read in the churches after the Holy Scriptures. These were written to counteract the baneful influence of the Bardesanes and other heretics. One of these hymns is particularly emphatic in its recognition of the Virgin's power as intercessor. The following sentences fairly represent the tone of the whole hymn.

Thou art the only advocate and help of sinners, and of those bereft of aid; thou art the most safe haven of the shipwrecked, thou the solace of the world, thou the refuge of orphans, thou the redemption and deliverance of captives . . . O Lady Princess, Queen most excelling, and altogether blessed Maiden most honorable, Lady of ladies, pure and most chaste. Beneath thy protection we fly, O holy Mother of God; beneath the wings<sup>41</sup> of thy maternal goodness and mercy defend and guard us. Have pity upon us who are defiled by the filth of our sins, and by our innumerable faults and crimes have offended God our Creator, the Judge of all; lest Satan, our most hurtful and hateful enemy, insolently glory and arise against us . . . To thee, our Lady, have we miserable been intrusted, and are called thy clients. Suffer not, then, that we be led away by the malignant Satan to the gates of hell.

The enmity between the Virgin and the devil here noted has its Biblical source in *Genesis* 3:15, which is changed in the Vulgate to have Eve's descendant bruise the serpent's head. From this conception innumerable legends of the Virgin's victories over the devil have arisen, beginning in Jerusalem and

<sup>39</sup> F. A. Von Lehner; *Die Marienverehrung in den ersten jahrhunderten*, Stuttgart, 1881, pp. 181 and 451.

<sup>40</sup> T. Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries* London, 1893, pp. 297, 397-398.

<sup>41</sup> May not such an expression as this, of Biblical origin, have given rise to the figure of the mantle of protection, for which Perdrizet (*op. cit.*, pp. 18-130) assiduously seeks the origin?

reaching Egypt as early as the fourth century.<sup>42</sup> Their chief development lay between the fifth and eleventh. The celebrated legend of Theophilus who sold his soul to the devil but, repenting, prayed to Mary and was delivered from his pact by her direct intervention and appeal to her Son is a case in point. There is, however, no intercession by the Virgin and no trial. The Virgin simply appears to the devil and demands from him the sealed compact in which Theophilus had consigned his soul to the devil.<sup>43</sup>

These features reappear in another Miracle of Our Lady Gautier de Coincy's "L'Enfant donné au Diable." Though there is no judgment scene, for here, as in *Theophilus*, the soul is rescued before death, a rudimentary law-suit or trial is introduced between the Virgin and the devil,<sup>44</sup> who stoutly opposes her effort to rescue a soul which had been committed

<sup>42</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *The Miracles of the Virgin in Ethiopia*, London, 1900. Intro. An Ethiopic legend which Budge translates (No. 37 f. 83) is one of the most amazing that I have read. An ugly-tempered cannibal repeatedly besought by a leper for a drink of water, in the name first of God, then of Christ, finally of the Virgin, grudgingly yields him a single drop at the last plea because he has heard of the Virgin's favors to those who do anything in her name. Dying soon after, he is about to be haled below by devils but the Virgin claims his soul. At her prayer in the ensuing trial, the single drop of water which the cannibal had granted to the leper in the Virgin's name is put into the scales and found to outweigh the seventy-eight victims whom the cannibal had devoured. His soul is therefore rescued from the devil. My attention was directed to this legend by C. Crawford Burkitt of Cambridge University. It somewhat suggests the legend of Piers Toller.

<sup>43</sup> Less happy was the fate of Marieken of Nymwegen, the feminine Theophilus or Faust of the Middle Ages, who, watching a "wagon-spel" called *Mascher-oen* (one of the two Dutch versions already referred to; see also p. 78, below) was so moved by the eloquent pleading of Mercy against the devil's advocate as to pray for pardon for herself. To avert this, her demon attendant is in haste to snatch her into the air and dash her to destruction. See F. A. Snellaert *Nederlandsche Gedichten uit de veentiende Eeuw*, Brussels, 1869; Intro.

<sup>44</sup> Perdrizet (*op. cit.*, p. 214-219) describes a picture by an unknown artist in the communal gallery of Montefalco, Umbria, which seems to him bizarre but to me germane to this legend. Before the Virgin of the Mantle kneels a mother in tears and with dishevelled locks. A demon is trying to carry off her son. The Virgin, armed with a club, will drive away the demon. Above the picture is the inscription: "Sancta Maria del Succuro, ora pro nobis." There are pictures on the same subject in other parts of Umbria. For other illustrations of legends dealing with the Virgin's power to rescue souls see Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-61.

to him. This trial scene is a feature which was lacking in the various apocalypses I have presented, though there is reason to think that it may have been in the lost *Apocalypse of Peter* and in *The Assumption of Moses* we saw a rudimentary contention. The dispute between the Virgin and her adversaries, though little developed, has points of contact with that in our Processus Belial. These are: (1) the strong case presented by the devils for their possession of the soul "engendered in sin against faith and reasons," (2) the suggestion of contesting a claim not supported by a book of laws,<sup>46</sup> and (3) the discussion of the rights of woman in legal procedure.<sup>46</sup>

In other words, in this legend we find notable emphasis laid upon the juristic elements and upon the pugnacity of the devil, precisely the points which the apocalypses failed to supply as prototypes of the Processus Belial.

It would appear, then, that the development of the tradition of the Virgin's power as advocate proceeded along two different paths. The one, beginning with Irenaeus, presented her first as counterpart to Eve, then as advocate for Eve, and so later for all humanity, whom Eve represented. Then, as through Eastern influence she came to stand for the feminine element in the Trinity<sup>47</sup>—Father, *Mother*, and Son—she ruled as Queen of Heaven throned with God and Christ; Regina misericordia, powerful intercessor for mankind before the Rex iustitiae.<sup>48</sup> Thus she is given a place in some legends even at the Last Judgment, in many at the individual judgment immediately following the hour of death.

The other path started from the angelology developed through the apocalypses, according to which good and evil spirits contended for the soul as it left the body, and Michael was its protector. Michael, supreme defender, the archangel who

<sup>46</sup> Even in the simplest form of the Processus Belial the devil takes delight in basing his claim upon the Scriptures, which he has taken pains to bring with him. He gleefully turns to *Genesis* 2:17. In more developed forms of the Processus the citations from Scripture and law are carried to excess.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. R. Lansing: "The Thirteenth Century Legal Attitude toward Women in Spain, *P. M. L. A.*, XXXVI, 499.

<sup>47</sup> P. Carus, *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil*, London, 1900, pp. 148-149.

<sup>48</sup> Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14. The *Salve Regina* may have been written by Adhemar (†1080).

overcame Satan, gave place at length to Mary. Henceforth there is unceasing enmity between her and the devil, though her power always defeats his wiles. The devil in his subtlety naturally appeals to the law for aid and urges the claims of justice. Hence the frequent introduction of the juristic element in the scenes where he attempts to gain possession of the soul of a sinner.

But this juristic element enters also in disputes between Christ and the devil. The Last Judgment, mentioned above in connection with the Virgin, is the time not only for determining the fates of mankind, but for Christ's final overthrow of the devil whose power He had broken in the harrowing of hell. The enmity of the devil to Christ, intensified by this harrowing, was a favorite topic of discussion throughout the early centuries of the Church. It developed finally into an account of a suit wherein the devil brings formal charge against Christ for robbing him of his possession of mankind. In course of time the Virgin is substituted for Christ as opponent to the devil in the ensuing dispute; the result is the *Processus Belial*. Just as Mary had replaced Michael as protector of individual souls at judgment, so here she appears instead of Christ as defender of mankind as a whole.

It remains, therefore, to trace the origin of the connection of juristic discussion with ecclesiastical doctrine, and to demonstrate that this connection arose through the attempt to stamp out heresy in the church.

Legalism entered the Church very early. As Taylor notes: "The Western writings are distinguished from their Eastern kin by the entry of a juristic element filling them with a mass of conceptions from the Roman Law. They also developed a more searching psychology. In both of these respects Tertullian and Augustine were the great creators."<sup>49</sup> Harnack, also, traces to Tertullian "the growing subjection of all ecclesiastical questions to legal conceptions." "An immense task presented itself to the Church," he says, "to re-think the whole dogmatic tradition in the spirit of jurisprudence, to represent everything under the categories of judge (God), accused, advocate, legal measures, satisfactions, penalties, indulgences."<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, New York, 1914, p. 68.

<sup>50</sup> A. Harnack, *A History of Christian Dogma*, London, 1897, VI, 22.

A favorite topic, which originated in the Eastern Church but persisted in the Western, was the doctrine of Atonement<sup>51</sup> on the basis of satisfaction given to the devil for the loss of his right to the possession of mankind, a right possessed ever since the fall of man. This dogma, Roskoff<sup>52</sup> says, the Church owes by a curious irony to the very sect it so bitterly opposed. The gnostic Marcion, seeing in Paul's Epistles what seemed to him a radical antagonism between law and gospel, Old and New Testament, and more specifically between Christ and the prince of this world, conceived the hypothesis of two Gods; the just God of the Law, or the Demiurge, who is also the creator of the world and therefore the ruler of mankind; and the good God of Love, the Father of Jesus Christ.

Man, since he could not keep the law of the Demiurge, fell under his curse and cruel punishment. Him the good God pitied and sent His Son to redeem but in a visionary human body which deceived the Demiurge, who caused Jesus to be nailed to the cross, but thereby realized the plan of the God of Love and pronounced his own doom.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> There are three fundamental types of doctrine in the ancient Catholic Church: (1) the work of Christ as revelation (the Apostolic Fathers, including Ignatius, the Apologists and the gnostics); (2) Christ's incarnation, death, and resurrection viewed as the destruction of death and the endowment of immortality (Ignatius, Barnabas, and Justin); and (3) Christ's death presented either as a sacrifice to God (the Apostolic Fathers) or as a ransom from an opposed spiritual power (Marcion). See R. Franks *A History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ in its Ecclesiastical Development*. London, after 1911. p. 27. It is the third view which is here presented. I shall later discuss the other, more typically Greek view of the Atonement and its influence upon the West.

<sup>52</sup> Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Leipzig, 1869, I, 224-231. See for other accounts of the modifications of Marcion's views by his opponents Baur, *Die Christliche Gnosis*, Tübingen, 1835, pp. 272-275, Rödiger, *Contrasti Antiche. Cristo e Satana*, Firenze, 1887, pp. 5-26, Carus, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-234, and especially Franks, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27, 41-115.

<sup>53</sup> Tertullian (*Contra Marcion*, II, 2), a fierce opponent of dualism, utterly denies that the world belongs to a God of Justice, the Creator of the World. According to him the first manifestation of God is always a manifestation of Love. The manifestation of Justice follows only through man's sin. But the two are in such close relation that they can never be separated. Love created the world; Justice regulates it. Since the introduction of sin, Love and Justice work in closest union. Justice must attune her work to Love's in order that she may confer her gifts upon the worthy and deny them to the unworthy. It is this conception of the absolute union of Love, or Mercy, and Justice which Bernard develops.



The encounter between Christ and the Demiurge is expressed in the form of a dialogue resembling a legal contest by the fifth century bishop Eznik in his account of Marcion's system:

Christ entered hell and released the souls who wished to follow Him. The Demiurge in his rage tore his garments and the hangings of his palace and remained long in mourning, plunging his world into darkness meanwhile. Christ came down to earth a second time in His own God-form; seeing which divinity, the Demiurge for the first time realized that there was another God besides himself. Christ said, "We will have a contest together and no one else shall be judge between us but thine own laws which thou hast written." The laws were brought in.

Christ: "Hast thou not written in thy laws: 'Who kills another, he shall die; and who sheds the blood of the just, his blood shall in turn be poured out?'"

Demiurge: "Yes, I have written this."

Christ: "Give thyself now into my power that I may kill thee as thou hast killed me and shed my blood. I am indeed more just than thou, and have procured for thy creatures the greatest benefits." (These he enumerates.)

When now the Lord of the Creation saw that Jesus had conquered him, he knew not what to answer because he was guilty through his own law; for by Jesus' death he himself was guilty of death. He fell to pleading, therefore, and said: "Because I have failed and ignorantly killed Thee, not knowing that Thou wast God, I give thee for satisfaction all those who believe on Thee, to lead whither Thou wilt." Hereupon Christ left him, and revealed to Paul the price He had paid and sent him to preach that everyone who believed on Him was bought from the just God for the God of Love.<sup>4</sup>

This dialogue has great interest as an early "Conflictus Christi et Diaboli" in which Christ's opponent, although at first he is enraged over his loss of power, is forced to recognize the weakness of his position, and to seek a compromise. One should note also two smaller details: the outward tokens of rage and despair on the part of the Demiurge, and the fact that he is judged from his own book of laws. The first is a commonplace of the Processus Belial, and the second in so far as the fact that the devil's advocate is always expert in citations from the Law or the Scriptures, but never to his advantage in the end.

The teaching of Marcion was by Irenaeus, the peace-maker but at the same time the zealous opponent of heresy, promptly

<sup>4</sup> J. M. Schmid: *Des Wardapet Eznik von K  lb. Wider die Sekten*. Wien. 1900. Bk. IV, ch. 1. pp. 177-178. The manuscript from which this translation was made dates from the fifteenth century.

converted into orthodox dogma by translating the Demiurge into the devil who only through the sin of mankind had become ruler over the world and rightful oppressor of the human race. Irenaeus, therefore, first implanted in Christian doctrine the theory of the Atonement whereby Christ by His complete obedience to the law, even to the point of a non-resisting death upon the cross, redeemed man from the power of the devil, not by force but in accordance with justice. God, therefore, in the Incarnation revealed the union of mercy and justice. This conception of the redemption Origen was the first to explain with logical precision but also with no little casuistry. Christ by a laudable deceit met the devil's perfectly legal claim to mankind. He offered to the devil a ransom for humanity in the payment of His own soul. The devil accepted this offer only to discover that he had no power to retain a pure soul in his realm. Tertullian put into more juristic phraseology the same conception and St. Augustine accepted without question the doctrine as expounded by Irenaeus. Leo the Great, however, called the devil's control a "tyrannical rule" not justly his, while Gregory the Great wavered between admitting it as an actual right of the devil's and looking upon him as an impostor. Anselm in his *Cur Deus Homo* was the first utterly to refuse to the devil any rights over men.

Our search thus far has revealed in the apocalyptic a growing conception of a judgment scene, elaborate in ceremonial, in which an intercessor turns aside the accusations of the adversary and by passionate prayers for mercy secures a partial remission of a sentence imposed upon the condemned, in which also the balance is used, and in which there is considerable argument about mercy and justice. In the legends of the Virgin, Mary becomes the intercessor. In the writings called forth in refutation of Marcion, there develops an account of the outwitting of the craft of the devil and the rebuttal of his claim that in justice he should recover possession of mankind. With Tertullian begins a tendency to introduce juristic ideas into this discussion of the Atonement. In other scattered writings, the Church fathers discuss more fully the Atonement as a reconciliation of justice and mercy; while in the *Midrash* Justice and Mercy become personified. The apocalypses might develop into either the *Processus Belial*, the *Pistis Sophia*, or the earlier

debate between the Four Daughters; the Marcionite discussion, only into the Processus Belial but even this, we have seen, originated in a desire to assert the law of mercy as triumphant over that of justice.

### III

The mirror, turned so long to the past—to Hebrew apocalypse and Haggadah, to legend, and to Greek heresy and its refutation by the Church Fathers—may now be directed to the twelfth century to reveal the allegory of the Four Daughters as it emerges from a blending of these parts by Hugo and Bernard, revivers of mysticism and opponents of the new heresy.

Hugo of St. Victor, a great scholar as well as a notable mystic, availed himself of many of these phases of development. In his commentary on *Psalm* 84:11-12, he combined with the personification and dispute of the *Midrash* the passionate intercession and argument for mercy in the apocalypses and St. Augustine's doctrine of the effect of truth in inducing repentance and confession. In his latest work, *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei*,<sup>55</sup> Hugo assumed a position somewhat similar to Anselm's. In his chapter, "De Causa Litis inter Deum, hominem, et diabolum" he develops the figure of a case in court to which God, the devil, and man were parties. In this trial the devil was convicted of an injury to God and man in having seduced God's servant by fraud and held him by violence. Man also was convicted of an injury to God. Accordingly, it was decreed that he might be freed from the devil's power only through the advocate God Himself who would come to him in mercy and justice. In his commentary on *Psalm* 15,<sup>56</sup> which he cast in the form of a debate between Christ and Satan, Hugo did not go quite so far in denying the devil's proprietary right; on the contrary, he appears to embody ideas derived ultimately from the Marcionite dispute between Christ and His adversary.

<sup>55</sup> *Hugonis de Sancto Victore, Opera*, Venetiis 1588, Vol. III. *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei*. Bk. VIII, ch. 4. The same chapter is in Bk. II, ch. 8 of *Miscellanea* from Hugo's works (Migne, CLXXVII, col. 591-592) as a commentary on *Psalm* 9:4.

<sup>56</sup> Migne, *Patrol.* CLXXVII, cols. 596-597; for a reference to this debate in relation to the Processus Belial, see Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 and 56.

But Hugo has more love of the philosophy and mysticism of the Orient than of the legalism of the Roman Church. He is a profound thinker, a second Augustine and more. In other chapters of the treatise, *De Sacramentis*, Hugo presents in germ at least most of the ideas elaborated in later versions of the Four Daughters by Bernard and others. His influence as a teacher was enormous: hardly a monastery or convent was without one or more of his works. In these retreats two interests were growing apace—mysticism and the cult of the Virgin; while in the monastic schools juristic studies were being extended as a result of the sudden flowering of the study of law—first at Bologna but soon also in France—and especially as a result of Gratian's famous digest of canonical law in 1140.

It was, I believe, in a monastery where these three pre-occupations—mysticism, Mariolatry, and law, and especially the second—had developed that the *Processus Belial* was written by some monk who, without Hugo's scholarship, knew his works well enough to bring together from the three treatises above mentioned suggestions which enabled him to utilize the vogue of juristic dispute for augmenting the glory of the Virgin. As I have shown earlier, legends were not wanting from that of *Theophilus* onward in which Mary, either as judge or as advocate or by the device of the scales, defeated the devil's attempt to secure possession of the soul of a man, usually at the moment of its departure from the body. But though a trial scene is often mentioned, it is rarely developed. Hugo, however, supplied the juristic setting and also many arguments which could be used in developing a formal trial.

Perhaps the first instance of this development is a short treatise which is preserved in three manuscripts, one of which, MS. Phillipps 24377, is ascribed to the twelfth century;<sup>57</sup> the other two are of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The devil, enraged at having been outwitted by Christ and deprived of his control over mankind, demanded a hearing in heaven, but objected to accepting

<sup>57</sup> Schenkl: *Sitzungsberichte Wien Akad.* CXXIII, Abh. V, p. 14, MS. Bodl. 52; and CXXVI, Abh. IX, p. 71, MS. Phillipps 24377. Phillipps MS. is now in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek and its curator confirms Schenkl's date for it, but the Bodleian librarian tells me that the Oxford MS. is of the second half of the thirteenth century at least. MS. Lambeth 397, from which I made my abstract, is of the fourteenth century.

as judge the father of the accused. God asserted His impartial justice, yet yielded to the devil's request that the Thrones might be the judges. The devil then accused Christ of injury to heaven as well as against himself: (1) in having claimed equality with God, (2) in bringing death upon Himself by His opposition to Mosaic law, and (3) in carrying off those committed to the devil by celestial decree and held in peaceable possession over five thousand years. As for Christ's calling Himself a hostage for man, to whom did He present Himself as surety? His descent into hell was abject, not commanding; His conquest and escape, astounding. The devil, therefore, formally presented his written indictment against Christ and demanded the return of his stolen property, snatched from him by violence. Christ, by His duplicity and injustice, also by His failure to follow legal procedure, had put Himself beyond the protection of the law. The devil further defended his right by quoting Christ's own reference to "the prince of this world" and by the law of uninterrupted possession. In answer, Christ asserted his co-equality with God, denied to the devil any right to man except as warden under God, declared that He had paid for man the full price, and contended that His adversary in abusing his power had lost all rights. Though failing to tempt Christ, the devil had used violence against Him. The Mosaic law had been fulfilled in the New. Christ was justified in using force, which is always lawful to quell violence and against a robber or deserter. Such was the devil when he deserted from God's army, when he robbed man of his innocence, and when he continued to persecute mankind. His pretention to unbroken possession was unfounded; for that had been interrupted by Abel, Abraham, and many a patriarch and prophet. It was also vain to speak of length of possession before God, to whom past and present are as one. Hereupon the judgment of the Thrones was pronounced: The devil's plea was declared invalid from the very beginning; man never had belonged to the devil. The devil, therefore, was dismissed.

Here we see the devil's claim to the possession of mankind, which had been half asserted in *The Assumption of Moses*, implied in *Zechariah* and in various haggadic writings, assumed in most of the discussions of the Atonement by the Church Fathers, though denied by a few, and more fully developed by Hugo as a dispute between Christ and the devil, now formally presented before a court of law at which God officiates as Judge.

I hesitate, however, to accept this as a link between Hugo and the earlier versions of the *Processus Belial* for it offers a far closer resemblance to the later *Belial*<sup>78</sup> of Teramo in its direct concern through the greater part of its discussion with the attack upon Christ rather than the demand for the restoration of humankind, and it omits points which are in Hugo and the earlier *Processus Belial*. In Phillipps MS. 24377, as I am

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-68.

informed, this scene is included among the "Miscellanea" ascribed to Hugo himself, perhaps because of *Miscellanea II*, viii, *De Causa Litis inter Deum, hominem, et diabolum*, already mentioned. If the early date assigned to the Phillipps MS. can be accepted, we have in this treatise a most significant advance in the direction of a juristic treatment of the dispute, though as in Part I of Teramo's *Belial* its concern is mainly in the attack upon Christ rather than in the claim for mankind.

Another very early text, a sermon by Stephen of Tournai (†1203),<sup>69</sup> presents a scene in court at which the devil appears to accuse mankind though not, as in the version just presented and its antecedents, to make formal claim to the possession of the human race. Since the devil is given no part in the dialogue, this version lacks the interest of the dispute between infernal and heavenly powers found in the other versions. On the other hand, Stephen's sermon definitely unites two distinct conceptions: that of a court of law at which the devil appears as accuser and that of the heavenly consistorium at which the Daughters of God plead with their Father for and against mankind. In fact, Stephen of Tournai seems to have attempted a composite picture by harmonizing as many as possible of the earlier theories of the Atonement. When the controversy between Mercy and Truth results in the plan of the Incarnation, the meeting between Mercy and Truth of which the Psalmist speaks is interpreted as Mercy's emphasis upon the sacraments, of which Hugo had written, and Truth's intellectual guidance, an idea borrowed from the beginning of Bernard's sermon on *Psalm 84*. Moreover, the kiss of Justice and Peace is interpreted as that between bridegroom and bride, a conception which possibly was suggested by Bernard's teaching of the mystic union of Christ and the soul.

Though the author shows no little ingenuity, his execution is clumsy, even grotesque at times, and the sermon is long drawn out. The narrative is interrupted by comment and inter-

<sup>69</sup> Dr. Carleton Brown called my attention to the reference to this sermon in Migne, Vol. CCXI, and for a summary of it I am indebted to Mrs. E. C. Lyders. It is found in two manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Paris, No's. 61 and 239, pp. 13-21. Compare the versions cited in my earlier study, pp. 29-40, which offer points of contact.

pretation, and more than once turns back upon itself in summary of the preceding action or in minor repetitions.

Before a judge sitting on the judgment seat was brought a culprit. His just deeds when put in the balance were found wanting, whereupon he trembled miserably but had no chance for defense; for the informer pressed the accusation and the proofs of the witness were convincing. The charge was read, giving cause, place and time, and nothing was omitted from the formalities even to the recitation of the sentence to be pronounced. Executioners, torturers, and flagellators were at hand, and the sword was at the throat of the sobbing victim. Two virgins were present, daughters of the judge who were also his counsellors. Mercy was pitiful; the other, more severe, feared lest the prisoner's sobs might lessen his punishment. Moved by Mercy's prayers, the judge persuaded the other daughter to yield to her sister. They embraced and agreed to set the prisoner free. Two other sisters, also at the trial, kissed with rejoicing and celebrated the reconciliation by a festal day.

This was a vision and was really so. The judge is on high; the culprit, the first man and his descendants; the accuser, our ancient enemy who accuses our brothers day and night, or his own conscience since none knows better what is done in man than the spirit of man within him; the evil witnesses, memory; the book of accusation, that ancient contract of our mortality which Jesus did away with and nailed to the cross; the crime, treason against Jesus Christ, his prince; the time and place for the first man, Paradise, for his progeny—each man knows his own; the sentence, either the primal curse, or that to be pronounced at the Last Judgment; the lictors, Timor and Tremor; the four torturers, the four passions, Stupor, Furor, Error, and Dolor, which made Adam and his seed unfeeling, disorderly, ignorant, and wretched. Adam yielded to the woman through Stupor, became then disordered through Furor, hid himself from God through Error, and in his answer to the Lord subjected himself to Dolor. His descendants are led astray in like fashion. All mourn and cry for mercy.

God turned to his daughters Mercy and Truth for counsel. Mercy reminded Him of His promise that man should not die in his sins and of His wish that the sinner be converted and live. She offered to go to free the wretch from his torments, affirming that her sister could not be displeased at a fulfillment of God's promise, especially since the prisoner had already suffered double punishment for all his deeds. Truth declared, however, that God abominated the wicked and had vowed that they should be cast into outer darkness. She concluded with the assertion that God loved Truth no less than Mercy. God assented; but Mercy cried: "There is no number to Thy mercies, Lord, and it is the rule in Thy court that Mercy shall excell in the judgment." The culprit, trembling between hope and fear, added his voice to the discussion, crying for mercy, "For if Thou hast strictly followed Truth and noted our sins, who shall endure, O Lord?" God, to end the discord of His daughters and the groans of the afflicted, sent His son to save mankind and ordered that Mercy and Truth should go before Him.

As they were thus united, Mercy reminded Truth of the four torturers and, offering herself to rid man of the first and last, called upon Truth to free him

from the other two. Truth agreed but declared that they must summon to their aid in this work their sisters, the four cardinal virtues, and chose as likeliest to herself Prudence and Justice, leaving Temperance and Fortitude to Mercy. Mercy, with Temperance to aid, tempered the sloth and insensibility of men's bodies through the bath of baptism, so that man rising as if from the sleep of death put off the old and was transformed into the likeness of the New Man. With Fortitude's aid, she healed him of his wretchedness and gave him for support the staff of the cross. Truth meanwhile with Justice restrained the disorderly, and with Prudence enlightened the ignorant. The commandments she gave as prohibitory chains to restrain man from wrong or ignorance.

Since Mercy and Truth thus met, Justice and Peace must necessarily follow. Justice, rendering to each according to his works, has two boundaries, Condemnation and Absolution, which are like two lips with which she offers a kiss to Peace. Peace likewise has two such lips, Security and Tranquillity. From these four is formed the kiss which is desired as from the bridegroom to the bride. "However, this will never come about until the period of eternal bliss. May the Lord bring us to that bliss. Amen."

The interest in legal procedure shown at the beginning of this sermon is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that Stephen of Tournai, who had studied theology at Paris, canon and civil law at Bologna, later taught law at Bologna and wrote a *Summa* on Gratian's *Decretals*. The same interest is manifest in another sermon belonging to this early period ascribed in some manuscripts to Stephen of Tournai, but in the printed texts to his contemporary, Peter of Blois (†1200).<sup>60</sup> This sermon has so many points of contact both in incident and in phraseology with that just analyzed that one must assume the dependence of one author upon the other if, indeed, both are not to be assigned to Stephen of Tournai.

The sermon is based upon two verses from Psalm 93 (Vulgate): "Quis consurget mihi adversus malignantes . . . Nisi quia Dominus adiuvit me, paulominus habitasset in inferno anima mea." The preacher urges all to consider the time when God as paterfamilias and judge shall reward each in accordance

<sup>60</sup> Text in Migne, *Patrol.* CCVII, cols. 750-75, and LaBigne, *Biblioteca Maxima Patrum*, XXIV, col. 1144. For a summary and discussion of authorship, see L. Bourgain, *La Chaire Française au douzième siècle*, Paris 1879, pp. 214 ff. My attention was called to this sermon by E. N. S. Thompson in a review of my dissertation (*M. L. N.* XXIII, 233); but its significance did not fully appear until I compared the other sermon attributed to Stephen of Tournai. Though this sermon seems intermediate between Hugo and the *Processus Belial*, it had diverged along a path which led toward the form popular in Spanish plays, instead of directly leading toward the *Processus Belial*.



with his deeds while in the body. Each shall have his advocate in council, and the books shall be opened: "liber viae," the Scriptures; "liber conscientiae," the recognition of good and evil deeds; and "liber vitae," the book of predestination. There is profit in the study of this judgment.

"Statuamus igitur Dominum sedentem pro iudice, diabolum pro accusatore, hominem quamvis ex nobis pro causa, et ad consuetam iudicii formam . . . redigamus . . ."

This sermon contains obvious points of contact with the preceding in the description of the trial of the sinner. In the first, Mercy declares that her sister ought not to object to a fulfilment of God's promise that man should not die in his sin, especially since he has already endured punishment; and she replies to Truth's insistence upon her equality in the Father's love with the assertion that Mercy should excel in the judgment. Here, the devil declares that though mercy does excel in judgment, she could not object should justice punish one to whom mercy had repeatedly been shown but who persisted in sin. In the first sermon, again, when the sisters have met in reconciliation, Truth suggests to Mercy that the four cardinal virtues be invited to co-operate with them in the work of restoring man to righteousness. Here, the three daughters of the king are spoken of as the catholic virtues, and their first service is to man himself in bringing him to confession and instructing him in the sacraments. It would seem as if this sermon were the later work, not only because the points just mentioned give the effect of being reminiscences of the other, but also because of the greater amplitude in the treatment of the trial scene itself, and because of the introduction of the Virgin at the end.

Another trial scene, in this case of an individual soul, related a few years later by Caesarius of Heisterbach<sup>61</sup> presents certain resemblances to one or the other of these two sermons. The devil presents a three-fold argument; he is confronted by Virtues, all of whom, however, plead for the accused; and he is finally defeated by the Virgin. For when the good and evil deeds are put in the balance the Virgin turns the scales in favor of the accused by the weight of her hand. Though the

<sup>61</sup> Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-60. A variant of this is found in the *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CXIX, "De Assumptione S. Mariæ Virginis," §4 (ed. Graesse, pp. 514, 515).

differences are more numerous than the likenesses, this and other contemporary accounts of judgment scenes in which the Virgin saves individual souls from the devil illustrate a tendency towards realism, which is a natural consequence of the shift from theological to juristic discussion. In the earlier of these scenes the arguments continue to be presented by the Virtues, but later we see a tendency to represent the controversy as directly between the devil and the Virgin. This is effected by substituting the Virgin for Christ in the dispute between Him and the devil which has already been traced in the development from the Marcionite controversy to Hugo of St. Victor. These two treatises, therefore, together with the tale from Caesarius, supply the four elements enumerated at the beginning of this paper as components of the *Processus Belial*: (1) The enmity between Christ and the devil brought to a crisis by the harrowing of hell; (2) the contest between the devil's procurator and the Virgin; (3) the scales motive; (4) the debate between the Virtues.

#### IV

The author of the *Processus Belial*,<sup>62</sup> in effecting this combination (though not necessarily working directly upon these particular sources), fell into an error which, as Stintzing notes,<sup>63</sup> no real jurist would have committed, by bringing the accusation of dispossession against mankind instead of against Christ, and by making Christ the judge. "In every trial," says the devil's advocate, "there must be three parties: I am the complainant, you the judge; but I see not the defendant." This is a natural result of the Church tradition of the devil as the adversary of mankind; i.e., it is a theological rather than a juristic statement. The arguments given to Christ or to Mary in Hugo's commentaries on *Psalms* 15 and 84, are here put into the mouth of the Virgin, who calls herself the advocate of mankind. In this our author is repeating what had been done centuries

<sup>62</sup> For summaries of the chief variants see Traver *op. cit.*, pp. 50-54, 62-66, J. P. W. Crawford, "The Catalan Mascarón and an Episode in Jacob van Maerlant's *Merlijn*," (*P. M. L. A.* XXVI, 31-50), and Stintzing (*infra*).

<sup>63</sup> Stintzing: *Geschichte des Populären Literatur des Kanonischen-römischen Rechts in Deutschland am Ende des XV und Anfang des XVI Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig, 1867, pp. 260 ff.

before in *The Apocalypse of Mary*, only in this case the Virgin is substituted for Michael, who throughout the apocalyptic series had been the chief intercessor for mankind. Here too, as in the apocalyptic and the sermon ascribed to Stephen of Tournai or Peter of Blois, the judge is swayed, contrary to the juristic code, by passionate prayer for mercy and by the tears of the intercessor: the Virgin secures advantage less by her skill in argument than by her appeal as a mother when she bares her breast and reminds Christ of her devotion to Him. Her rejection of the appeal to the scales, commonly utilized to her advantage in legends of the Virgin, is quite in keeping with the fact that in the apocalypses where the balance is used, as in *The Testament of Abraham*, it is not always to man's profit. Other details suggestive of the apocalypses are the splendor of the court of tribunal, the hosts of attendant angels now choiring the praises of the Virgin, now joining her in prayers for mercy, and the inability of the devil's advocate to raise his eyes to her splendor. The three postponements of the trial may be a detail from folklore (by which indeed the apocalypses themselves have been influenced in their underground existence during centuries of suppression, as the medieval visions of judgment attest) but in *The Testament of Abraham* three successive trials are mentioned, the first under an Old Testament patriarch, and this feature Teramo's *Belial* adopts. Many of the arguments employed by the Four Virtues in the continuation of the trial in which they appear are those of Hugo's commentary on *Psalms* 84, and these I have elsewhere stated are strikingly similar to those put forth by Esdras. Finally, the introduction found in some versions of the *Processus Belial* wherein the devils discover that, deceived as to Christ's divinity, they have incited the Jews to His death only to find hell harrowed recalls the long series of doctrinal theses which Marcion's account of the discomfiture of the Demiurge excited.

On the whole the *Processus Belial* is far more theological<sup>64</sup> than juristic, though with juristic moments to give dogma a legal basis. The authors have shown considerable ingenuity

<sup>64</sup> The title of the version by Jacopo da Teramo, *Consolatio Peccatorum* . . . is frankly theological and the whole is a scholastic demonstration that Christ has actually conquered the devil's power; but all legal forms are carefully observed.

in adapting legendary, apocalyptic, and patristic material to their purpose of describing the method of conducting a trial. Later revisers have given weight by introducing numberless citations from canonical law. Some have written with the zest and dramatic skill of good story-tellers.

The Processus became immediately popular and gave rise to numerous adaptations and translations, agreeing in the main. Some truncate it at the beginning, many at the end. My whole difficulty and that which sent me forth upon the quest which has resulted in this paper is that the text which bears the earliest date and the one which is most complete and may, therefore, most truly represent the original are both Netherlandish rather than Latin, as I said at the beginning. These are the *Merlijn*<sup>66</sup> and the *Mascheroen*,<sup>66</sup> respectively. Though I seem to have wandered in a circuit which has brought me back to my starting point without having discovered the direct source for these two texts, yet I have, I believe, traced the path (and the by-paths) along which the developing allegory progressed, not merely in the juristic development of the Processus Belial, but in others, and by a closer study of several versions of the Processus Belial I have satisfied myself at least as to their relative priority.<sup>67</sup> To the earliest of these I now

<sup>66</sup> *Jacob van Maerlant's Merlijn: Steinforter MS.* ed. Van Vloten. Leiden, 1880. See Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-62.

<sup>66</sup> F. A. Snellært: *Nederlandsche Gedichten uit de veertiende eeuw, van Jan Boendale, Hein van Aken, en Anderen*, Brussels, 1869, pp. xiii-xxviii, 493-549. See Traver, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>67</sup> My conclusions, based upon a comparison of the texts available at the British Museum, are confirmed by an excellent paper by G. D. Huet, "Jets over Maskaroen" (*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal-en-letterkunde* XXVIII, 262-273), which I stumbled upon after I had completed my own comparison. Both Huet and Crawford (see above, note 62) were led to this study by my dissertation on the Four Daughters, in which I mistakenly referred to the Catalan *Mascarón* as a Spanish version. My error thus gave opportunity for two independent discussions of the problem. Crawford studies only three versions,—the *Merliin*, the *Mascarón*, and a Latin version which he calls *Ascaron*—and has no difficulty in demonstrating their striking resemblances, although his comparison is limited to that part of the action which is found in the Catalan version. Crawford concludes that the Catalan version is the oldest, and, through a lost French intermediary, was the source of the Netherlandish and Latin versions. This opinion, however, I cannot accept; for, as Huet remarks, it is not in accordance with the trend of literary development that a Netherlandish or Catalan version should be the source of Latin and

turn. They include: the two Netherlandish versions above mentioned; one in Catalan, *Mascarón*; one in French, *L'Advocacie*; and four, perhaps five, in Latin, which I designate, respectively, as *Litigacio*, *Placitum*, *Questiones*, *Ascaron* or *Processus Judicarius*, and *Belial*.<sup>68</sup> Only the Netherlandish and the French are in verse. The German translations and adaptations which I have seen I ignore, as confessedly later.

In 1261 Jacob van Maerlant introduced into his Netherlandish translation of Robert de Boron's *Merlin* an account of this trial to show a first attempt on the part of the devils to recover those souls whom Christ had released from hell before, failing in this, they sought through a supernatural begetting of Merlin to send into the world one who might, they hoped, regain their lost sovereignty over mankind. It begins, therefore, with the council of the devils at which it is determined

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French redactions. On the other hand, a Latin version originating in France may easily have passed at once to the borderlands, both north and South, and thus account for the early Netherlandish and Catalan texts.

<sup>68</sup> The largest number of texts in any one place which I was able to assemble for comparison were in the British Museum. There I found one *Placitum* (I.A. 49268) beg. "Incipit placitum habitum intergenus humanum tanquam reum et totum genus diabolicum tanquam actores . . ."; seven variously entitled *Litigacio* or *Processus Sathane* (C.9. a23; I.A.. 42441; 11868; 3907.aa.17; 505.a.1; 877.c.20; 1020.a.2); four which I, following Crawford, call *Ascaron* from the beg. "Accessit Mascarón" or "Accessit Ascaron" but which are actually entitled *Processus Judicarius* (I.B.5545) or *Libellus* or *Tractatus Procuratoris* (I.A. 18704; I.A. 18033; I.A. 18437); and two *Questiones* (I.A. 11837 and I.B. 29882) beg. "Incipit Bartoli legum doctoris processus contemplationis questionis ventilate coram domino nostro hiesu christo . . ."; besides the 1611 edition of the *Processus Iuris Ioco-serius* (244.1.10) which contains both the *Questiones* and the *Belial*. For copies elsewhere consult Hain, Grasse, Brunet, etc. To this list of Latin incunabula should be added two manuscripts in the Bib. Nat. Paris, and the Franco-Norman poem *L'Advocacie de Notre Dame*, (edited from a manuscript of Evreux which contains other documents dating from the first twenty years of the fourteenth century. A. Chassant edited only part in 1855, Paris, but M. Raynaud printed the whole in 1896, Paris), which has been attributed to Jean de Justice †1353, learned alike in theology, law, and the "gai science", but without conclusive evidence. Of the two manuscripts in the Bib. Nat., Huet, in the article above mentioned, has described MS. lat. 10770 fol. 189 and Haureau (*Notices et Extraits des MSS. lat. de la Bib. Nat.*, VI (1893) has printed MS. lat. 18216. These manuscripts seem to be nearest the *Litigacio*, while the *Advocacie* agrees with the *Placitum* in places where that differs from the *Litigacio*.

to send Masceroen, a devil especially gifted in sophistry, to demand a formal hearing before the court of heaven that he may prove that the devil has been illegally deprived of his possession, mankind.

In other versions, except *Ascaron*, this council is preceded by another at which the devils, bewildered by Christ's sinlessness, turn too late to the prophecies and vainly seek to prevent His descent into hell. The account then proceeds practically as in the *Merlijn*, though with more of argumentation in the Netherlandish, French, and Latin versions, and more of condensation in the Catalan. The latter breaks off abruptly in the middle of the action of the first trial with an invocation: "Deo gracias. Finito libro sit laus gloria Christo. Amen. Qui scripsit scribat semper cum Domino vivat." This abrupt ending makes it evident that we have here not an original but either a copy from some other work or, as I believe, a translation begun from a Latin text by a scribe who wearied of his task. Don Sol y Padris<sup>69</sup> says that the debate is completed in another Catalan codex from the Monastery Cugat del Valles but, as he speaks of only three contestants, I judge that the second trial into which the Four Virtues enter has no part in this Catalan version.

This second trial is lacking also in the French and Latin versions mentioned above. It appears only in the *Merlijn* and the *Mascheroen* and in the Latin version *Ascaron* which begins even later in the action than the *Merlijn* with the words: "Accessit Ascaron ad omnipotentis dei presentiam . . ." Of all the incunabula that I have seen or read about, this bears the earliest date, 1470. It is like the early Netherlandish and Catalan versions, moreover, in naming the devil's advocate Mascaron. Elsewhere he is more conventionally either nameless or simply called Satan or Belial.

Dividing the action, then, into three parts,—(1) an introduction in which the devils plan, through Pilate's wife, to hinder Christ's death and invasion of their domain, (2) the debate between the devil's procurator and the Virgin, (3) the continuation of the debate by the Four Virtues—we see that of the versions cited above, only the *Mascheroen* has all three,

<sup>69</sup> *Biblioteca Español*. LIX: 90.

while only *Ascaron* and the two Netherlandish versions have the third. Citations from canonical law occur only in *Questiones*, *Ascaron*, *Mascaron*, and the two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The versions which lack the third part have sometimes been regarded as representing the first development of the *Processus Belial*, but I think that my discussion of the relation of the *Processus Belial* to Hugo and apocalyptic literature has made it evident how essential a part of the trial is the controversy between Justice and Mercy even in these. The first demand of the devil's advocate, moreover, suggests a personification of justice, not a claim for something abstract: "Lord, where is Justice, who they say harbors in heaven?" This prepares us for his later insistence that Justice and Truth come to his aid. Further indication that the Four Virtues were present in the earliest version of the trial is noted by Huet who calls attention to the fact that in the *Litigacio* and *L'Advocacie*, both dependent upon an intermediate version represented by MS. 10770 in the Bibliothèque National in Paris where the same incident occurs, the devil, alarmed and enraged at the effect upon the judge of the Virgin's tears and supplications,<sup>70</sup> demands advocates but does not press his claim when the Virgin denies his right to "celestial advocates" and limits him to what infernal assistance he chooses to summon. This seems a clear allusion (even in this version) to the introduction of Justice and Mercy as participants in the trial.

The versions most expanded and most complete in legal chicanery and dialectic are doubtless also the latest. These are Teramo's *Belial*, written in 1381, the French *Advocacie* which more than any other exalts the Virgin, and the *Questiones* ascribed to Bartolus of Sassoferato, the most famous jurist of the school of Bologna. This ascription, however, has always been open to doubt. Not only was Bartolus too brilliant a professor of law to be guilty of the juristic blunder pointed out, but the date 1311, given at the end as that on which the sentence was passed against the devil, has often been noted as a proof against Bartolus' authorship, because he was not

<sup>70</sup> Huet, *op. cit.*, p. 269. There is from this point more or less variation in the several Latin texts.

born until 1313. That alone, however, cannot be regarded as proof, since the year named need not stand for the date of composition, as many have asserted. The author might have felt that he would gain credence for his work by dating it back. But if so, he was guilty of another slip. Earlier in the text the letter of credential which he presents bears the date 1354. In the other copy of the *Questiones* at the British Museum the date 1350 is used in both places.

I believe that the general knowledge of the *Processus Belial*, so variously named in its several versions, was derived from the fact that the *Questiones* was included in the first collected edition of Bartolus' works in 1590, and an abridged form included in the 1611 collection of humorous judicial procedures published under the title *Processus Jocosarius*. Of the three treatises printed in the latter this is the first, Teramo's *Belial* the second, and the third is unconnected with our subject.

It seems certain that the versions which best represent the original are those in which the advocate is named Mascaron or its equivalent, all of which except the manifestly incomplete Catalan version contain the second trial with the four Virtues and thus link themselves to my allegory as it developed through the apocalypses and Hugo's treatises as the culmination of long argument against heresy. Less certain is the priority among these four. Still predicating a Latin source for all of these, I am inclined to award it to the Netherlandish rather than the Latin and Catalan versions which insert juristic citations as authority for their statements, a practice which is developed to excess in the *Questiones* and *Belial* but is naturally omitted in the three poems. Of the other versions, the *Placitum* seems to me the earliest and best; but it may represent the corrected copy of the *Litigacio* which agrees most nearly with the two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, while the *Placitum* is nearer the *Advocacie*. Priority between the *Advocacie* and the *Questiones* is disputed and difficult to determine since their form and purpose are so different. Both seem late and highly sophisticated developments, but the *Advocacie* is in a manuscript which must have been written in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Teramo's *Belial*, on the other hand, did not appear until 1381, more than one hundred years later than the *Merlijn*. The tale related by Caesarius, nearly forty



years earlier than the *Merlijn*, seems like a perverted form of the Processus Belial due to oral transmission. Thus over a century, probably nearer two, went to the development of the Processus Belial itself, while my study as a whole has shown that its complete evolution carries us back more than a thousand years.

## V

Equally long in evolution is that other development of the allegory not along objective, material, and legal lines but subjective, emotional, and mystic, which resulted in the *Gesta* type, or mystical marriage group, of the Four Daughters. This demands too long a study for the present paper. I shall merely show how its origin, like that of the Processus Belial, goes back to apocalyptic and gnostic sources.

Gnosticism did not develop in Christian circles before the second century, but its roots lie in very ancient oriental dualism. Sometimes, as in Marcion's system and the later powerful Manichaeism against which Augustine struggled, we have the frankest dualism of two antagonistic worlds; one divine, one material. But in others and especially in Valentinianism and its derivatives, there is a strong tendency to monism and constant evidences of artificial compromises with Christianity. This is illustrated in the explanation of the derivation of the material world from the divine as a result of the fall of Godhead (variously described in the several systems) into the world of matter which, previously insensible, now becomes animated into life and activity—a combination of Christian and Platonic cosmogony. From this arise the more or less hostile powers who hold sway over the world. In the Valentinian system the generation of the lower worlds is a consequence of the sufferings and passions of the fallen divinity, Sophia Achamoth, who, finally purified by her sorrows, is redeemed and restored to the upper heaven by a union with her syzegy, the Soter. In like manner the souls of gnostics aspire to become brides of their angels. The gnostic, therefore, must lead a life having no part in the lower world ruled by evil spirits but by increasing knowledge, gained through mystic rites and formulas, must raise himself to the God of the world of light. In this we see the influence of the Platonists.

We have here a far more subjective religion than in the legalistic trend developed by Marcion's followers. In its insistence upon sin, repentance, and efforts toward reconciliation and salvation, one sees deeper meditation upon the problem of evil than is to be found in Platonism or oriental religions—an influence from Christianity. As Sophia becomes a symbol of the human soul, so the Redeemer becomes identified with the historical Jesus—the Divine Power or Primal Man (cf. the Son of Man of the apocalypses) who in several gnostic systems descends into the material world, sometimes from a Fall, sometimes as a hero who makes war upon and is partly vanquished by a hostile power, then ascends as victor, the savior of the Sophia and others bearing portions of the Light, or Gnosis. I omit conjectures as to the origin of the conception of the Soter and Sophia, an unsolved problem, but note that different phases of their stories remind one of the Sun and Moon myths respectively, of those of Psyche or Narcissus, and of certain Jewish theologumena concerning Ruach and Chokma Achamoth.<sup>71</sup>

Sophia's fall is variously conditioned. In one gnostic heresy she has sought in a frenzy of love to draw near the unattainable Bythos or Chaos and has brought forth through her longing for that higher being a son who, higher and purer than herself, at once leaves her and rises into celestial worlds. Then she forms another, Demiurgos (a late name of Platonic origin), on the model of him who has disappeared, the creative power in the lower world. In other systems the cause of Sophia's fall ranges from unbridled sensuality (cf. Prunikos or Helena) to

<sup>71</sup> President H. N. MacCracken suggests that the poet of *Psalms* 84 was inspired by a specific phenomenon, a spring thunder shower occurring at a temple festival. Back of the incident lies surely, he is convinced, mythical attributes of nature in the union of Earth, Sun, Rain and Vegetation, which were the common property of religious poets of Israel. Constantly one hears of the Sun of Righteousness, Showers of Mercy, Life (or vegetation) as Truth. Christ who said: "I am the Way and the Truth and the Life," also called Himself the Vine and was quickened into Earthly Life by showers of mercy. Thus *Psalms* 84:11-12: "Mercy (showers) and Truth (plant-life) have met together; Righteousness (the Sun) and Peace (Earth) have kissed. Truth (plant-life) shall spring out of the earth; and Righteousness (the Sun) shall look down from heaven." For the allegorizing of the Narcissus myth, see J. A. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato*, Lond. 1905, pp. 239, 360.

the deception practiced against her by envious lower Powers (cf. the *Pistis Sophia*). Her divine liberator is sometimes her brother, sometimes her betrothed, and again a Power whose connection with her is undefined.

The myth of the bride and bridegroom greatly influenced the practical piety of the Valentinians whose chief aim was mystically to repeat in themselves the celestial union. Their baptismal oaths and prayers sometimes show a remarkable similarity to the dialogue in some medieval versions of the *Gesta* type. One example must suffice; a formula of consecration which reaches us in a sadly garbled state yet inevitably but perhaps fortuitously recalls passages in St. Bernard's *Stimulus Amoris*, centuries later, and in many a medieval treatment of the mystical marriage deriving from Bernard:

I will confer my favor upon thee, for the father of all sees thine angel ever before his face . . . and we must now become as one; receive now this grace from me and through me; deck thyself as a bride who awaits the bridegroom, that thou mayest become as I am, and I as thou art. Let the seed of light descend into thy bridal chamber; receive the bridegroom and give place to him, and open thine arms to embrace him. Behold, grace has descended upon thee.

The most highly spiritualized conception of the union of the soul with its higher self is not that of the mystic bridal of the Valentinians, but of an identity even more absolute and single which is found in that justly famous Syrian poem, the beautiful *Hymn of the Soul*.<sup>72</sup> In this tale of the Prince who went down to Egypt to fetch the Serpent-guarded Pearl but was beguiled by temptors to forget his mission until recalled thereto by the living letter, sealed by the King's own right hand, we have an allegory of the soul sent from its heavenly home to earth, forgetful of its origin and mission until aroused by a revelation from on high, but finally reunited to the heavenly robe, its ideal counterpart, and admitted to the presence of the highest celestial powers. The Heavenly Robe or Heavenly Frame, which the soul puts on and off like a garment, reminds one of *Isaiah* 61:10, *I Cor.* 15:52-3, and *II Cor.* 5:2, yet the poem, though often closely akin to Christian conceptions, contains no direct reference to the New Testament. The comparison

<sup>72</sup> A. A. Bevan, *The Hymn of the Soul* (in *Texts and Studies*, V. 3). See also F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*. London, 1904, pp. 193-223.

of the body to a garment at which the soul keeps weaving may be an echo from Plato's *Phaedo*. The whole philosophy of the separation of body and soul as a release which one should welcome is reminiscent both of that Dialogue and of the myth in the *Phaedrus* of the soul which on entering the body loses its wings, nourished by beauty, wisdom, and goodness, and all that is divine.

First in importance for us through its use of *Psalm* 84:11-12 and because it is one of the very rare gnostic texts is the *Pistis Sophia*,<sup>73</sup> extant in a unique Coptic text of the second half of the third century but showing signs of being translated from an earlier Greek version. The title *Pistis Sophia* is misleading since the episode of the sorrowing Sophia occupies less than one-fourth of the book. Not Sophia but Jesus is the central figure. The whole setting is post-resurrectional:

Jesus, restored to His disciples, His mother, and Mary Magdalene on Mt. Olivet, explained to them the mystery of His incarnation, ascension, and final investiture in the triple Robe of Light. He described His conflicts with the Archons and other hostile powers of the twelve æons who knew not with whom they fought, and His discovery during His gradual penetration upwards through these æons of poor lonely Sophia mourning over her exclusion. That had befallen her as a consequence of her yearning towards the Light of the Highest and the deception practised against her by Self-Willed, jealous of her eminence and purity. Exiled below the twelfth æon in Chaos itself, harried and darkened, deprived of her consort, she lamented her error and performed the twelve-fold act of repentance whose prayers and penitential psalms fill the greater part of this section with mystical exegesis and allegorical interpretation.

In this "tragic myth" of the world-soul, it is taught that salvation and redemption come in part by repentance and renunciation of the world, its lures and cares, but above all by faith in the Savior, the Divine Light, and His mysteries. The chief topic around which the ethical teaching naturally centers is sin, its cause and purification, and the revelation of the mystery of the forgiveness of sins and of the infinite compassion of the First Mystery.

<sup>73</sup> G. R. S. Mead, *Pistis Sophia. A Gnostic Miscellany*. London, 1921. On the importance of this document in the history, not only of Christianized gnosticism, but also of religion in the West, see p. 50 and Harnack: *Über das gnostische Buch Pistis Sophia* (in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1891, vii:2).

I must omit account of the repeated attacks from the hostile emanations as her expiation brought succor to her, first from Gabriel and Michael, then from the Light Mystery itself, when from Jesus and the First or Highest Mystery two streams of light were sent down which united and enfolded her. Thus fortified, she trod underfoot the dragon emanations and rose to the unquenchable radiance of the Celestial aeon where, breaking into psalms of praise (from the *Odes of Solomon*), she passed singing out of the story.

From time to time during His narrative, Jesus invited His hearers to guess the meaning of what He had said. But Mary did nearly all the speaking. When Jesus related how He had sent out a light-power from Himself to help her while the First Mystery sent down another and the two meeting together became a great stream of light, Mary Magdalene interpreted this from *Psalms* 84: 11-12.

"Concerning the interpretation of this word, thy light-power hath prophesied aforetime through David in the 84th *Psalms* saying, 'Grace and Truth have met together, Righteousness and Peace have kissed. Truth sprouted forth out of the earth and Righteousness looked down from heaven. Grace is the light-power which hath come down through the First Mystery; for the First Mystery hath hearkened unto Pistis Sophia and hath had mercy on her in all her tribulations. Truth, on the other hand, is the power which hath gone forth out of thee; for thou hast fulfilled the truth in order to save her out of the chaos. Righteousness, again, is the power which hath come forth through the First Mystery which will guide Pistis Sophia. Peace, again, is the power which hath gone forth out of thee so that it should enter into the emanations of Self-willed and take from them the lights which they have taken away from Pistis Sophia—that is, so that thou mayest gather them together into Pistis Sophia and make them at peace with her power. Truth, on the other hand, is the power which went out of truth when thou wast in the lower regions of the chaos. Righteousness, on the other hand, which hath looked down from heaven, is the power which hath come down from the height through the First Mystery and entered into Pistis Sophia."

Theon Mary, the mother of Jesus, came forward and said: "My Lord and my Saviour, give commandment unto me also that I repeat this word." . . . "My Lord, concerning the word which thy power hath prophesied through David, thus hath thy power prophesied this word aforetime about thee. When thou wert little, before the spirit had come upon thee, whilst thou wert in a vineyard with Joseph, the spirit came out of the height and came to me in my house like unto thee; and I had not known him, but I thought that thou wast he. And the spirit said unto me: 'Where is Jesus, my brother, that I meet with him?' And when he had said this unto me, I was at a loss and thought it was a phantom to try me. So I seized him and bound him to the foot of the

bed in my house, until I went forth to thee and Joseph in the field, and I found you in the vineyard, Joseph propping up the vines. It came to pass, therefore, when thou didst hear me speak the word unto Joseph, that thou didst understand the word, and wert joyful and said: 'Where is he that I may see him; else I await him in this place.' And it came to pass when Joseph had heard thee say these words that he was startled. And we went down together, entered the house, and found the spirit bound to the bed. And we looked on him and thee and found thee like unto him. And he who was bound to the bed was unloosed; and he took thee in his arms and kissed thee, and thou also didst kiss him. Ye became one.

This then is the word and its solution. Great is the spirit which hath come down out of the height through the First Mystery; for it hath had mercy on the race of men and sent its spirit that it should forgive the sins of the whole world, and they should receive the mysteries and inherit the Light-kingdom. Truth, on the other hand, is the power which hath sojourned with me. When it had come forth out of Barbelo, it became material body for thee and hath made proclamation concerning the region of Truth. Righteousness is thy spirit who hath brought the mysteries out of the height to give them to the race of men. Peace is the power which hath sojourned in thy material body according to the world, which hath baptized the race of men, until it should make it stranger unto sin and make it at peace with thy spirit, so that they may be at peace with the emanations of the Light; that is, 'Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other.' As it saith: 'Truth sprouted out of the earth,' truth is thy material body sprouted out of me according to the world of men, and hath made proclamation concerning the region of Truth. And again as it saith: 'Righteousness looked down from heaven,' righteousness is the power which looked out of the height which will give the mysteries of the Light to the race of men, so that they will become righteous and good and inherit the Light-kingdom."

It is not unlikely that the *Pistis Sophia* may have furnished suggestions to the Catholic Church for its glorification of the Virgin Mary or it may itself have been influenced thereby. One sees points of similarity in the enmity of the evil powers against the Virgin, their complete vanquishment and imprisonment in chaos, "she treading underfoot the serpent-faced emanation of Self-willed and the other emanations," the radiant glory of her coronation in heaven, and the eminent power at the judgment of souls exercised by the Virgin of Light.

A bit of evidence which would seem to indicate acquaintance with this text on the part of Augustine at least, if not of others in the orthodox Church, is the close correspondence between his Commentary<sup>74</sup> on *Psalm* 84 and that offered here by the

<sup>74</sup> St. Augustine: *Ennarationes in Psalmos* (Migne *Patrol.* XXXVII, col. 1069-1081, esp. 1078-1079; tr. Nicene and Post Nic. Fathers, 1st Ser., VIII, 405 ff.).

two Marys. There is also a possible vague reminiscence of *The Hymn of the Soul*. Augustine had opportunity to know the gnostic documents both as a youthful follower of Manichaeism and later as a stalwart opponent of heresy. In most cases, therefore, where a possible echo might be heard, Augustine justifies his point by a direct citation from the Bible instead.

Of Augustine's famous treatise, the basis of most of the succeeding commentaries of this Psalm, I shall indicate such parts as approach the teaching of the *Pistis Sophia* and those utilized by Hugo or Bernard. In this sermon by Augustine, the next that I have found after the *Pistis Sophia* to stress *Psalm* 84 in connection with Christ's Incarnation, one sees the application to the words "Truth hath sprung out of the earth" to Christ's birth through a virgin which is presented in the *Pistis Sophia* and utilized by Ephrem Syrus even before Augustine and by Bernard and many others later. The emphasis upon repentance and long lamentations, the most noticeable trait of the *Pistis Sophia*, is again marked here and it is the motivating force in Hugo's allegory based upon *Psalm* 84. The interpretation of Christ's mission to earth as one to "turn away the captivity of Jacob," the captivity to the bondage of sin, is natural enough, yet, in view of these other reminiscences of the *Pistis Sophia*, it is significant that there, too, the mission was one of release from captivity and countless torments. The enumeration of mankind's inheritance from Adam as "that frailty of the flesh, this torture of pains, this house of poverty, this chain of death, and snares of temptation" suggests the four tormentors in the sermon by Stephen of Tournai and in the versions of the *Chateau d'Amour*<sup>76</sup> type. Another link with the *Chateau* and *The Hymn of the Soul* is presented where Augustine says:

Who would not rejoice if suddenly while he was wandering abroad, ignorant of his descent, suffering want and in a state of misery and toil, it were announced, 'Thou art the son of a Senator; thy father enjoys an ample patrimony on thy family estate; I bid thee return to thy father'; how would he rejoice if this were said to him by someone whose promise he could trust?<sup>76</sup>

<sup>76</sup> See Traver, *op. cit.*, 29-40.

<sup>77</sup> Augustine, in Nic. and Post-Nicene Fathers, VIII, 406, col. 2

Augustine's sermon offers a further possible reminiscence of the Valentinian doctrine, out of which the *Pistis Sophia* may have developed, in the identification of the Redeemer with the Bridegroom.<sup>77</sup>

Whether or not Augustine's correspondences are the result of acquaintance with the *Pistis Sophia* or Valentinianism, this heresy certainly did influence the Christian Fathers in shifting the interpretation of the bride in the *Song of Solomon* from the Church to the Soul. This we find in Origen, Tertullian, and in its purest and most attractive form in Gregory of Nyssa—though these may have gained it from the Greek philosophical notion that the divine spirit is the bridegroom and husband of the human soul.<sup>78</sup>

I cannot here enter more fully into the development of this conception but will merely mention Bernard as the connecting link between the earlier and the later treatments. His study of *The Song of Songs* led him before the image of the crucified Christ as the Bridegroom of the soul. In this picture he became absorbed. In his eighty-six sermons on *The Song of Songs* he "united the Neo-Platonic self-discipline for rising to God with contemplation of the suffering and dying Redeemer and released the subjectivity of the Christ-Mysticism and the Christ-Lyricism"<sup>79</sup> which became so marked a feature of religious poetry in succeeding centuries. Poems of the *Chateau d'Amour* and *Gesta* type illustrate one phase of it. Others appear in Spanish and Italian versions of the allegory of the Four Daughters. Some of these are closer to Valentinianism than to Bernard but derive from the latter their spiritual impulse.

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It is a curious fact and not a little startling that in the apocalypses, later condemned by the Jewish church, and in the gnostic heresies should be found so many of the narrative elements of this allegory, while its polemic is supplied largely

<sup>77</sup> Harnack, *op. cit.*, II, 295; in II Cor. XI:2-3 there is a Christian suggestion for the conception of the erring bride.

<sup>78</sup> Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, Oxford 1913, p. 188. See also K. Raab, *Vier Allegorische Motive*, Leoben, pp. 19-23; Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism*, Lond. 1922, pp. 138-42, 150, 160-7.

<sup>79</sup> Harnack, *op. cit.*, VI, 11.



by the arguments used in the first centuries of the Church by the Fathers in their controversial writings against gnostics, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries against later heretics. Among these figures Abelard, the brilliant logician whom Hugo and Bernard so vigilantly opposed. Marcion and the author of the *Pistis Sophia* are nearer to orthodox Christianity than most of the gnostics. They are like Abelard in their emphasis upon the mercy or love of God rather than His justice as leading to Christ's Incarnation. It is, on the other hand, a defense of His justice also, an insistence upon the necessity of an expiation for sin, which inspires most of the controversial writings against all heresy. One justification of the stern attitude of the Church towards beliefs which are often beautiful and deeply spiritual may be found in the tendency towards corruption and puerile exaggeration sometimes manifested by apocalyptic and gnostic writers alike. The allegories of the Four Daughters are usually free from this, but the sacrilegious tone often heard in the *Processus Belial* and the sensuous coloring sometimes seen in the *Gesta* type illustrate the danger to which such developments are subject. Neither, however, goes very far and the allegory as a whole is singularly free from the disfigurements which so often mar that other development of the theme of mercy against justice—the later legends of the Virgin.

Perhaps one may account for the comparative sobriety and purity of the versions of this allegory by the greatness of its theme, the eternal problem of justification and reconciliation which is the very centre of the theological system. As views changed from century to century, the allegory faithfully mirrored the shifting belief—a belief of too intense a significance for trivial treatment. In the earlier apocalypses and in the Marcionite and later legalistic discussions is reflected the popular idea of justice as a question of rights—either of the individual or of the group. In these we have to do with the balancing of conflicting claims, with matching offense, penalty and redress. Mercy itself is occasionally insisted upon as a right; in the earlier apocalypses as due to the Chosen People in spite of their sins, in Anselm and those following him as necessary lest God's plan in creating man be defeated, in the *Midrash* and many later versions as an attribute of the Lord which demands exercise. As opposed to these somewhat external

and almost mechanical conceptions is the idea of mercy embodied in the Incarnation of Christ not so much as substitute for man in satisfaction of the law of justice or in fulfillment of the sentence of death which God's truth demanded, but as a revelation of God's self to man, and as an example of obedience and love, thereby inciting man himself to repentance and confession and to a life devoted to contemplation of God and mystic union with Him. Such are the doctrines whose changes are mirrored in the allegory of *The Four Daughters of God*.

HOPE TRAVER

## II. BREAD OFFERED TO THE CHILD-CHRIST

The text printed herewith forms one in a series of nine Miracles of the Virgin which is preserved in MS 375 of the Bibliothèque nationale, folios 344<sup>r</sup>-346<sup>v</sup>, a manuscript of the late thirteenth century. It was my original intention to publish the collection as a whole, and Professor J. D. M. Ford kindly offered to print it in the Harvard Romance Series. The MS was submitted in August 1922, but it was afterwards discovered that eight of these miracles had already been printed by H. Kjellman in the Appendix to his *Deuxième Collection Anglo-Normande des Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, Paris, 1922, pp. 306 ff.<sup>1</sup>

Kjellman, in his edition of these pieces, offers no comment on their dialect, but it may be noted that all the miracles in this collection, as well as the other contents of MS 375, are written in mixed Picard and Central French.<sup>2</sup> In the following text, the Picard peculiarity, *c* from Latin *c* initial or post-consonantal before *e*, *i*, and *c* from the labialized consonants *cî*, *tî*, with the sound *tʃ* (Central French *ç*) is indicated by an acute accent (*ç*) when it occurs before back vowels or when final. E.g. *çou*, 4; *enfantçon*, 19, 30, 41; *tierç*, 44.

[fol. 344<sup>r</sup>, col. 2]      *Chi Commence d'un Petit Enfant*

UNE cités mult renomée  
Est sor le mer en la contree;  
3    Le noment li Tyois Espire.  
Çou est .i. lius, s'on le veut dire,  
Ki mult est rices et mult biaux.  
6    Li rius i est ades noviaus  
[col. 3]    Ki keurt encoste la cité.  
Mult est de grant auctorité

<sup>1</sup> In his text of *miracle* No. VI, pp. 310 ff., Kjellman has omitted several lines; the following verses, *Qui au pechié del tot tendoît./, Car nostre dame mult resoigne./, Mult est bien drois que je vous serve./*, should follow his vv. 125, 160 and 402 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Further discussion of the date and dialect of MS 375 may be found in the Introduction to the present writer's edition of *Amadas et Ydoine*, soon to appear in the *Classiques français du Moyen Âge*.

- 9 Li lius, ensi com jou vous di.  
Sor le riu est esparsé si  
La cités que je vous devise.
- 12 Enmi la vile a une glise  
Qui est el non Sainte Marie.  
L'ymage i est a cui on prie
- 15 De maint besoing asses souvent.  
.I. jor avint, mien essient,  
C'une dame i ala ourer,
- 18 Et si li plot o li mener  
.I. enfançon que ele avoit  
Por cou qu' ele le kierissoit.
- 21 La dame de devant l'ymage  
S'agenoilla si comme sage.  
Li petis enfes en sa main
- 24 Tint une leske<sup>3</sup> de blanc pain,  
Si en brisa une partie:  
Doner le vaut au fil Marie.
- 27 Il s'aproisma pres de l'ymage,  
Et si li dist en son langage:  
"Pape,<sup>4</sup> poupart, mangue o moi."
- 30 Li enfeçons se tint tot coi,  
Qu'il onques mot ne respondi.  
Et cil le destraint mult au cri
- 33 Qu'il de son pain prisist sa part.  
Sovent li dist: "Pape, poupart."  
Forment l'en cauce et le destraint,
- 36 Et en plourant sovent se plaint  
Qu'il ne veut prendre de son pain.  
Sovent li offre de sa main;
- 39 Sovent en crie et sovent pleure.  
L'ymage prist; plus ne demeure  
L'enfançon qui le sien acole,
- 42 Et si li dist ceste parole:  
"Poupart, ne pleure plus avant;  
Dusc a tieré jor, par mon comant
- 45 Porrés vous bien paper o moi."  
La mere l'ot; en grant effroi  
L'a mult ceste parole mise.
- 48 Ele encontra enmi l'eglise  
.I. viel canoine; dit li a,  
Et le miracle li conta.
- 51 Cil l'entendi mult sagement,  
Et a la mere dist briement:  
"Garde ton fil, ma douce amie,

<sup>3</sup> *leske*, piece, thin slice; Ger. *Iska*.

<sup>4</sup> *Pape*, 2nd Imper. sg. of *paper*. va., to eat.

- 54 K'après cel jor n'en aras mie."  
Fiebre a l'enfant tot embrasé,  
Si devia au jor nommé.
- 57 Avoec les innocens s'en va,  
Si comme Diex l'atermina;  
Et cil sires qui pas ne ment,
- 60 Sa promesse bien li atent.  
Le pain de boine volenté  
A bien rendu par carité,
- 63 Car el roiaume a compaignie  
U li plus rois a signorie.  
[col. 4] L'enfes l'enfant i acompaigne
- 66 Qui toute compaignie adaigne,  
Por çou que de bien naisce et sorge;  
Et se nus maus en li resorge,
- 69 Diex ne l'adaigne ne ne veut.  
Li malvais hom sovent se deut  
De son enfant quant trop s'i met;
- 72 Et cil qui bien s'en entremet  
Del plaisir Diu faire et sivir,  
Certains puet estre del merir.

*Chi fine de l'enfant qui son pain  
offri a l'enfant l'ymage nostre dame.*

Of this miracle there seem to be few analogues in French: Cf. Mussafia, *Marienlegenden*, V, p. 5, No. 17; G. F. Warner, *Miracles de Notre-Dame*, p. 23, No. xxviii, p. 65, No. lxvi. For possible Latin sources or analogues, see Mussafia, *op. cit.*, I, p. 929, No. 3, p. 956, No. 44, p. 962, No. 28, p. 964, No. 44, p. 969, No. 104, p. 972, No. 37, p. 978, No. 58, p. 983, No. 19, p. 990, No. 37; II, p. 40, No. 46, p. 49, No. 1, p. 63, No. 99b; III, p. 5, No. 11, p. 28, cap. vi, No. 7, p. 53, Y 3; IV, p. 4, h, p. 20, No. 12, p. 24, e, p. 28, e 12. See also H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, p. 623, No. 2, p. 627, No. 13, p. 682, No. 17, p. 694, No. 12, p. 695, Arundel 23, p. 705, No. 49. Mrs. R. W. Tryon has printed an English version from Harley MS 2380; cf. *P.M.L.A.* XXXVIII, 378, 387.

It may not be amiss to add here a brief bibliography of *miracle* literature. The following list is composed primarily of printed texts in French or of articles about such texts; other titles are preceded by an asterisk. No general bibliography of miracles is intended.

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JOHN R. REINHARD

### III. ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY

For the benefit of scholars who may conceive the idea of examining the Vatican collections in the hope of discovering hitherto unsignalled English manuscripts, it may be well to report upon the slender harvest reaped by those who have preceded them. Unfortunately, although the older Vatican catalogues, often incomplete and unreliable as they are, promise rich gleanings to the bold—and patient—the fruits thus far collected in the field of English literature seem hardly worth the labour expended in gathering them.

In *Archiv* CXXXVI, 35 ff., Dr. Karl Christ cites the Anglo-Saxon and English manuscripts known to him and his predecessors: two short Anglo-Saxon passages concerning charms against fever and hemorrhage in Reg. lat. 338; three other Anglo-Saxon fragments, one from Ælfric's translation of Bede's *De Temporibus* (Reg. lat. 1283), one from Ælfred's *Orosius* (Reg. lat. 497), and the beginning of a law of Æthelred II (Reg. lat. 946); and finally, Richard Rolle's *Psalms of David* (Reg. lat. 320—for some reason Dr. Christ fails to give its number).


The Regina collection also contains a *Collectio Vocabulorum quorundam* (Reg. lat. 1434) which was evidently presented to Queen Christina of Sweden by the author himself, Samuel Morland.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript, measuring 18 cm×13.8 cm is of paper and comprises some 50 pages, only half of which have been written upon, the rest having been left blank, perhaps for additions or exercises. On folio 12<sup>r</sup> occurs the word *Finis*. In the vocabulary proper there are four columns per page and 34 lines to the column. The text is carefully written in black ink with a plentiful use of letters of various sizes. The initials and embellishments are in gold. The pages are divided into columns, and the margins ruled off by red lines; red lines also serve, together with black and gold figures, as tail pieces. The title

<sup>1</sup> Under Samuel Morland, F. R. S., the Elder, the catalogue of the British Museum lists "A Specimen of a Dictionary English and Latin, compil'd by the late S. Morland, as propos'd to be publish'd by his son, S. Morland, London 1723." What relation this may bear to the dictionary made for Queen Christina I am unable to say.

page, the dedicatory poem and the addresses to the Queen and to Whitelock are elaborately decorated in gold, black and red.

According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sir Samuel Morland (1625-1695), diplomatist, mathematician and inventor, was sent in 1653 in Whitelock's retinue on the embassy to Sweden, returning in 1654, the year the Queen resigned. The poem on the verso of the title page evidently refers to the Queen's impending withdrawal from the throne.

Below the words *Collectio Vocabulorum quorundam* on the title page, we find:

Anglico 

On the verso of this page occur the following verses, written in black on a gold ground and enclosed in a circle which is inscribed Christina, Queene of Sweden:

O all ye y<sup>t</sup> passe by  
 Come here a while, & lend an ey!  
 Because y<sup>e</sup> shady *cone* dos now benight  
 The World, they feare y<sup>e</sup> Sun has lost his light,  
 Although I never yet did shine more bright!  
 O how I smile to heare and see  
 Those silly soules thus pittie Mee!  
 They feare the Serpent has once more beguil'd  
 A Woman plac't in *Paradise* to yeild  
 To his temptations, and loose the feild!  
 O how I smile to heare and see  
 Those silly soules deceiv'd in mee!  
 The pleasures of a privat life they call  
 Princes' *forbidden fruit*; (thus I and all  
 Mankind must perish by a *second fall*!)  
 O how I smile to heare and see  
 Those silly soules deceivd in Mee!  
 Dome think the *Phoenix* would not bee alone  
 And dyes, but so as to live (Two in One)  
 Again: But let the purblind world go on!  
 O how I smile to heare  
 and see  
 Those silly soules  
 deceiv'd in Mee!

Above the verses is pictured a world with a slight excrescence labelled *Suecia* on top of it. A "cone" points from *Suecia* toward a gilded sun. Below, is a picture of the phoenix.

The address to the Queen follows on the next page (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>):

Christinae Reginae Sueciae  
Serenissima Regina!

Non quidem in animo est Soli radianti faculam admovere, aut Serenissimae Majestatis Vestrae *Encyclopaediae*, nostras literarum quisquilias adjicere: (immo vero mundum hunc universum esse credo *hyperbolen mathematicam* Serenissimam autem Majestatem Vestram haud aliter atque ejusdem *focum*, in quo convenire intuemur nullas non, et artis, et naturae dotes). Attamen quando quidem *Serenissima* adeo *Regina* ad Linguam nostram Anglicanam addiscendam appulit animum; ego, Serenissimae Majestatis Vestrae pedibus advolutus jejunum hunc Vocabulorum catalogum humiliter, et supplex, afferō; in quo, veluti in speculo, easdem vocum species et ideas inveniat Serenissima Majestas quas prius ad aliis (quas ad amussim callet) linguis, habuerat animo infixas. Si caeptis hisce meis Clementiae Vestrae Favonius benigne adspiret, me faelicissimum gratulabor; sin minus, hoc mihi honori tribuendum arbitror, quod Tanta Majestas vel me *contemnere* dignatur. Utrovis fato gaudebit

Serenissimae Majestatis Vestrae

*cultor devotissimus*

Samuel Morland

Fol. 1<sup>v</sup> contains an address to Whitelock, and on fol. 2<sup>r</sup> the vocabulary proper, obviously designed upon pragmatic rather than scientific principles, begins:

"Vocabula quaedam Latina in *sio* aut *tio* desinentia, quae additione *n* fiunt Anglica. Ex: Abominâtio = Abominâtion, Absolûtio = Absolûtion (eadem scilicet pronuntiatione, et eodem accentu)." The list continues with Abolition, Abortion, etc. ending, fol. 3<sup>r</sup> with Visitation. Next come (fol. 3<sup>v</sup>) Latin words ending in *tas* which change *tas* to *ty* in English,—and so on. On fol. 8<sup>r</sup> are "Monosyllaba quaedam Anglica = Germanica," (where the peculiarities of pronunciation are many); on fol. 9<sup>r</sup> are "Vocabula quaedam Anglica a Graecis derivata"; on fol. 10<sup>v</sup> are "Vocabula quaedam Gallica = Anglicana"; and the vocabulary ends on fol. 12<sup>r</sup> with "Adverbia quaedam Gallica, quorum aliqua vertendo *eusement* in *ously* et alia reliqua vertendo *ement* in *ly* fiunt Anglica."

Ottoboni lat. 2987, a seventeenth century manuscript, is listed in the catalogue as "Elementi della geometria in lingua

inglesi con le sue figure piane e solide," but it proves to be written in Dutch or Flemish, not in English.

Of considerable interest to the student of mediaeval literature, however, is a manuscript of the *Fasciculus Morum* contained in Ottob. lat. 626. Mr. H. M. Bannister in "A Short Notice of some MSS of the Cambridge Friars now in the Vatican Library" (*British Soc. of Franciscan Studies*, V, 126-140)<sup>2</sup> includes this manuscript, without, however, giving any account of its contents and without referring to the fact that part of it is farced with English poems. In 1916 I mentioned its existence to Dr. Carleton Brown, who lists it in his *Register*,<sup>3</sup> and to Miss Yvonne Stoddard, who was then contemplating an edition of the work. Mr. A. G. Little gives some idea of the general nature of the English manuscripts in his *Studies in English Franciscan History*, Manchester, 1917, pp. 139 ff. (The Ottoboni manuscript is wrongly cited there as number 625.)

The Vatican catalogue of the Ottoboni collection gives as number 626 "Nicolai de Hanapo ordinis Predicatorum Patriarche Hierosolimitani Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis cui T'itulus Concordantiae Historiales. Inc. Frater predilecte." A small hand has written above the text, which begins on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, "fasciculus morum." This is the work of that name described by Little which treats of "vices and virtues for your comfort and the advantage of the simple," illustrating and embellishing its discussions with *exempla*, *narrationes* and English verses. It ends on fol. 104<sup>r</sup> instead of continuing to the last page of the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. this study for a description of the MS. It may be added that the MS is of parchment and that the pages average 29.8 × 19.5 cm., written in single columns each containing between 45 and 49 lines. There are 177 folios. (The MS has been accurately paged by the Vatican authorities since Mr. Bannister saw it, hence his references and those in the old catalogues are not all reliable.) The handwritings seem to belong to the fifteenth century; some are more careful than others, but on the whole the MS is written in a hurried style with many abbreviations and a general crowding of the text. The English words are sometimes, but not always, underscored; occasionally beside them in the margin is written *Ang.*

Mr. Bannister's study also mentions various MSS having English glosses or notes. To these may be added Pal. lat. 1963 which has a few English marginalia.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, I, 522; II, 6, 422.

manuscript, as the catalogue and others following it seem to have assumed.<sup>4</sup>

Only in this part of the manuscript is English to be found, but I include a description of the rest of its contents for the sake of completeness. On fol. 105<sup>r</sup> a small hand has written "hic incipiunt sermones fasciculi morum" which begin with a sermon for *Domenica prima Adventus* and end on fol. 116<sup>v</sup>. The *sermones* are followed on fol. 117<sup>r</sup> by a *Natura rerum* which, however, is designated simply as "liber secundus" by the small hand writing above the text. This begins: "Julius Solinus dicit quod aquila," and contains the statements of many authors concerning various members of the animal kingdom, arranged in approximately alphabetical order. It ends on fol. 130<sup>r</sup> followed by "Explicunt natur. rer. et incipit tabula de eodem." A marginal note "liber secundus" occurs on this folio. The table ends on fol. 131<sup>v</sup>.

On fol. 132<sup>r</sup> the small hand writes "liber tertius" and the text begins: *Mirabiliter natus est Ysaac*. This work has given the manuscript its title in the Ottoboni catalogue for it is an abridged version of the *Virtutum Vitiorumque Exempla* by Nicolaus de Hannapes. It ends on fol. 172<sup>v</sup> with the words "ad vitam quam nobis concedat. Amen. Explicunt concordantie historiales et cetera compilate a fratre Nicholao de Sanapis [!] ordinis fratrum predicatorum patriarcha Jherosolomitano et incipit tabula de eodem." The table ends on fol. 177<sup>r</sup> with the words "Explicit tabula fasciculi morum," showing that one scribe at least thought the various parts of the manuscript belonged together. Unfortunately, I have had no opportunity of examining the English manuscripts of the *Fasciculus Morum* and do not know whether the sermons, the *Natura Rerum* and the work of Nicolaus de Hannapes ever accompany it in those manuscripts. It is evident that an edition of the work would be much appreciated. As Mr. Little points out, its *exempla* and *narrationes* are often homely stories of the day and would provide considerable material for the study of contemporary history and manners.

GRACE FRANK

<sup>4</sup> This fact doubtless accounts for the catalog's ascription of the work to Nicolaus de Hannapes, who is responsible for the last part of the MS only. At the bottom of fol. 104<sup>r</sup> the name *Holkote* occurs, but I have been unable to identify the following sermons as Robert Holkote's work.

#### IV. ALBRECHT VON HALLER AND ENGLISH PHILOSOPHY

Current assumptions of scholars in the field indicate little argument against the view of Georg Bondi that the philosophy of the poems of Albrecht von Haller is taken from the philosophy of Shaftesbury. My own examination of the evidence convinces me that this opinion is fallacious. In an effort to indicate the sources of Haller's philosophical poems I shall make a fresh survey of the situation.

##### I

Albrecht von Haller was born October 16, 1708, at Berne of a "separatist" family, a precocious child who wrote poetry at the age of twelve. From 1721-22 he attended the Gymnasium at Berne, where he seems mainly to have studied the standard Latin authors, finding for the pathos of Virgil a lasting admiration. In 1722 he became a doctor's assistant in Biel, for the boy had given up theology for medicine, and as if to mark his severance with the past he became, under the tutelage of the doctor (one Neuhaus), an adherent, and later a violent opponent of, Cartesianism.<sup>1</sup> He entered the University of Tübingen in 1723, where he was much impressed by the metaphysical faculty, notably by Georg Bernhard Bilfinger,<sup>2</sup> a follower of Leibniz and Wolff.<sup>3</sup> On a botanizing expedition with Duvernay,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Haller writes in 1772: "Bequemere Sternrohre, rundere Glastropfen, richtigere Abtheilungen eines Zolles, Sprizen und Messer thaten mehr zur Vergrößerung des Reiches der Wissenschaften, als der schöpferische Geist des des Cartes, als der Vater der Ordnung Aristoteles, als der belezene Gassendi." Hirzel, *Albrecht von Haller's Gedichte*. Einleitung, p. xi, note 2. Referred to hereafter as Hirzel.

<sup>2</sup> Hirzel, pp. xvi, xvii. "Ueberhaupt," writes Haller, "an guten Köpfen ist hier kein Mangel, massen in metaphysicis und andern hohen Wissenschaften neben Hrn. Bülfinger noch mehr waren, die auch in Engelland mit höchstem Recht wegen ihrer Tiefsinnigkeit würden berühmt gewesen sein." Bilfinger was with Wolff, an ardent Leibnizian.

<sup>3</sup> Hirzel, p. xvi, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> J. Georg Duvernay, Professor of Anatomy and Botany, and a friend of Bilfinger's.

one of the faculty, Haller shrewdly observed (and this is of some consequence) that Württemberg would be happier "wann nicht zur Lustbarkeit des Fürsten so viel grosse Wälder und darinn eine Menge Thiere behegt würden," and Hirzel would have us believe that he was moved to compose the following verses:

Ach! unglückseliges Volk, inmitten von dem Glücke,  
Was die Natur dir giebt, das raubt dir dein Geschicke!  
Die Aehren göldnes Meer, das auf dem Lande schwimmt,  
Ist dir zu Mühe nur, dem Prinz zum Nutz bestimmt.  
Du seufzest bei dem Pflug, er raubt, was du erschwitzet,  
Du hungerst in dem Gut, das ein Tyrann besitzt,  
Und siehst, wie Tantalus, das Essen dir am Mund  
Und in die Lüfte gehn, etc.<sup>6</sup>

Bilfinger and Duvernay went to St. Petersburg in 1725. In consequence of a scrape, Haller left Tübingen for Holland, where Locke had taken refuge, where Spinoza had found peace, and where Shaftesbury had twice (1698-99 and 1703-04) sojourned in search of health. Haller was delighted with the faculty of the school at Leyden, which included Gerhard Noodt, the friend of Boerhave, von s'Gravezande, a disciple of Newton, the great Boerhave himself, and Albinus. Boerhave was an enthusiastic admirer of Newton and equally an enemy of Spinoza's philosophy. Hirzel writes that Haller "in philosophischer und religiöser Beziehung stark von ihm beeinflusst wurde."<sup>6</sup> On 23 May, 1727, he was made a doctor of medicine. In July of that same year he went to London.

The journey to England (like all his previous wanderings) is preserved for us in the *Tagebücher seiner Reise nach Deutschland Holland und England, 1723-1727*.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps its most striking characteristic is Haller's complete ignorance of English,<sup>8</sup> a lack which necessarily cut him off from contact with English

<sup>6</sup> Hirzel, p. 227; they were written between December, 1723, and April 1725. They are not included in the Kürschner *Auswahl* (v. 41, Deutsche National Literatur).

<sup>7</sup> Hirzel, p. xxxv. Boerhave's dissertation, *De distinctione mentis a corpore* (1689) attacked Epicurus, Hobbes, and Spinoza.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. by Hirzel, Leipzig, 1883.

<sup>9</sup> Hirzel, p. xxxix.



literature and English society at that time.<sup>9</sup> However, he did what he could. On 28 July, 1727, he visited "My Lord Viscount Tauenshend."<sup>10</sup> The next day he met Weiss, a Swiss, and Des Maiseaux, a former minister and a Frenchman and a friend of St. Evremont's, who had, he notes, the works of Leibniz, Clarke, and Newton in his library. Unfortunately Des Maiseaux was visited by almost nobody. Yet Haller learned through him of the literary achievements of "Mr. de St. Hyacinthe," author of *Le Chef d'Oeuvre d'un Inconnu*, as well as of Fox (De Foe?) author of *Robinson*.<sup>11</sup> He visited the Turkshead Coffeehouse and remarked on the newspapers which contained not only news, but notices of new books, and he wondered at the "tiefsinnigen und spitzfündigen Engelländer" quarreling over politics.<sup>12</sup> On the 31st he bought some books, which were, he says, well printed and well proofread, but he is writing many years later, and there is no reason to assume that he then read the volumes in question.<sup>13</sup> And under the same date he makes a series of observations on English literature, none of which indicates much knowledge of the state of polite letters in Great Britain.

The English, he says, are unsurpassed in law (they have their own law, not the Roman jurisprudence of Germany); and in natural science, mathematics, and metaphysics. All this is due to the wealth of the country, good government, the honorable station of the learned, the thoughtful nature of the Englishman, and the honor given to sciences. The work of Newton, Clarke, and Leibniz is known to the queen. He has stood thoughtfully by Newton's grave (the great scientist had died in the preceding March) and meditated, we may assume, on the vanity of man. He mentions by name Wallis, Newton, Hawkesbee, Keil, Desaguliers, Raphes, Pemberton, Clarke, as distinguished scholars—all of them, be it noted, strong

<sup>9</sup> The contrast with Hagedorn, who visited London two years later after a careful preparation in the language, is to be remarked. See Coffman, *The Influence of English Literature on Friedrich von Hagedorn*, Modern Philology vol. xii, no. 5, pp. 313-323. "... there is no doubt," she writes, "that [Hagedorn] was early familiar with contemporary English literature" (i.e., in 1729).

<sup>10</sup> *Tagebücher*, p. 126.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-3.

Newtonians<sup>14</sup>—with whose work his studies must in many cases have made him familiar. Of English poets he thinks less; their language is harsh and metallic, their rime predominantly masculine; in tragedy they have done little except *Cato*, but in satire they have no lack: “ganz neue und von andern Völkern nie berührte Länder, und solche Einsichten in das wahre Wesen der Sachen, die mann sonst nirgend findt.”<sup>15</sup> But they must learn from other lands, notably France, even though they possess a *Spectator*, a *Hudibras*, and the poems of Rochester and Swift.

This is the whole extent of Haller's observation of English literature except that *Hudibras* deals with the Puritans.<sup>16</sup> Obviously, however curious Haller may have been about letters in Great Britain, he does not know much about them. He does not mention Shakespeare, though Voltaire, who was in England from 1726-28, devoted much space to that dramatist in the *Lettres Philosophiques sur les Anglais*. He does not mention Milton. He does not mention Pope. He does not mention Shaftesbury, whose work was accomplished in 1713. He does not mention Thomson, whose *Winter* appeared in 1726. He *does* mention metaphysicians who are deists, like Clarke, mathematicians like Newton and Wallis, astronomers like Keil, satirists like Butler—in short a generation of sceptics, scientists, and scoffers. It is hard to believe that such a man, the brilliant and precocious student of physical science, the product of two or three universities, the protégé of deists and Leibnizians, is to adopt into German verse the ideas of a sentimental Platonist like Shaftesbury.

After some months Haller settled in Basel in 1728, where he studied at the University under J. R. Mieg, J. R. Zwinger, and above all, Bernouilli, who taught him calculus and aroused in him a passionate admiration. He wrote in 1740: “Excitabit me amor praeceptoris quem et cum eo Joh. Bernouillium me audisse senex olim, siquidem annos Deus concedet, non absque animi innocente elatione narrabo discipulis.”<sup>17</sup> And he wrote

<sup>14</sup> Hirzel, p. xli, notes 1-6.

<sup>15</sup> *Tagebücher*, pp. 132-134.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>17</sup> Dedication to the *Boerhaveschen Institutiones*, quoted in Hirzel, p. xlix note 1.

to a friend: "Leibnitz war ein Columbus, der einige Inseln von seiner neuen Welt erblicket hatte, aber ein Newton, ein Bernouilli sind geboren gewesen, die Bezwingen derselben zu sein."<sup>18</sup> Bernouilli, "one of the first mathematicians of a mathematical age," was "blind to the excellence of Sir Isaac Newton," yet "gave full praise to Leibniz and Leonhard Euler," and his correspondence with Leibniz has been preserved.<sup>19</sup> Stähelin, to whom Haller dedicated the *Gedanken über Vernunft, Aberglauben und Unglauben*, urged our poet to do for German poetry what had been done in English verse—namely, to write philosophical poems. In this enterprise he was encouraged by Bernouilli and K. F. Drollinger, men who united an innocent enthusiasm for botany with a belief in the form and matter of English verse.<sup>20</sup> Haller learned English; Stähelin introduced him to Shaftesbury<sup>21</sup>; gave him a copy of Shaftesbury's works in 1732; and in 1734 introduced him to the *Essay on Man*.<sup>22</sup> Stähelin, who wrote English verses himself, knew English better than he did German, and wrought a complete change in Haller's views of art.

In the preface to the fourth edition of his poems Haller speaks of his interest in English as due to his friends, and continues:

Ich hatte indessen die englischen Dichter mir bekannter gemacht, und von denselben die Liebe zum Denken, und den Vorzug der schweren Dichtkunst angenommen. Die philosophischen Dichter, deren Grösse ich bewunderte, verdrangen bald bey mir das geblähte und aufgedunsene Wesen des [sic!] Lohensteins der auf Metaphoren wie auf leichten Blasen schwimmt.

His new art is "viel mindre Gedanken in viel mindre Zeilen gebracht zu haben." "Ein Dichter," he continues, "muss Bilder, lebhaftte Figuren, kurze Sprüche, starke Züge und unerwartete Anmerkungen auf einander häuffen oder gewärtig

<sup>18</sup> Hirzel, p. xlix.

<sup>19</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, v. iii, p. 804. There are two volumes of the Leibniz-Bernouilli correspondence under the title *Gul. Leibnitii et Johannis Bernouilli Conuersium Philosophicum et Mathematicum*. Leibniz was instrumental in securing for Bernouilli a gold medal from the King of Prussia.

<sup>20</sup> Hirzel, pp. xlix-lit.

<sup>21</sup> In 1730. Hirzel, p. liii, note 2.

<sup>22</sup> Hirzel, p. liv, and p. 44, note 17.

sein dass man ihn w~~e~~glegt." <sup>23</sup> Hirzel is of the opinion that his resolution to write à l'Anglaise dates from 1728. <sup>24</sup>

And Hirzel continues significantly:

so war es ganz natürlich, dass solche neue Dichtungen auch inhaltlich sich den Gedankenkreisen näherten, in welchen die englischen Poesien, die er kannte und hochschätzte, sich bewegten. Haller war diesen Gedankenkreisen, welche der namentlich von England ausgegangene neue Aufschwung der Wissenschaften erzeugt hatte, durch seine Studien, durch seinen Aufenthalt in Holland und England, durch einen starken Zug seines eigenen Geistes schon lang zugeführt worden. <sup>25</sup>

Obviously this language can not refer to Shaftesbury; it must refer to Clarke and Newton and the disciples of Leibniz in England. <sup>26</sup> He now made the acquaintance of Hobbes and Mandeville, and all this new illumination led him to think, to compose, and to publish.

In 1728 he wrote for Peter Giller's doctorate *Ueber die Ehre*, in which he paraphrased sentences from Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*. In 1729 *Die Alpen* saw the light, a work influenced by Muralt's *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français et sur les Voyages* (1725), which, before Rousseau, praises simplicity and the pleasures of the state of nature. <sup>27</sup> In the winter of 1728-29

<sup>23</sup> *Versuch Schweizerischer Gedichte, vierte vermehrte und veränderte Auflage* . . . Göttingen, 1748, pp. 5-10, and in Hirzel, pp. 248-249.

<sup>24</sup> Hirzel, p. lv. One can not agree with Mrs. Coffman that Hagedorn "was the first German writer who was able to reject the lumbering diffuseness of contemporary German literature and to imitate successfully Pope's compactness of style." (*Op. cit.*, p. 180) Haller's *Die Alpen* was composed in 1729; Hagedorn's visit to England took place in that same year, but his poems, even though written in 1729, did not appear until 1750. In the meantime Haller's mastery of the line in *Die Alpen* is evident to any who will read.

<sup>25</sup> Hirzel, p. lvi.

<sup>26</sup> Note that in dedicating his *Enumeratio methodicus Stirpium Helvetiae indigenae* (1742) to the Prince of Wales, he praises Englishmen for being distinguished in science. After a sentence on Bacon he continues. "Nata est et floret in Britannia paulo seculo junior illa societas cujus ideam meditatus erat parens melioris philosophiae, Geometria, Algebra, Mechanica, Chemia experimenta difficillima et impediosissima conspiraverunt in restaurationem Physices. Dedit orbi Newtonum Providentia, qui doceret, quantum humanum ingenium posset in inveniendis, et limites figeret ultra quos nihil posteris sperandum esset." (My italics.) Praise of Newton can go no higher. Hirzel, p. lvi, note 1.

<sup>27</sup> There is a French and an English edition in the University of Chicago library; and a copy of the French edition in the Newberry library. I suspect

Haller returned to Basel as a teacher of anatomy, devoting his leisure hours to botany and poetry.<sup>28</sup> The same year saw the completion of the *Gedanken über Vernunft, Aberglauben und Unglauben*, confessedly written in emulation of the English, though composed to disprove Stähelin's view that German was inferior to English.<sup>29</sup> The next year came *Die Falschheit menschlicher Tugenden*, equally English in its method. *Die Verdorbenen Sitten* followed in 1731; *Der Mann nach der Welt* in 1733; and *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels* in 1734, with which poem Haller's poetic career practically closes.

The remainder of Haller's amazing life falls outside this study. His researches in botany and anatomy; his seventeen years in the University of Göttingen (1736-53); the fecundity of his writings (including some 12,000 articles in his magazine, *Die Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*) his return to Berne; his philosophical romances; his controversies with Voltaire and Condillac and the materialists; and his death, December, 1777, can be mentioned only briefly. One notes, however, that "he warmly interested himself in most of the religious questions, both ephemeral and permanent, of his day; and the erection of the Reformed Church in Göttingen was mainly due to his unwearied energy."<sup>30</sup>

## II

Let us now examine the four main philosophic poems which Haller has left us, to determine, if possible, the general drift of his philosophic attitude in his earlier life.

*Die Alpen* (1729) opens with a statement in poetic terms that happiness is not to be found in the exotic (1-10).<sup>31</sup> Rather the worth of things is found to consist in what we get out of them;<sup>32</sup> for which reason shepherds and kings are equal before the bar

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that this reading also bore fruit in Haller's romance, *Alfred, König der Angelsachsen* (1773), based on a Latin history by Joh. Spelman. There is an English translation of Haller's book in the Newberry library, and two German editions at the University of Chicago.

<sup>28</sup> Hirzel, p. lxvi.

<sup>29</sup> See Haller's introductory note, Hirzel, p. 43.

<sup>30</sup> Life, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xii, 855-856.

<sup>31</sup> Vv. 1-10 are not in the first edition.

<sup>32</sup> "Der Dinge Werth ist das, was wir davon empfinden" (v. 13). Hirzel, p. 21.

of good fortune (11-20). The golden age was indeed golden, for man did not then mistake superfluity for contentment, nor had gold and covetousness been discovered (21-30). These reflections lead the poet to meditate on the state of Switzerland, to which fate, denying it the climate and the clime of the Saturnian era, yet gave the gift of Saturnian manners, for there, and there only, is simplicity found, and life is ruined when (as at Rome) simplicity disappears (31-50).<sup>33</sup> The poet then contrasts the simplicity of the Swiss with the corruption of more famous lands and ages: here is the true golden age,<sup>34</sup> here is a natural democracy of labor<sup>35</sup> (51-80). Then follows an attack on the learned for not realizing wherein true wisdom consists—the wisdom of the heart (81-90).<sup>36</sup> In contrast to this error, we are asked to observe the placidity and contentment of Swiss life,<sup>37</sup> and the simplicity of Swiss ways (91-120). Why has Switzerland preserved this golden simplicity? Because nature, and nature alone, gives law to human life among the Alps (121-130); the emotions are pure and unfettered by social conventions (131-150), in support of which thesis Haller instances a typical betrothal and praises the chastity of the Swiss marriage bed (150-160).<sup>38</sup> These idyllic scenes, drawn, we are assured, from life,<sup>39</sup> are contrasted with the artificial manners of the busy world (161-170). Abandoning this theme, the poet now presents us with a genre picture of herding, reminding one of Schiller and the Kuhreihen (171-200), and of summer life in the Alps (201-210). He follows this with an autumn scene, in which he praises the temperance of the Swiss (211-250); and

<sup>33</sup> "So lang die Einfalt dauert, wird auch der Wohlstand währen" (v. 50)

<sup>34</sup> "Was Epictet gethan und Seneca geschrieben  
Sieht man hier ungelehrt und ungezwungen üben." (vv. 69-70.)

<sup>35</sup> "Die Arbeit füllt den Tag und Ruh besetzt die Nacht;  
Hier lässt kein hoher Geist sich von der Ehrsucht blenden." (vv. 74-75)

<sup>36</sup> "O Witz! des Weisen Tand, wann hast du ihn vergnügt?  
Er kennt den Bau der Welt und stirbt sich unbekannt!" (vv. 85-86)

<sup>37</sup> "Heut ist wie gestern war und morgen wird wie heut" (v. 94). The beauty of innocent love (a theme sounded again in *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels*) is no small part of the picture. See vv. 105-106; 129-130; 131-160, as noticed in the text.

<sup>38</sup> I suggest that Milton has influenced this passage as well as *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels*, Bk. II, vv. 161-178.

<sup>39</sup> See note to v. 110. Hirzel, p. 25.



a fireside scene, adulatory of winter handicraft and the winter botanist (251-310).<sup>40</sup> The poet then describes the mountains (311-360), and their flora (361-400), omitting, characteristically enough, any reference to the fauna of the Alps. He then goes off on a geological and mineralogical excursion, including a discussion of Alpine crystallography (400-409), of a spring (410-420), and of a salt-mine (421-430). He rejoices that the Swiss are not interested in the gold of the Aar river bed (431-440)—an example to the world. A resumé of the cares of the mundane man leads the poet to the significant conclusion that “die mässige Natur allein” can make them happy (441-450). In comparison with the Swiss the famous men of the world are not to be envied; their lives are “nichts als ein banger Schlummer”; and with a final eulogy of simplicity (471-490) the poem concludes. Two things are notable in Haller’s eulogy of nature; first, that nature is conceived of as an orderly process, including human life, and second, that the useful and the beautiful in nature here are one.

The *Gedanken über Vernunft, Aberglauben und Unglauben* (1729) is dedicated to Stähelin; and the poet frankly confesses in a prefatory paragraph his desire to emulate English philosophical poetry.<sup>41</sup> As in *Die Alpen* he enunciates the general principle that the wisest err in seeking truth (1-10), following this with the paradox that the vulgar often discover truth by not hunting for it (11-16), for “the stronger one’s belief is, the less he knows” (v. 14). By an implied deduction from these principles Haller proceeds to consider man’s middle station in the scale of creation (17-26). (In 1751 Haller called attention to the *Essay on Man* wherein the same thought is found.<sup>42</sup>) After a gap, he considers the wonderful powers of man’s mind, instancing Huygen’s work in astronomy (27-42), the reclamation of the Lincolnshire coast (43-50), and Newton’s discovery of the law of universal gravitation (51-56). Yet in comparison with infinity all this

<sup>40</sup> Observe that the scientist is one “der die Natur erforscht und ihre Schönheit kennt.” (v. 302.)

<sup>41</sup> Hirzel, p. 43.

<sup>42</sup> The passage can not be out of Pope, for the *Essay on Man* did not appear until four years later. Hirzel refers this to Leibniz (p. 44, note).

wisdom is but the wisdom of a child (57-64).<sup>43</sup> If then, the wise and foolish go together down to the grave, wherein is God good—to whom has He given His gifts (65-93)? We know that we exist; (v. 94) beyond that, God has wisely told us nothing more than what is good for us; nor will human research penetrate farther into this mystery (95-106). In a somewhat enigmatic passage of four lines we are told that, nevertheless, the doubter reveals himself and reverences his dream (107-111).<sup>44</sup> An attack on the superstitious and powerful priesthood follows (111-130), but not until we have been told that two beliefs (i.e., superstition and atheism) divide the world (111-112). The origin of superstition is then found to be in man's awe before the grandeur of nature, in his adulation of great men who become divinities, and in the power and glamor of priests and temples (131-160). The evil effects of superstition, socially considered, are then found to be war, slavery, etc., for which priests are blamed (161-222), after which the attack is switched to atheism, which is described as a secret and hypocritic vice as opposed to the social quality of superstition (223-254). Among the branches of atheism Haller includes determinism, materialism, rationalism, and hedonism (255-260). The fate of the wise man is then

<sup>43</sup> Newton's own attitude. "... a short time before his death he uttered this memorable sentiment. 'I do not know what I may appear to the world but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay undiscovered before me.'" Brewster, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton*, ii, 407. Edinburgh and Boston, 1855. The story seems well authenticated. So startling an anecdote must have come to the ears of the young scientist who stood by Newton's grave only four months after the death of the astronomer whom he again and again passionately praised. Cf. Haller,

"Ach! eure Wissenschaft ist noch der Weisheit Kindheit,  
Der Klugen Zeitvertreib, ein Trost der stolzen Blindheit"

(vv. 58-59). Yet the sentiment is a commonplace—it is in Hamlet and Seneca and every moral philosopher.

<sup>44</sup> I do not well understand this:

"Doch weil der Stolz sich schämt, wann wir nicht alles wissen,  
Hat der verwegne Mensch auch hier urtheilen müssen.  
Er hat, weil die Vernunft ihn nur zu zweifeln lehrt,  
Sich selbst geoffenbart und seinen Traum verehrt."

"Auch hier" seems to refer to the existence of God, but what the "Traum" is, is not clear; it may be our delusion that God exists, or the presumptuous man's delusion that reason avails—or anything else.

lamented, who, fleeing from superstition, falls into agnosticism (269-288), and this portion of the poem concludes with a summary of the dilemma and an appeal to Stähelin (289-306). The "constructive" portion of the poem begins. Man's errors are due to his wilful mistakes (307-312). God, from eternity, has thought out His scheme of the world, but we can not hope to understand His ways (313-324). The order of the universe proves the existence of God, notably astronomy. Here Haller's views are in accord with those expressed in Newton's letters to Bentley<sup>46</sup>; and Haller appeals also to the economy of nature—arguing, in short, final causes like Leibniz and Newton. Reason leads us to God—more were unnecessary, and reason itself submits in awe to Deity (325-370)—something that "Newton nicht vergass" (v. 370). With a final exhortation to contentment the whole concludes (371-388).

The third poem to be examined is *Die Falschheit menschlicher Tugenden* (1730), which is also dedicated to Stähelin, but which is lighter and more satirical in tone. In the opening lines (1-16) the poet tells us that he is resolved like Swift and Hobbes to be a villain; then he considers how men exalt their heroes to the skies (7-10) until their very faults become virtues (11-39). Cool examination shows clearly that such paragons of excellence never existed (40-72). Is this unreasonable fault-finding on the part of the poet? (73-76). No, this is but the way of humanity—to exalt heroes, and then to find them only men (77-83). Therefore we ought to meditate on the uncertainty and relativity of human judgments (84-172). This theme is continued with apposite illustration from conflicting *mores* (173-196) until the poet cries out that surely God is love and has not damned the world to suffering and sin (197-199); this passage is followed by a meditation on the variance of sexual morality (200-209); and, a long excursion into the question of military virtue (210-228), ending with the query whether the military type of courage is the only courage. Even hermits do not live for virtuous glory (229-254), though a Newton does (255-286). Cato was not wholly admirable (287-310) and since such heroes are not flawless, the question is whether virtue

<sup>46</sup> See *Opera Newtoni*, Tome Tertius, pp. 427-442, (ed. Horsley, Cambridge 1913).

truly exists (311-314). But Heaven can not hate what it has created; virtue is the call of Deity, heard by pure hearts—the conscience judges every act by an inner feeling, and he who follows it will lose neither virtue nor contentment (315-336). The heart, Haller concludes, unconsciously follows love.<sup>46</sup>

The last and most important of these four productions, the poem *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels* (1734) is in three books. The first of these divisions opens with a loving description of the Aar valley (1-64), the contemplation of the beauty of which leads the poet to meditation (65-70).<sup>47</sup> Is Mandeville right? Is life the hell of selfishness he makes it out to be? (71-118). These are the questions which Haller proposes to answer. Some passages have a curiously modern ring:

Elende Sterbliche! zur Pein erschaffene Wesen!  
O dass Gott aus dem nichts zum sein euch auserlesen!  
O dass der wüste Stoff einsamer Ewigkeit  
Noch läg im öden Schlund der alten Dunkelheit! (119-122)

Why, in view of the evil of the world, was man created? (119-123). The answer is that hate and fear are far from the heart

<sup>46</sup> The passage is important:

"Von dir, selbst-ständigs Gut [God], unendlichs Gnaden-Meer,  
Kommt dieser innre Zug, wie alles gute, her!  
Das Herz folgt unbewusst der Würkung deiner Liebe,  
Es meint frei zu sein und folget deinem Triebe;  
Unfruchtbar von Natur, bringt es auf den Altar  
Die Frucht, die von dir selbst in uns gepflanzt war.  
Was von dir stammt ist ächt und wird vor dir bestehen  
Wann falsche Tugend wird, wie Blei im Test, vergehen  
Und dort für manche That, die sitzt auf äussern Schein  
Die Welt mit opfern zahlt, der Lohn wird Strafe sein!"

Hirzel, p. 76. Cf. *Die Tugend* (1729):

"Nicht der Hochmut, nicht die Eigenliebe,  
Nein, von Himmel eingepflanzte Triebe  
Lehren Tugend und dass ihre Krone  
Selbst sie belohne.

. . . . .  
Doch der Himmel hat noch seine Kinder,  
Fromme leben, kennt man sie schon minder,  
Gold und Perlen findt man bei den Mohren,  
Weise bei Thoren."

<sup>47</sup> In *Die Alpen* Haller insisted on the utilitarian view of nature; here he paints landscape for its own sake.

of the Father of all; yet why is pain found in the world (124-142)? God does not expect us to know<sup>48</sup>; the very wise men err in their wisdom; and yet truth, the handmaid of faith, the child of heaven, alone can solve the riddle (143-162).

Book Two gives us an account of creation which is thought of as an orderly process involving a definite scale of created beings. God made the best world he could out of all possible potential worlds (1-8); then follows a sketch of the creation of all material things, with suns and stars in place (9-18). Yet was something lacking—a spirit capable of worship. God accordingly created the spirit world, giving free will to his angels, for otherwise there would have been no merit in a world of slaves (19-34). A discussion of free will follows: God foresaw our mistakes, yet He created the world. Can anything be wiser than that which it pleased God to do? (35-50) Free will is the crowning glory of the universe; and as yet there was no opportunity to go wrong (51-68). In contrast to us, with our imperfect senses (“nur durch fünf Offenbaren den schwachen Strahl der Wahrheit [empfangen wir]”) the angels are perfect beings (69-74), whose superiority over man is manifest (75-102), and yet they are to sin. Man was next created—an ambiguous creature, half angel, half animal (103-108), a creature gifted with will and yet happy (109-114). Among his joys were innocent self-love (115-116) and a virtuous love for others (137-160), for these are the two motives which lead man to action. God even went further; he gave man conscience (*ein wachsamcs Gefühl*) (161-186), the judge of deeds (*der Werke Richterin*), the prover of them (*der Probstcin unsers Thuns*). There follows a picture of the ordered world as it should be (189-204), in the diversity of which each finds his appropriate station and his proper opportunities (205-212).

Book Three opens with a return to the initial inquiry: whence comes evil (1-4)? Pride, or an error in choosing, is found to be the cause why angels fell (5-32); and man, too, was deceived as to his own interests and so drew evil upon himself (33-80). The happiness of renouncing perishable goods is the only good and evil is the inability of selfish men to renounce the transitory

<sup>48</sup> Vv. 143-144 are closely akin to Milton's “They also serve who only stand and wait.”

and retain the permanent (81-96). For, indeed, the goods of the world are worthless; our hunt for them is due to emulation (97-112). Pleasure is hollow (113-126), notably the pleasures of the senses (127-140). In such a world the soul of man is a stranger, which now comes to hate what it had formerly (Book Two) loved (141-160). The philosopher is happy only as he withdraws from these vain deluding joys, in favor of the contemplation of God (161-170). But such an argument as there is here breaks down; the poet bursts into an appeal against evil (175-182) and can only conclude that the ways of the Almighty are mysterious, yet good (183-202). He reiterates his argument from design, instancing as proof the nice structure of the human body (203-222). Who then can doubt the goodness of God? (223-232).

Such are the main doctrines of this philosopher poet. If they are a succession of commonplaces, they are yet commonplaces of Haller's time, and their very lack of individuality makes the problem of their origins the more baffling. What is the philosophical doctrine on which they rest, and whence did Haller draw his dogma?

The existence of a Creator is here derived from the argument of the orderliness of a universe in which suns are placed in carefully fixed orbits and in the icy Alps salt-mines and caves sustain the life of man. The argument of final causes is frankly adopted. As the economy of the universe proves the existence of God, so too does its variety; and as a third proof Haller assumes that the implicit desire of the heart to believe in God is a proof of his existence.

Man is a being occupying a fixed place in a scale of creation which has been carefully calculated—this thought being a commonplace in the eighteenth century and not necessarily derived from Pope's *Essay on Man*. He is endowed with free will, with reason, and with self-love and the love of others. He is expected to use his reason, but reason is to lead him to God; and in the wilful misuse of reason lies the cause of his suffering. This error arises from pride; but reason ought to show us that, in eternal matters, the ways of God are beyond our understanding and that it is presumptuous to complain. Reason should never subvert the dictates of conscience, conceived of, on the whole, as an instinctive belief in God and in goodness.

Man will be happy; not to be so is to sin; and yet even sin is part of the universal frame of things, for a universe without free will were not universe worthy of a beneficent God.

It is argued by Georg Bondi that all this, like the *Essay on Man*, is but a versification of Shaftesbury's doctrines, and in support of this content, Bondi advances the following arguments:

First, there is a general likeness between the system of Haller and the system of Shaftesbury, and this resemblance is closer than that between the system of Haller and the system of Leibniz. This resemblance arises from the following considerations:

(a) Both agree on the uncertainty of wisdom and in the belief that the end of philosophy is ethical.<sup>49</sup>

(b) Both agree that ethical categories must carry their own justification, and not depend on the arbitrary will of God. (This thought is also in Leibniz).<sup>50</sup>

(c) Both agree in thinking that the materialism of Hobbes is the enemy to be combatted, and in support of this belief, they advance the doctrine of an innate moral guide, and the doctrine of social affections (altruistic) and of self-affections, which must be in harmony with each other.<sup>51</sup>

(d) Both agree in referring the problem of evil to the inner self.<sup>52</sup>

(e) Both agree that the order of the universe is a proof of the existence of God; that without this belief, full virtue cannot be reached.

In support of his argument Bondi further shows that the original texts of the *Gedanken über Vernunft*, etc., and of *Die Falschheit menschlicher Tugenden* were closer to Shaftesbury than are the revised versions.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> "Philosophie ist ihm [Shaftesbury] Tugend und zugleich Glückseligkeitslehre; Ethik und Religionsphilosophie sind die beiden Gebiete, die er behandelt." Bondi, *Das Verhältnis von Hallers philosophischen Gedichten zu Philosophie seiner Zeit*. Leipzig, 1891, p. 6. Referred to hereafter as Bondi.

<sup>50</sup> Bondi, p. 6; Shaftesbury, II, 26 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Leslie Stephen, *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, I, chap. ix, Moral Philosophy.

<sup>52</sup> Bondi, p. 8.

<sup>53</sup> Bondi, pp. 11-13. He is supported by Erik Schmidt (*Charakteristiken*, Berlin, 1886, p. 114) and Hettner (*Litteraturgeschichte des 18ten Jhds.* (Third ed.)

Second, Bondi finds certain verbal resemblances between Haller and Shaftesbury.

Third, while admitting that many of the passages in *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels* are Leibnizian borrowings, Bondi minimizes them in favor of a general Shaftesbury influence.<sup>54</sup>

I shall show that in proving all this, Bondi proves too much. For what are we asked to believe? Let us look at the facts.

### III

Haller is one of the most brilliant young men of his time. He springs from a pious, but dissenting family. His earliest views are in sharp disapproval of the social and religious organization around him.<sup>55</sup> He enters a university at fifteen, where he is much impressed by the metaphysical faculty, all, or most, of whom are Leibnizians and adherents of Newton. He then goes to Holland, the refuge of free thinkers, and among his first teachers are s'Gravezande who, before 1720, introduced Newtonian principles into Dutch universities,<sup>56</sup> and Boerhave, one of the great investigators of the age and an enthusiastic disciple of Newton. He becomes a doctor of medicine. He then journeys to England where he is received by Newtonian enthusiasts. Parenthetically, be it observed, he can read, and has presumably read, the works of Newton, who writes Latin, whereas he can not read Shaftesbury, who writes English. He

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III, 1, p. 354.) Bondi argues that Hirzel, who advocates Leibniz, has been led astray by ignoring this fact. Cf. also R. M. Meyer, *Jahresbericht*, II. iv 6: 1a (120): "Wenn auch nicht jede Einzelheit bestehen bleibt, in der Abhängigkeit des schweren, strengen Schweizers von seinem eleganten Vorbild annimmt, so ist doch der Beweis des in jenen Gedichten mächtig nachwirkenden Einflusses Shaftesbury's unzweifelhaft geführt. Lehrreich ist besonders die Vergleichung der ältesten Texte mit den späteren Ausgaben, die Erörterungen über Begriffe wie 'Natur' und 'Gott'." But the reader will note how much of Haller's argument resembles Des Cartes as well, whom, though he had repudiated, he of course knew. See likewise below, p. 126.

<sup>54</sup> It seems odd that there should be more traces of Leibniz in a poem dated 1734 than in a poem dated 1729 or 1730, especially when Bondi argues that between Haller's early enthusiasm for Leibniz and the writing of *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels*, Haller underwent a profound religious change which drew him away from Leibniz and towards Shaftesbury! Bondi, pp. 38-39.

<sup>55</sup> See the early pages of Hirzel and of the *Tagebücher* and note the poem quoted on p. 104, ante.

<sup>56</sup> See Brewster, *Life of Newton*, I, 332.



admires at this time sceptics and satirists and associates with mathematicians and astronomers. As he does not mention Shaftesbury, it is safe to assume that Shaftesbury does not yet loom large on his horizon. He then goes to Basel where he continues his scientific training under another set of Newtonian enthusiasts, disciples of Leibniz and adherents of Euler. *Two years afterwards*—that is, in 1730—a copy of Shaftesbury falls into his hands; and we are asked to believe that this so upsets the habits of thought he has now formed that he turns from Leibniz, a scientist and thinker of the first order, to Shaftesbury, a dilettante and moralist of the third order, because he, Haller, has come to entertain doubts of the orthodoxy of Leibniz!<sup>57</sup>

Even if the philosophical ethics of Leibniz were radically different from those of Shaftesbury (and Leibniz himself expressly declares the contrary),<sup>58</sup> it is yet highly improbable that Haller would have deserted them, for another reason. Leibniz's influence over the young scientist was re-enforced by a more powerful influence. It can not have escaped attention that the name of Newton rings through all of Haller's early work. To him he devotes some scores of lines in his poems. He professes for him, in a letter to a friend, the most passionate admiration. He studied under, and was the friend of, ardent Newtonians. Now whatever differences existed, or arose, between Newton and Leibniz, their general attitude in theological matters—above all, in the great questions of the existence of God, the meaning of life, and the ways of faith and reason—was, with one important exception, the same.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed account of Leibnizian philosophy, which may be found in convenient form

<sup>57</sup> Bondi's argument. "Von seinem bisherigen Standpunkte aus musste ihm die *Théodicée* als ein beinahe orthodoxes Buch erscheinen . . . [then] er seine Ansichten wirklich geändert habe." (p. 38.) Yet we are informed (p. 4) that Leibniz speaks thus of Shaftesbury's *Moralists*: "J'y ai trouvé d'abord presque toute ma *Théodicée* (mais plus agréablement tournée) avant qu'elle vût le jour." And later, "Si j'avais vû cet ouvrage avant la publication de ma *Théodicée*, j'en aurais profité comme il faut et j'en aurais emprunté de grands passages." If Shaftesbury is so much like Leibniz that Leibniz himself admits it, Leibniz is entitled to the prior claim.

<sup>58</sup> See previous note.

in any manual of philosophy.<sup>60</sup> Let us turn rather to the metaphysical and theological beliefs of Newton, which are not so well known.<sup>60</sup>

Although it was the effort of Newton to ground science exclusively on experience and calculation, he yet possessed a profoundly religious nature.<sup>61</sup> Like Clarke—and like Haller—Newton erected on his interpretation of revelation a theology half naturalistic, half mystical. Newton, like Leibniz, is a vigorous opponent of atheism<sup>62</sup> and Cartesianism.<sup>63</sup> Newton,

<sup>60</sup> See J. T. Merz, *Leibniz*, Edinburgh and London, 1884, II, 135-216; A. Weber, *History of Philosophy* (tr. F. Thilly), New York, 1909, pp. 343-369; and of course the *Théodicée* in the *Opera Philosophica*, Berlin, 1840, pp. 468-624. Leibniz himself provides an *Abrégé de la Controverse*, pp. 623-629. If on the one hand he complains of Cartesianism in language like this: "Fidei autem mysteria artificiose declinavit [Des Cartes]; philosophari sublicet sibi, non theologari propositum esse, quasi philosophia admittenda sit inconciliabilis religioni, aut quasi religio vera esse possit quae demonstratis alibi veritatibus pugnet," (*De Vera Methodo Philosophiae et Theologiae*, p. 111), yet he is orthodox in form: "If we mean by reason the human understanding, God is also suprarational insofar as He surpasses human nature (or is supernatural); that is, He transcends human intelligence as much as His perfection surpasses ours." (Weber, p. 362).

<sup>60</sup> Studied at length in Léon Bloch, *La Philosophie de Newton*, chapter ix.

<sup>61</sup> Bloch, p. 490; and see the last chapter of Brewster's *Life*.

<sup>62</sup> Roger Cates, editor of the second edition of the *Principia* (1713), prepared, with Newton's consent, a preface to the work which, among other things, defends experimental science against the charge of atheism:

"Vel enim dicent hanc, quam confingunt, Mundi per omnia pleni constitutionem ex voluntate Dei profectam esse, propter eum finem, ut operationibus naturae subsidium praesens haberi posset at Aethere subtilissimo cuncta permeante et implente; quod tamen dici non potest siquidem jam ostensum est ex Cometarum phaenomenis, nullum est ex hujus Aetheris efficiam: vel dicent ex voluntate Dei profectam esse, propter finem aliquen ignotum; quod neque dici debet, siquidem diversa Mundi constitutio eodem argumento pariter stabiliri posset: vel denique non dicent ex voluntate Dei profectam esse, sed ex necessitate quodam naturae. Tandem igitur delabi oportet in faecae sordidas gregis impurissimi. Hi sunt qui somniant Fato universa regi, non Providentia; materiam ex necessitate sua semper aut ubique extitisse, infinitam esse ac aeternam. Quibus positis, erit etiam undique uniformis: nam varietas formarum cum necessitate omnino pugnat. Erit etiam immota: nam si necessario moveatur in plagam aliquam determinatum, cum determinatu aliqua velocitate; pari necessitate movebitur in plagam diversam cum diversa velocitate; in plagas autem diversas, cum diversis velocitatibus, moveri non potest: oportet igitur immotum esse. Neutiquam profecto potuit oriri Mundus, pulcherrima formarum ac motuum varietate distinctus, nisi ex liberrima voluntate cuncta providentia et gubernantis Dei.

like Leibniz, accepts without hesitation the existence of a God vaguely conceived.<sup>64</sup> Both men sought to liberate positive science from all constraint, yet managed to reconcile a mechanical interpretation of nature with the "premiers aspirations du sentiment."<sup>65</sup> As Newton makes the ether become an agent for transforming the universe on chemical and biological analogies (cf. the modern "energy"), so Leibniz conceives of a world of monads, ultimately dependent upon the Absolute Monad. Both agree that "la véritable finalité, celle que nulle science ne que présente le monde dans son ensemble et qui rende possible fera disparaître c'est celle la science elle-même."<sup>66</sup> Like Haller, Newton believes that science supposes an intelligent cause (even materialism requires this ground of belief) so that the stability of science and the stability of its object may, within large limits, be justified—the very core of Leibniz's belief, for,

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"Ex hoc igitur fonte promanarunt illae omnes quae dicuntur Naturae leges. in quibus multa sane sapientissimi consilii, nulla necessitatis apparent vestigia . . . Qui verae Physicae principia legesque rerum, sola mentis vi et interno rationis lumini fretum, invenire se posse considit; hunc oportet vel statuere Mundum ex necessitate fuisse. Legesque propositas ex eadem necessitate sequi; vel si per voluntatem Dei constitutus ordo Naturae, se tamen, homuncionem misellum, quid optimum factu sit perspectum habere." (*Operum Newtoni*, Tom. Sec. pp. xxiii-xxiv.)

Newton simply takes over this argument in his first letters to Bentley (*Operum Newtoni*, Tom. Quart. pp. 427-442).

Leibniz wrote in 1668 the *Confessio Naturae contra Atheistas* (*Opera*, pp. 45-47), directed against Hobbes, Des Cartes, Gassendi, and others, demonstrating a similar truth with respect to the properties of bodies:

"Cum autem," he concludes, "demonstraverimus corpora determinatam figuram et quantitatem, motum vero illum habere non posse, nisi supposito ente incorporali, facile apparet illud Ens incorporale pro omnibus esse unicum, ab harmoniam omnium inter se, praesertim cum corpora motum habeat, non singula a suo ente incorporali, sed a se innicem. Cur autem Ens illud incorporale hanc potius quam illans magnitudinem, figuram, motum elegat, ratio reddi non potest, nisi sit intelligens, et ab rerum pulchritudinem, sapiens, ab rerum obedientiam ad nutum, potens. Tale igitur Ens incorporale erit Mens totius mundi reatrix, id est Deus." (p. 46.)

<sup>64</sup> Bloch, p. 496, and Brewster, *passim*. For Haller's opposition to Cartesianism, see above, p. 1, and the preface to the French translation of Haller (1750), Hirzel, pp. 281-284.

<sup>65</sup> Bloch, p. 496; Weber, pp. 361-362.

<sup>66</sup> Bloch, p. 496; Merz, p. 128; p. 179.

<sup>67</sup> Bloch, pp. 487-9.

with Newton, God is a corollary of physics; with Leibniz, he is a corollary of mathematics.<sup>67</sup> Each cosmic problem, separately considered, is mechanically explicable, but the reason which, properly speaking, created order in the universe is, for Newton and for Leibniz, not mechanical but providential.<sup>68</sup> Both agree that the uniformity of natural laws proves the existence of God;<sup>69</sup> but equally, both find that the variety of the universe is an equal proof for Deity. There is a sort of mysticism in Newton, writes Bloch; but there is none in Leibniz. And, as Bloch goes on to show, the attributes of God as conceived by Newton are what they are shown to be in Newton's Scholium Generale (already cited); and these are like the attributes of Leibniz's Deity, the Absolute Monad.

With Newton, as with Haller (though not so much with Leibniz), the creature is united to the Creator by feeling and sentiment rather than by intellect.<sup>70</sup> Like Leibniz, Newton can not know God; both are reduced to a kind of agnosticism;<sup>71</sup> and the morality of both is not unlike in consequence. With Newton la véritable facteur de la moralité, c'est l'intelligence des causes finales. Une fois que nous avons compris l'ordre dans l'univers, nous ne pouvons moins faire que de l'admirer, que d'y conformer nos intentions et nos actes . . . la philosophie morale n'a pas besoins d'autres principes que ceux de la science. Du moment que l'univers témoigne d'un créateur parfait, la moralité devient un aspect de l'ordre universel.<sup>72</sup>

Now the great point of difference between Newton and Leibniz is that Newton believes in free will, Leibniz in a kind

<sup>67</sup> See the *Optica*, Quaest. xxxi; the *First Letter to Bentley*; and the Scholium Generale to De Mundi Systemate, *Operum Newtoni*, Tom. Tertius, pp. 170-174. For Leibniz see Merz and Weber passim; and the Causa Dei, prop. 104, *Opera Philos.*, p. 661. The close relation between the calculus and the principle of continuity is evident.

<sup>68</sup> This fact explains why Haller in the same poem can blame the "wise man" for egotism, and yet praise Newton.

<sup>69</sup> "Deus Corpora singula ita locavit (Scholium Generale). Causas rerum naturalium non plures admitti debere, quam quae et verae sint et earum phaenomenis explicandis sufficient. Dicunt ubique Philosophi: natura nihil agit frustra; ac frustra sit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora." (*Principia*: Regula I and explanation. *Operum Newtoni*, Tom. Tert. p. 3) Bloch denies that Newton admits the principle of minimum action (p. 506), but I think he is mistaken.

<sup>70</sup> Bloch, pp. 515-516.

<sup>71</sup> Bloch, p. 518; Weber, p. 362.

<sup>72</sup> Bloch, pp. 519-520.

of determinism into which his system plunged him. Yet one notes that the title of the *Théodicée* is "Essais de Théodicée sur la Bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'Homme, et l'Origine du Mal." Leibniz distinguishes between contingent and necessary truths. "The existence of God, the fact that all right angles are equal, etc., are examples of necessary truths, but the existence of my own self, or the existence in nature of things which have right angles—these are contingent truths." The truths of religion—and free will is one of them—are beyond, not contrary to, the doctrines of reason.<sup>73</sup> Such was Leibniz's attempt to explain away the contradictions of his system, and Bondi is wrong in dismissing Leibniz as a possible source for Haller's doctrine of free will with the statement that "Leibniz war Determinist,"<sup>74</sup> since Leibniz strove not to be and since the problem of free will *vs.* determinism is a problem which "Shaftesbury studiously avoids!"<sup>75</sup> The likeness of all this to Haller is tolerably evident.

Obviously then it is not necessary to bring in Shaftesbury as a source for many of Haller's philosophical views as outlined above since the combined influence of Leibniz and Newton is sufficient to account for them. But there is yet a third reason for minimizing the influence of Shaftesbury on Haller. What are the distinguishing characteristics of Shaftesbury's doctrine?

If we turn to Fowler's convenient *précis* of Shaftesbury's doctrine, we observe that nine-tenths of his system (if such it may be called) is identical, as Leibniz said, with the doctrine of Leibniz and Newton as outlined above. Shaftesbury is the moralist, Leibniz is the metaphysician, Newton is the scientist of the doctrine of universal harmony. But the *peculiarities* of Shaftesbury's doctrines are now our concern. They are:

- (a) the stressing of an innate moral sense which leads man to right actions;
- (b) the belief that the moral sense can be cultivated on the analogy of taste in art;
- (c) the doctrine that the test of rightness is "its tendency to promote the general welfare";

<sup>73</sup> Merz, pp. 166-167. The quotation is from Leibniz's letter to Coste, 1707.

<sup>74</sup> Bondi, p. 34.

<sup>75</sup> Fowler, *Shaftesbury and Hutcheson*, London, 1882, p. 89. And see Leslie Stephen, *op. cit.*

(d) the doctrine that "harmonious development" will lead to the development of the virtuoso, or amateur gentleman—a doctrine as old as Castiglione, Rabelais, and Castelvetro.

When now we turn to Haller, it is startling to observe that most of these matters are left out! Shaftesbury's moral sense is like Haller's "innerlich Gefühl," but in Shaftesbury the moral sense can be cultivated—you can practice it, so to speak, as you practice the piano. This is essential to his teaching. But Haller is content merely to state that, as man has a conscience, he ought to follow it! Such a conception, I submit, springs rather from Protestant, and particularly Swiss, theology—the latter is full of it—and not from Shaftesbury; it is a didactic commonplace, not the special moral agent of Shaftesbury—and Hutcheson. And in the next place, one searches in vain in Haller's poems for a specific statement that that is right which promotes the general good. He complains, it is true, that men harm each other, but this, too, is didactic commonplace, not the essential and necessary correction to Hobbes which was intended by Shaftesbury. And, most striking omission of all, the doctrine of the virtuoso is quite lacking in the Swiss! The amateur of fine arts, the dilettante of civilization, can hardly be said to be the source of Haller's stern denunciation of the corruption of antique simplicity! Look now upon this picture then on this:

By Gentlemen of Fashion I understood those to whom a natural good genius, or the force of good education, has given a sense of what is naturally graceful and becoming. Some by mere nature, others by art and practice, are masters of an ear in music, an eye in painting, a fancy in the ordinary things of ornament and grace, a judgment in proportions of all kinds, and a general good taste in most of those subjects which make the amusement and delight of the ingenious people of the world. Let such gentlemen as these be as extravagant as they please, or as irregular in their morals; they must, at the same time, discover their inconsistency, live at variance with themselves, and in contradiction to their highest pleasure and entertainment . . . [But] one who aspires to the character of a man of breeding and politeness is careful to form his judgment of arts and sciences upon right models of perfection. If he travels to Rome, he enquires which are the truest pieces of architecture, the best remains of statues, the best paintings of a Raphael or a Carache . . . 'Twere to be wished all had the same regard to a right Taste in life and manners . . . If a natural *good* Taste be not already formed in us, why should we not endeavor to form it, and become *natural*?<sup>76</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Advice to an Author*, Pt. iii, Sect. 3, quoted in Fowler, pp. 68-70.

And now Haller:

Wer aber sich dem Staat zu dienen hat bestimmt  
 Und nach der Gottheit Stell auf Tugend-Staffeln klimmt,  
 Der würrt am Wohl des Volks und nicht an seinem Glücke  
 Und dient zum Heil des Lands dem segnenden Geschicke,  
 Er setzet seiner Müh die Tugend selbst zum Preis,  
 Er kennet seine Pflicht und thut auch, was er weiss.  
 Für erste lerne der, der gross zu sein begehret,  
 Den innerlichen Stand des Staates, der ihn nähret;  
 Wie Ansehn und Gewalt sich, mit gemessner Kraft,  
 Durch alle Staffeln theilt und Ruh und Ordnung schafft;  
 Wie zahlreich Volk und Geld; wie auf den alten Bünden,  
 Dem Erbe besser Zeit, sich Fried und Freundschaft gründen;  
 Wodurch der Staat geblüht, wie Macht und Reichtum stieg,  
 Des Krieges erste Glut, den wahren Weg zum Sieg,  
 Die Fehler eines Staats, die innerlichen Beulen,  
 Die nach und nach das Mark des sichern Landes fäulen

. . . . .

Auch Rom und Sparta hat, was nützlich werden kann;  
 Die Tugend nimmt sich leicht bei ihrem Beispiel an!  
 (*Die Verdorbenen Säulen*, 189-204; 217-218)

The one is rococo; the other is like Wordsworth. The praiser of antique simplicity drew little spiritual nourishment from the elegant English earl.

A further consideration presents itself: "The great blot on Shaftesbury's treatment of religious questions," we are told,<sup>77</sup> "is the tone of banter which he so often assumes . . . [which] approaches grimace, and not infrequently reminds us of Voltaire." Now as early as *Die Alpen* which, Bondi admits, "widerspricht ja direkt den Ansichten Shaftesbury's" and was written "unter dem Einfluss der 'lettres sur les Anglais et les Français et sur les Voyages' des Berner Edelmannes Muralt"<sup>78</sup>—as early as March, 1729, just when, according to Bondi, the influence of Shaftesbury was to grasp the mind of Haller with irresistible force, Haller is filled with a "tiefer Abscheu gegen den Missbrauch religiöser Empfindungen" so that "eine speciell protestantische Leidenschaft . . . scheint durch das Gedicht zu gehen."<sup>79</sup> Granted that this anger was directed against "eine zelotische Priesterschaft und eine bereichende

<sup>77</sup> Fowler, p. 121.

<sup>78</sup> Bondi, pp. 10-11.

<sup>79</sup> Hirzel, p. lxxvi.

Politik, gegen Heuchelei,"<sup>80</sup> it is hard to believe that this earnest young man, the life-long opponent of Voltaire,<sup>81</sup> was pleased with the sneer of Shaftesbury, the author of the *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour*, and yet angered by the sceptic smile of the great Frenchman!

There remains the question of the verbal indebtedness of Haller to Shaftesbury. On the whole this indebtedness is more awkward for Bondi and others than it is convenient for their argument, since, by their own admission, the *first* versions of Haller's poems are nearer to Shaftesbury than the *revised* versions—surely a peculiar departure in a man supposed to be overwhelmed by the British nobleman's persuasive eloquence. Nor are all the passages in Bondi's monograph close or convincing. Granted, however, that there are enough parallels between Shaftesbury's phrasing and that of Haller to indicate some relationship between the two, I think we may plausibly account for this verbal indebtedness by a simpler hypothesis. We must remember that Haller was eagerly pursuing the study of English; and that Shaftesbury was conceded to be an "elegant" stylist and therefore worthy of study; that the English poets were themselves indebted to him; wherefore it may well be that Haller took from him the suggestions for such passages as that on superstition quoted by Bondi<sup>82</sup>—almost the only passage which represents an undeniable indebtedness. What happened then was that Haller, independent by nature, discovering in his first versions too close an indebtedness to Shaftesbury, re-wrote these passages in revising his productions, in an effort to avoid the indebtedness with which he has been charged.

#### IV

I think that the following conclusions may be set down. Haller was too deeply imbued with the main philosophical ideas of his poems before he read Shaftesbury to be greatly influenced by him. The psychical revolution postulated by Bondi must be thrown out of court because of its psychological

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> See his contribution to *Die Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen in the Tagebuch seiner Beobachtungen über Schriftsteller u. über sich selbst*, Bern, 1787.

<sup>82</sup> P. 14.



improbability, and because there is not enough that is unique in Shaftesbury to cause such a revolution. It is further improbable that Haller borrowed from Shaftesbury (a) because he omits some of Shaftesbury's most striking ideas and (b) because his own religious bias runs directly counter to that of Shaftesbury. He may have admired Shaftesbury as a stylist, but when he discovered that he was too closely following a man, many of whose ideas he detested, he was careful to re-write passages which seemed to lean too heavily upon the British writer.

The whole question is probably not capable of definite solution; at any rate, it is not capable of solution with the material now at hand. A careful examination of Haller's scientific works is needed to throw light on his metaphysical beliefs; and a deeper investigation of the vogue of both Newton and Shaftesbury needs to be made. When, however, Haller eulogizes extravagantly the discoverer of the law of universal gravitation, and omits all mention of the elegant dilettante in those poems which the latter is supposed to have helped him to make, I am dubious of Shaftesbury but very certain that the claims of Newton have been overlooked. Indeed, it is to be wished that the whole problem of Newtonian influence upon the advanced thinkers of central Europe in the closing years of the seventeenth, and the opening years of the eighteenth, century could be investigated by competent scholars, for I believe that much that has been attributed to Shaftesbury upon the continent would in a truer reading be ascribed to the metaphysics and theology of Newton. Particularly should this study be made with reference to the diffusion of Newtonian thought in the universities of Holland and Germany.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

## V. PETERLOO, SHELLEY AND REFORM

In her note appended to Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*, Mrs Shelley remarks on the attitude of her husband to the current political theories of the time:

Though Shelley's first eager desire to excite his countrymen to resist openly the oppressions existent during the "good old times" had faded with early youth, still his warmest sympathies were for the people. He was a republican and loved a democracy. He looked on all human beings as inheriting an equal right to possess the dearest privileges of our nature; the necessities of life when fairly earned by labor, and intellectual instruction. His hatred of any despotism that looked upon the people as not to be consulted, or protected from want and ignorance, was intense . . . the news of the Manchester Massacre . . . roused in him violent emotions of indignation and compassion.

Nor has this youthful ardour of Shelley—an ardour which looked passionately, yet with more reason than is sometimes credited to the poet, to the final triumph of the principles of "the Rights of Man"—been neglected. It is admirably discussed in *The Free Oxford* of the Midsummer of 1921,<sup>1</sup> by "Franklin Fortune"<sup>2</sup> who quotes the lines of Shelley written as early as 1809:

... the hero, whose nerves strung by youth,  
Will defend the firm cause of justice and truth;  
With insatiate desire whose bosom shall swell,  
To give up the oppressor to judgment and Hell.

The conditions of the early days of the Industrial Revolution in England are too well-known to demand description. But the crude inhumanities and the vicious practices of opulent industrial and political jobbers must not, for that reason, be passed over in silence. The picture of a proletariat clamped fiercely and hopelessly to the loom, sweated relentlessly by a handful of plutocratic mill-owners, the whole organisation of the country being in the hands of a ministry which unwillingly and half-heartedly limped, from sheer ineptitude as it seemed in the footsteps of Metternich and his reactionary legitimist following in Europe, was one which lent venom to the pen of

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 9-11.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Professor Walter E. Peck.

Shelley. Venomous and even spiteful though Shelley may have been in his personalities, his view on the methods by which reform can be obtained is invariably, in his early as in his later days, that of moderation. In 1812, in his *Address to the Irish People*, this view is most plainly stated:

... resist oppression not by force of arms, but by power of mind and reliance on truth and justice<sup>3</sup>

Or again, in the same address:

... if a number of human beings, after thinking of their own interests, meet together for any conversation on them, and employ resistance of the mind, not resistance of the body, these people are going the right way to work.<sup>4</sup>

At the same time, it was a fundamental principle with the poet that a free expression of opinion should be allowed all men, and a recurring theme of complaint that this was rarely permitted.

Government, [he submitted,] will not allow a peaceable and reasonable discussion of its principles by an association of men who assemble for that express purpose. But have not human beings a right to assemble to talk upon what subject they please? Can anything be more evident than that as government is only of use as it conduces to the happiness of the governed, those who are governed have a right to talk on the efficacy of the safeguard employed for their benefit?<sup>5</sup>

It was the express denial of these very principles of freedom which particularly aroused Shelley's ire on the occasion of the so-called "Peterloo Massacre" at Manchester on August 16, 1819, and led directly to the composition of *The Mask of Anarchy*.

This callous, frenzied and bloody incident was not the only outbreak of its type to be found in the annals of Manchester. As early as 1799 the pitiful economic conditions of the workers of the city had necessitated the opening of soup shops and the free provision of sustenance to the needy.<sup>6</sup> From that date onward to the year 1812 the poverty of the workers, pathetically deepened from month to month as the demands of war taxation

<sup>3</sup> Edition of 1812. p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Prose Works. Edition of 1880, i. 329.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 347.

<sup>6</sup> W. E. A. Axon: *The Annals of Manchester; a Chronological Record from the earliest times to the end of 1885*. London, 1886. 8 vo. p. 127.

grew ever greater, occasioned disturbances of an economic nature. On May 24-25, 1808 a dispute over wage rates resulted in a riot in which one weaver lost his life at the hands of the military.<sup>7</sup> In the next year increasing depression led to further agitation, and on May 12, Mr. Joseph Hanson of Strangeways Hall was sentenced in the Court of King's Bench to six months imprisonment and a fine of £100 for his share in the conflict between the weavers and their masters. Hanson was obviously a man of superior station who undertook to champion the cause of his less fortunate brethren, and his popularity among them is signalised by the fact that a penny subscription undertaken to pay a part of his fine attracted no less than 39,600 contributors.<sup>8</sup> On April 8, 1812, a "Meeting for proposing a loyal address to the Prince Regent" was called by the city authorities to the Exchange. The affair, however, was postponed, and the disappointment led to irritation which developed into food riots in the course of which very considerable damage was done to property. Not for the first time, on this occasion, did the law appear as the persecutor of the poor. The leaders of the outbreak were quickly apprehended and eight executions followed: four men were put to death for mill-burning and three for house-breaking; the eighth was a poor woman who was hanged for stealing a handful of potatoes at Bank Top—a striking example of the repressive lengths to which an obsolete aristocratic legal system could be pushed.<sup>9</sup>

In the year 1816 political grievances were added to economic distress as subjects for public discussion. In that year three meetings were held in Manchester—one on October 28, one on November 4, and the third on December 30.<sup>10</sup> These assemblies all took place on St. Peter's Fields and met to discuss "the

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 139.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 140. In the course of evidence given before the House of Commons in support of a petition from the Manchester cotton workers, Mr. Hanson stated that there were in Manchester, in 1811, 9,000 spinners and 12,000 weavers, the former averaging 7/- a week and the latter 11/- a week when fully employed (*Ibid.* 142).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 143. Cf. *Examiner*, No. 224 of Sunday, April 12, 1812, pp. 233-234. This number also reports riots in Carlisle, and further outbreaks are noted in the issue No. 225 of Sunday, April 19, 1812, pp. 254-255.

<sup>10</sup> Axon, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

present state of the country." In 1817 the Radicals met in January "to consider the necessity of adopting additional measures for the maintenance of the public peace." A second general meeting was held on the same ground on March 10 to "petition the Prince Regent for redress of grievances." It was the intention of the petitioners themselves to proceed to London to lay their memorial at the foot of the throne. To protect him from the weather each man came provided with a blanket—hence the term "Blanketeers" which is often applied to these Reformers—but the meeting was dispersed by the military; two hundred persons were arrested, and the project came to nothing.<sup>11</sup> At a further meeting in the city on March 9, 1818 the question of Parliamentary Reform was for the first time specifically introduced as the chief matter for debate. This meeting was followed in September by another concerned primarily with the old economic grievances. There was a general turn-out of spinners and weavers, and a loud demand for higher wages was followed by a riot in which Mr. Gray's mill was attacked and one man lost his life.<sup>12</sup> The year 1819, apart from the "Peterloo" meeting which took place on August 16, was distinguished by two notable meetings. The first of these was a meeting on St. Peter's Fields on January 18, followed on the 23rd by a riot in the Theatre Royal between Henry Hunt (the hero of Peterloo) and his friends, on the one side, and the Earl of Uxbridge and some officers of the 7th Light Dragoons on the other.<sup>13</sup> The second meeting was specially significant for the reason that on this occasion the municipal authorities of Manchester began officially to show signs that for the future they intended to make provision beforehand to meet disturbances by keeping in a state of mobilisation those forces which were put under their power by Act of Parliament. On June 21, the day of the second meeting of the Radicals, at which delegates were appointed to a general Reform Union, a meeting of the inhabitants was summoned by Mr. E. Clayton, the Boroughreeve, and resolutions were adopted declaratory of a determination to co-operate in the preservation of the public peace. The

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 154-155.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 155.

Watch and Ward was re-established, and the intention declared of prohibiting Radical gatherings. Further, the Radicals were advised that the legality of appointing a "legislative attorney" was doubtful, and the intention of doing this was abandoned. "Orator" Hunt, nevertheless, made a public and almost a triumphal entry into the town and held his meeting.<sup>14</sup>

Three years earlier public speakers at a meeting in the City of London, under the auspices of the Liveryed Companies of the City and with the Lord Mayor in the chair, had placed frankly before the people as alternatives which must be faced: "either bloody revolution, which they would all have to deplore, or a military despotism," while they referred to the placemen and boroughmongers of Parliament as "all those State paupers, those muck-worms, who had sucked the vital blood of the State."<sup>15</sup> At this meeting no less than sixteen motions were unanimously passed. They all touched on the discontent of the times and included demands for a reduction of taxation and of the numbers of the standing army. Most important, however, from our present point of view, are the following:

Resolved unanimously that our national distress imperiously demands the most prompt abolition of all useless Places and Sinecure Pensions, which constitute so grievous an addition to our insupportable burdens, and the immediate adoption of the most rigid economy in every branch of the public expenditure.

Resolved unanimously that long experience has but too fully proved that the only efficient hope of the people is in themselves united to exercise their constitutional powers, in order to secure a free, full and frequent Representation of the People in the Commons House of Parliament, the want of which Representation having been the primary source of our multitudinous evils, the possession of such a Representation will be the only tranquil, sure and effectual mode of obtaining indemnity for the past, and security for the future.

Resolved unanimously that we earnestly recommend to every County, City, Town and Parish in Great Britain, immediately to assemble, and to direct their efforts steadily and perseveringly to obtain a reduction of Taxes, a system of rigid Economy in every Department of Government, the abolition of useless Places and Sinecures, and a Reform of Parliament; the attainment of which objects is indispensibly [sic] necessary to the safety and honor of the Crown,

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 156.

<sup>15</sup> *Interesting Proceedings and Important Speeches of the Liverymen at a Common Hall of the City of London, convened to take into consideration the extreme Distress of the Country, on Wednesday, August 21, 1816, and the Resolutions passed on the occasion.* London. Printed for R. Harrild, 20, Great Eastcheap, 1816, Price Sixpence.

and to our existence as a free and flourishing People; and this Meeting further recommends, that no temporary expedients may be allowed to distract the attention, or divide the exertions of the People from their endeavours to obtain every one of these important objects.<sup>16</sup>

The speaker at this meeting who was, if not the most important, at all events the most loudly-applauded, was Mr. Henry Hunt who was to become still more widely known as the "Orator Hunt" of the Manchester Meeting of 1819. His speech, in general, led up to the proposal of the motions we have quoted above. We may, however especially note the conclusion of his remarks where he is reported as saying "that the Resolutions were couched in the most "moderate terms to meet the opinions of the Body of the Livery, who might not be willing to support the whole truth."<sup>17</sup>

It was in the knowledge of such antecedent events and in no little fear of the extremes to which the unrepresented portion of the people might proceed that the municipal authorities of Manchester were called upon, in the August of 1819, to cope with further demonstrations. No concealment of time or place was attempted by the conveners of the new meeting which was advertised for August 9, as the following announcement, taken from a contemporary pamphlet,<sup>18</sup> will make clear:

#### MANCHESTER PUBLIC MEETING

The Public are respectfully informed that a Meeting will be held here on Monday the 9th. August 1819, on the area near St. Peter's Church, to take into consideration the most speedy and effectual mode of obtaining Radical Reform in the Commons House of Parliament; being fully convinced that nothing less can remove the intolerable evils under which the People of this country have so long, and do still, groan:—and also to consider the propriety of the "Unrepresented Inhabitants of Manchester" electing a person to represent them in Parliament: and the adopting of Major Cartwright's Bill.<sup>19</sup>

H. HUNT, Esq. in the Chair.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> *Peterloo Massacre, containing A Faithful Narrative of the Events which preceded, accompanied, and followed the fatal Sixteenth of August, 1819, on the Area near St. Peter's Church, Manchester, &c.*: Edited by an Observer. Manchester. Printed by James Wroe, at the *Observer* Office. 1819. No. 12. pp. 189 190.

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Major Cartwright, Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Charles Pearson, Mr. Wooler and Godfrey Higgings, Esq. have been solicited to attend.

*Signed:* (Here follow the names of ten citizens.)

CHAIR to be taken at 12 o'clock.

Manchester, July 23, 1819.

The Boroughreeve, Magistrates and Constables are requested to attend.

In the face of such a challenge the municipality could not lie quiescent. At the same time no attempt was made to arrest Hunt of any of his supporters, or even definitely to prohibit the meeting. Instead, the magistrates contented themselves with the publication of a notice in reply running as follows:

New Bailey Court House, Saturday, 31st. July 1819.

Whereas it appears by an advertisement in the *Manchester Observer* Paper of this day, that a Public and Illegal Meeting is convened for Monday the 9th. day of August next, to be held on the area near St. Peter's Church, in Manchester; We the undersigned Magistrates, acting for the Counties Palatine of Lancaster and Chester, do hereby caution all persons to abstain at their peril from attending such Illegal Meeting.

[The names of nine Magistrates follow.<sup>20</sup>]

The Reformers, while professing to pass over as contemptible "the blunders of this sapient group" of "nine wise men of Gotham" as they styled the Magistrates, poured gibe on gibe upon the diction which cautioned men "to abstain at their peril" from attendance at the meeting.<sup>21</sup> At the same time they were evidently not too sure of their legal position and sent Saxton, the editor of the *Observer*, to Liverpool—where the County

in the method of representation in the House of Commons and presented these to Parliament, though without any success. In general these petitions took the form of "Petitions of Right, claiming representation co-extensive with direct taxation, in annual Parliaments, according to the Constitution; and demanding that 'justice be neither denied nor delayed' according to *Magna Carta*." (*Life & Correspondence of Major Cartwright*: edited by his niece, F. D. Cartwright. Two vols. London. Henry Colburn, 1826. Vol. ii. p. 34. The petition here referred to as "Major Cartwright's Bill" was probably that from Manchester presented by Lord Cochrane, in 1816, and containing nearly 40,000 signatures. (*Ibid.* 127).

<sup>20</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, *cit. supra*. No. 12, p. 190.

<sup>21</sup> But it may be observed that the Reformers, in their own notice, were not too observant of the rules of syntax—"have so long, and do still, groan," will serve for an example.

Quarter Sessions were at the time being held—to seek Counsel's opinion on the matter. Saxton was advised by a barrister of the name of Raincock "that the intention of chusing Representatives, contrary to the existing law, tends greatly to render the proposed Meeting seditious; under these circumstances it would be deemed justifiable in the Magistrates to prevent such Meeting."<sup>22</sup> No charge of illegality appeared to Counsel to be sustainable as far as concerned the mere meeting of a group of men to discuss politics. Nevertheless, Saxton advised Hunt and his friends to abandon their project entirely in view of the preparations which he declared the authorities to be making to oppose them. With an admirable respect for law and legal opinion the Reformers, on the receipt of Saxton's communication of his findings, decided to cancel their arrangements, and on August 4, posted a Bill informing the inhabitants of the town that the meeting set for the ninth was abandoned, and that a requisition to the Magistrates to convene a meeting themselves would be open for signatures at the *Observer* office, and at 49 Great Ancoat's Street, for one day only.<sup>23</sup> Their appeal to the authorities to serve the purposes of Reform by convening a meeting free from all taint of illegality, as might be expected, proved futile, and on Saturday, August 7, the *Observer* printed the following notice:

#### MANCHESTER PUBLIC MEETING

A requisition having been presented to the Boroughreeve and Constables of Manchester, signed by above 700 Inhabitant Householders in a few hours, requesting them to call a Public Meeting to *consider the propriety of adopting the most LEGAL and EFFECTIVE means of obtaining a REFORM in the Commons House of Parliament*, and they having declined to call such Meeting, therefore the undersigned Requisitionists give notice that a Public Meeting will be held, on the area near St. Peter's Church, for the above purpose, on Monday the 16th. instant—the Chair to be taken by Mr. Hunt at 12 o'clock.<sup>24</sup>

The reply of the municipality was contained in a public announcement of August 15, which, while no longer dwelling on the illegality of the Reformers' meeting and while using a tone of appeal to well-ordered citizens, yet may be

<sup>22</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 12, p. 191.

<sup>23</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*. No. 13, pp. 193-194.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p. 195.

taken, in the light of subsequent events, to suggest the intended action of the City authorities. This announcement took the form of a broadside,<sup>25</sup> in the following terms:

*August 15th. 1819.*

THE

Boroughreeves and Constables of  
MANCHESTER AND SALFORD  
most earnestly

R E C O M M E N D

The peaceable and well-disposed  
Inhabitants of those towns,  
As much as possible

TO REMAIN IN THEIR  
OWN HOUSES

During the whole of  
THIS DAY

Monday, August 16th. inst.

And to keep their

CHILDREN

And Servants

WITHIN DOORS

|                    |   |                             |
|--------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| EDWARD CLAYTON,    | } | Boroughreeve of Manchester. |
| JOHN MOORE, junr., |   | Constables.                 |
| JOHATHAN ANDREW,   | } | Boroughreeve of Salford.    |
| JOHN GREENWOOD,    |   | Constables.                 |
| JAMES COOK,        |   |                             |
| JOSIAH COLLIER,    |   |                             |

The next move in the drama was made by the Earl of Derby, who, as Custos Rotulorum of the County of Lancaster, ordered a Special General Sessions of the Justices of the County to meet in the New Bailey Court House of Salford<sup>26</sup> to consider, in view of the fact that "disturbances or offences against the Peace are apprehended in the same County, and prevail in many parts thereof," the expediency of putting into execution the powers of several Acts of Parliament enforcing upon citizens the duties of Watch and Ward. The Sessions were held on August 12, and the hint offered by the noble earl was acted upon.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> This broadside is 29¼ inches long by 19½ inches wide. It is in the Public Record Office, London. Home Office Papers. 42/122.

<sup>26</sup> Salford is divided from Manchester only by the width of a street named Deansgate.

<sup>27</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 13, pp. 196-197.

The stage was now set for the catastrophe. The scene was again St. Peter's Fields—an open space 170 yards long and 150 wide, occupying the site now covered by the Free Trade Hall of Manchester. The morning of the August 16 dawned fair, and as early as nine o'clock the meeting ground, upon which a hustings had been raised, began to fill with an eager populace, anxious to hear the famous speaker, and so little apprehensive of any danger that women, some of them with children in their arms, formed a considerable proportion of the crowd.<sup>28</sup> All during the forenoon people continued to pour in, until the gathering assumed gigantic proportions—as many as 150,000 being massed together, according to the estimate of the staff of the *Manchester Observer*.<sup>29</sup> At half-past one Mr. Hunt's procession entered the field from the direction of Deansgate, and headed by bands playing patriotic airs, proceeded to the hustings where Mr. Hunt took the chair, surrounded by numerous supporters bearing banners showing various devices indicative of the principles of the Reformers.<sup>30</sup>

During the progress of Hunt and his supporters through the town to St. Peter's no opposition had been offered by the authorities, no excesses had been committed by the crowd, which appears, on the contrary, to have acted throughout with extreme decorum, and no soldiery was in sight when Hunt took the chair.<sup>31</sup> Four or five hundred special constables mingled among the crowd were the only signs visible that the law was on the alert, but the presence of these men, far from being

<sup>28</sup> Hunt, speaking at the "Crown and Anchor," Strand, London, after he was released on bail, estimated the number of women present at not less than 20,000 (*Ibid.* No. 6, p. 96). Cf. Axon, *op. cit.*, 156.

<sup>29</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 1, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> The inscriptions on the banners proved particularly irritating to the authorities and were adduced in the attempt to fix a charge of conspiracy on the Reformers. Among the devices used were: *Equal Representation or Death: Unite and Be Free: Die like men, and not be sold like slaves: Hunt and Liberty: God armeth the Patriot: Annual Elections: Universal Suffrage: and Vote by Ballot*, the last three foreshadowing certain of the demands of the later Chartists. (*Ibid.*, No. 4, pp. 57-58) In the examination of Hunt at Manchester, before his commitment, the flag bearing the inscription *Equal Representation or Death* was alleged also to bear a bloody dagger on a black ground, from which it was solemnly argued that the Reformers "meant to overturn the Government" (*Ibid.*, No. 3, p. 46).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1, p. 3.

resented by the people, appears to have been taken rather as a token that good behaviour was all that the corporation expected from the meeting. The constables, however, were there with a purpose, and without any resistance being offered them were able to form themselves into two continuous lines which reached from the waggon which served for the hustings to a gentleman's house on the south side of St. Peter's in which, it seems, the Magistrates had taken up their station.<sup>32</sup>

Under such pacific circumstances, and before a gathering of town and country people unarmed and unsuspecting, Mr. Hunt arose to give his address—an address which, before it could voice either loyalty or treason, was so rapidly cut short by violence that Hunt was barely allowed time to impress upon his audience the need for quietness and good order.<sup>33</sup>

“ My friends and fellow countrymen, [he began] I must entreat your indulgence for a short time; and I beg you will endeavour to preserve the most perfect silence. I hope you will exercise the all-powerful right of the people in an orderly manner; and if you perceive any man that wants to raise a disturbance, let him be instantly put down, and kept secure. For the honour you have done me, in inviting me a second time to preside at your meeting, I return you my thanks; and all I have to beg of you is that you will indulge us with your patient attention. It is impossible that, with the utmost silence, we shall be able to make ourselves heard by this tremendous assembly. It is useless for me to relate to you the proceedings of the last week or ten days in this town and neighbourhood. You know them all, and the cause of the meeting appointed for last Monday being prevented. I will not therefore say one word on that subject; only to observe, that those who put us down and prevented us from meeting on Monday last, by their malignant exertions have produced two-fold the number to-day. It will be perceived, that in consequence of the calling of this new meeting, our enemies, who flattered themselves they had gained a victory, have sustained a great defeat. There have been two or three placards posted up during the last week with the names of one or two insignificant individuals attached to them. One Tom Long or Jack Short, a printer....

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Here Mr. Hunt broke off suddenly, and stared directly in front of him. The interruption was occasioned by no slight cause. On the edge of the listening multitude masses of soldiery had silently and suddenly appeared. Six troops of the 15th Hussars, a troop of horse artillery with two guns, the greater part of the

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 4, p. 58, being part of the suppressed account of the reporter of the *Manchester Courier*.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1, p. 3.

31st Infantry and some companies of the 88th were all of them of the regular army. In front of them paraded some 300 of the Cheshire Yeomanry and about 40 of the Manchesters, all of them young, hot-headed volunteers from the more affluent Manchester families, and most of them, it would seem, more or less under the influence of drink.<sup>34</sup> In the hope that he might restrain violence by maintaining a show of good-humour, Hunt called upon the crowd to give three cheers for the military—to which appeal a rousing response was given by the people, who, even at this juncture, appeared to fear no assault, but rather looked upon the troops with admiration at the spectacular show they presented—"Not a brickbat was thrown at them—not a pistol was fired during this period: all was quiet and orderly, as if the cavalry had been the friend of the multitude."<sup>35</sup> But with a callous determination such as class hatred alone can produce, the Yeomanry drew swords and plunged recklessly into the body of the assembly, cutting indiscriminately right and left and causing great havoc even among their friends, the special constables, who were not easily distinguishable among the others.<sup>36</sup>

A straight line was made for the hustings upon which Mr. Hunt was standing. No attempt was made by him or his friends to avoid the coming of the police officers who presented their warrants and made their arrest. That done, the authorities had surely accomplished all that a nervous municipality and a reactionary government could demand. But no. "Have at their flags" was now the cry raised by the blooded Yeomanry, and in the unwarranted fracas which followed, the populace were cut down on every side, not as they resisted, but rather as they strove to find a way out of the field of carnage. The actual numbers of the killed and injured have been variously and erroneously reported at different times. Most reliable of all, perhaps, is the information contained in a list published shortly after the meeting by the office of the *Manchester Observer*. In that compilation will be found the names of no

<sup>34</sup> Axon, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>35</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 1, p. 4, being part of the report of Mr. Tyas, correspondent of the *London Times*.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* At least one special constable was killed, many more being injured *Ibid.*, p. 11.

less than nine killed and 418 injured. Of these, one of the dead was Martha Partington, of Eccles, who was miserably crushed to death in a cellar hole, while the names of 107 other women appear among the wounded. How many of the more seriously hurt later succumbed will, probably, never be known.<sup>87</sup>

Such were the events and the immediate results of the most celebrated, and perhaps the most important of all meetings held in England in the interests of democracy between the gathering of Stephen Langton and his barons at Runnymede in 1215 and the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. In the eyes of the government the violent dispersal of the mob was a triumph of law and order; a triumph as justifiable as that which might be felt by the average American citizen on the receipt of the news that some ravaging crew of bandits had been successfully rounded up. Whitehall was exultant, and Sidmouth, in a letter to Lord Derby announced that he had "been commanded by His Royal Highness (the Prince Regent) to request that you will express to the Magistrates of the County Palatine of Lancaster, who attended on that day, the great satisfaction derived by His Royal Highness from their prompt, decisive and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity; and likewise that your Lordship will signify to Major Trafford, His Royal Highness's high approbation of the support and assistance to the Civil Power afforded upon that occasion by himself and the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates of the Corps serving under his command."<sup>88</sup> At the same time, the government felt the necessity of providing some justification for the unwarrantably severe measures that had been employed in its behalf. It was, therefore, alleged against the Reformers that they were actually preparing rebellion and making military arrangements to that end. A person signing himself XY, and one who very probably was nothing more or less than a professional delator or spy, in a letter to Major General Sir John Byng, of Pontefract, writing from Oldham on August 16, 1819, reported that on the fifteenth of that

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 13 and 14. Casualty lists, pp. 199-214.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 17. Letter of August 21, 1819. Cf. a reference to the same in a letter of the twenty-third from Stamford L. Warrington of Dunham Massey, to Sidmouth, Public Record Office; Home Office Papers.



month, great gatherings of people had met to take part in military drill at Tandle Hill, White Moss and Quick Edge—8,000 men in all attending.<sup>39</sup> Similarly it was alleged by a certain Thomas Jackson, of 17 George Street, Manchester, in a letter of August 16 of the same year, probably intended for Sidmouth, that two persons, Shawcross, a clerk in the police office, and Murray, a special constable,<sup>40</sup> who went to observe the manoeuvres at White Moss on the 15th were set upon by a crowd of a hundred persons “and violently assaulted and maltreated . . . so . . . as to endanger their lives, which are now despaired of.”<sup>41</sup> But Shawcross, on August 27, was sufficiently recovered to bear witness against Hunt,<sup>42</sup> and though it was tacitly conceded by the friends of the Reformers that meetings of some type or other were held at White Moss,<sup>43</sup> yet their military nature was probably as much exaggerated as was the severity of Mr. Shawcross’ injuries.

But the Reformers had at least a few friends in Parliamentary circles, chief among them being Sir Francis Burdett, and on the re-assembly of the House in November of 1819, an amendment was offered in the Commons to the Address to the Throne. The original Address, among other matters, was directed—

to assure His Royal Highness that we learn with the deepest regret that the Seditious Practices so long prevalent in some of the Manufacturing Districts of the Country, have been continued with increased activity since we were last assembled in Parliament; that they have led to proceedings incompatible with the peaceful habits of the industrious classes of the Community; and that a spirit is now fully manifested utterly hostile to the Constitution of this Kingdom, and aiming not only at the change of those political institutions which have hitherto constituted the pride and security of this Country; but at the subversion of the Rights of Property, and of all order in Society.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Public Record Office: Home Office Papers.

<sup>40</sup> “A baker of Withy Grove,” according to *The Manchester Herald* of August 17, 1819, p. 260, col. 3. He is scornfully termed “the ginger-bread baker” in *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 1, p. 13.

<sup>41</sup> Public Record Office: Home Office Papers.

<sup>42</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 2, p. 31; No. 3, pp. 33-34.

<sup>43</sup> A place about five miles from Manchester; *Ibid.*, No. 1, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> *Substance of the Speech of the Rt. Hon. George Canning in the House of Commons on Wednesday, November 24, 1819, on the Address to the Throne*, London, John Murray, 1920, p. 51.

As an amendment it was proposed:

That we have seen with deep regret the events which took place at Manchester on the 16th. of August last; and that, without pronouncing any opinion on the circumstances which occurred on that melancholy occasion, we feel that they will demand our earliest attention, in order to dissipate the alarm to which they have given birth, by a diligent and impartial enquiry, which may shew that the measures of extraordinary severity, then resorted to, were the result of the most urgent and unavoidable necessity; or prove that an important Constitutional Privilege cannot be violated and the lives of His Majesty's subjects sacrificed with impunity.<sup>45</sup>

The debate which followed on this amendment showed conclusively that the British Government had learned nothing from the lesson of the American Revolution. Every speech of importance betrayed the immovable reactionary, filled with horror and indignation at the intrusion of the bogey of Revolution, and utterly insensible of the justice of a free people demanding legitimate rights.

Here was a revolution [declaimed the Right Honourable W. C. Plunket, on November 23] to be achieved by letting loose the physical force of the community against its constituted authorities; a revolution for the sake of revolution, to take away the property of the rich, and to distribute it among the rabble; and this, too, no ordinary rabble, but one previously debauched by the unremitting disseminations of blasphemous libels, and freed from the restraints of moral or religious feeling... Had not meetings been proposed for the purpose of assuming the functions which belonged only to the sovereign power of the state—meetings, which if they had been actually held, would have been acts of high treason? When it was found that matters were not sufficiently ripe for this undisguised act of public rebellion, had not the same masses of the populace been again convened, under the direction of the same leaders, under the pretext of seeking Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments—their very pretexts such as the constitution could not survive, if they were effectuated, but their real object being to overawe the constituted authorities by the display of their numerical strength, and to prepare for direct, immediate, forcible revolution?... Their first duty was to convince these enemies of God and man, that within the walls of Parliament they could find no countenance; and through the organ of Parliament to let them know, that nothing awaited them but indignant resistance from the great body of the people.<sup>46</sup>

Canning, who spoke on November 24, was chiefly concerned with two matters—first, the question of the legality of

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>46</sup> *Substance of the Speech of the Rt. Hon. W. C. Plunket in the House of Commons on Tuesday the 23rd. of November 1819*, Manchester, Printed and sold by Banks and Co., 1819, pp. 9-10.

the Manchester meeting, and second, the general question of the existence in the country of anything approaching a unanimous demand for Reform. On the first matter he certainly had a thesis to maintain. Seventeen public meetings, held subsequently to August 16, Canning himself admitted in his speech to have expressed specifically that the Manchester meeting had, at least, not been illegal. He himself acknowledged "the general prevalence of the notion that the meeting at Manchester was a *legal* meeting."<sup>47</sup> But Canning, relying solely on the expressed opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General and Mr. Plunket, opinions based on the supposition that the Reformers were thinly-disguised revolutionaries of the type of Robespierre and Marat, blandly contradicted such judgments, and eventually succeeded in persuading a majority of the House that his premises were sound.<sup>48</sup>

In forcing this judgment upon the House Canning was pursuing his dearest object—that of avoiding the necessity of obeying the terms of the amendment and of instituting an enquiry into the behaviour of the Manchester magistrates.

I do not dread the inroads attempted to be made on the constitution of Parliament [he said] with half the horror that I do the efforts to disparage the character of the Magistracy. A new House of Commons might be elected. The Monarch might create new Peers. New statesmen would be found to conduct the affairs of the Government, if the present race of public men were swept from the earth. But once 'destroy that which can never be supplied,' the voluntary and gratuitous dispensation of justice; once sour the public mind against that, perhaps the sole remnant of natural authority; once thoroughly disgust and dishearten that thankless self-devotion, that unbought sacrifice of time and trouble, that benevolent homage of power and wealth to the interests of the humble and the poor which characterise the country Magistracy—let that connecting link between the higher and lower orders of society be once broken—and by that single blow more will be done to disjoint the State than could be accomplished by the Radical Reformers, with all their outrageous declarations, and with all their pikes—when they shall use them.<sup>49</sup>

Where else, it may be wondered, is to be found such an eulogium of the body which, a generation later, after Reform and the Humanitarian Movement had begun to operate, could produce a Mr. Fang? On the general question of Reform, Canning

<sup>47</sup> *Substance of the Speech of the Rt. Hon. George Canning. cit. supra*, pp. 12-13

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

showed himself similarly blinded by the prejudices of his time and caste.

In 1810 and 1812 [he declared] the question of Reform was indeed brought forward, but without exciting much interest or receiving any material support either within doors or without; and from the later period it slept until the year before last<sup>50</sup> when the Honourable Baronet<sup>51</sup> burst upon us with the elaborate plan of Major Cartwright. To that admirable system, and to the peculiar doctrines of that patriarch of Reform, I consider the Honourable Baronet as inviolably pledged. He is the undoubted and sole heir of the venerable Major. I hope that when that system and those doctrines shall descend to him by right of inheritance he will enjoy them to as full a maturity of age and intellect as his predecessor; and that he will finally hand them down unimpaired to some successor equally gifted with himself, unsupported and hopeless in the prosecution of them.<sup>52</sup>

In the House of Lords, on November 30, the Marquis of Lansdowne moved:

that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the State of the Country, and more particularly into the Distresses and Discontents prevalent in the Manufacturing Districts, and the Execution of the Laws with respect to the numerous Public Meetings which have taken place.<sup>53</sup>

Lord Grenville, one of the most inveterate opponents of any kind of Reform, was the chief speaker against the motion. Prompted by motives identical with those which swayed the opinions of the government in the lower House, he emphasized the very same points as had been dwelt upon by Plunket and Canning in the previous week. The enforcement of legislation aimed at the repression of public meetings and the exercise of free speech he considered as the performance by the government of that duty which bound them "to rescue . . . the deluded victims of these machinations . . . if it be still possible, from the seduction and treachery by which they are beset; and to remove from their paths and dwellings the snares unceasingly

<sup>50</sup> I.e., 1817. But it has already been noted *supra* that certainly as early as 1816 meetings advocating Reform had been held both in London and Manchester.

<sup>51</sup> Sir Francis Burdett, M. P. for Westminster.

<sup>52</sup> Speech of Canning, *cit. supra*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>53</sup> *Substance of the Speech of the Rt. Hon. Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords, November 30, 1819, on the Marquis of Lansdowne's Motion*, London, John Murray, 1820, p. 1.

laid for their destruction."<sup>54</sup> Grenville, in his most grandiose manner, complained that:

the whole Nation was inundated with inflammatory and poisonous publications. Its very soil was deluged with sedition and blasphemy. No effort was omitted of base and disgusting mockery, of sordid and unblushing calumny, which could vilify and degrade whatever that People had been most accustomed to love and venerate... No artifice... was left untried, which could stimulate the deluded multitude to the most savage acts of insult... against those most especially who had been most distinguished as their kindest friends, protectors and benefactors.<sup>55</sup>

The question of the legality of the Manchester meeting presented no difficulty at all to Grenville. To him, "independently of actual or meditated violence, every sort of menace, intimidation, and array of force, are in themselves abundantly sufficient to stamp on such proceedings the plainest characters of illegality."<sup>56</sup> To him, the conduct of the Manchester magistrates "appeared not only free from blame, but highly meritorious," and, speaking in general on the administration of justice in the lower County Courts, Grenville concurred with Canning in the verdict that "no words could magnify the labour, the self-devotion, the pure benevolence, the unspotted integrity, with which this duty is discharged."<sup>57</sup>

But the thunder of noble lords and the pompous eloquence of far-away ministers of state alike had lost much of their old force in these post-war days, and carried little conviction to a people weighed down in hard times with an excessive taxation which was the legacy of a war, of which, in spite of its glory and show, they knew little, and about which they cared not a whit. Then, as now, in England, no man might, on the authority even of the king, be shot down or trampled upon by soldiery unless, at least one hour before the charge was made, the Riot Act had been read and the people ordered peaceably to disperse. In the popular discussions of the conduct of the Manchester magistrates no question was more often raised than this—had the Riot Act been read, according to law, before the Yeomanry

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41 and 45.

had made its attack upon the crowd? Even yet no satisfactory answer is forthcoming. The most explicit statement to the affirmative is contained in a report of the affray taken from the *Manchester Herald* of August 17, 1819.<sup>58</sup> to the effect that "the Riot Act was read, but it did not appear to be much attended to by the infatuate crowd who continued to scowl and laugh at the Constables in attendance." This reading was supposed to have taken place about an hour before Mr. Hunt began to speak. According to the *Liverpool Saturday's Advertiser*, whose account was written by a special constable, the Act was read—but an examination of the constable's evidence on the point brings out the fact that he did not hear the reading, but that he based his opinion on the circumstance that "the magistrates, with the constables and officers of the town passed down the line, and remained near the hustings as long as it would take to read the Riot Act."<sup>59</sup> In this case it was alleged that the reading took place *after* Mr. Hunt took the chair, that is to say, there is a difference of an hour and a half in time between this and the previous narrative, and even if this second account were true, the magistrates would have placed themselves hopelessly in the wrong, inasmuch as they failed to allow the statutory hour to pass before ordering the charge to be made. *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle* gives exclusive information. It states that the Riot Act was twice read: once by the Rev. Mr. Ethelston, and once by John Silvester, Esq.<sup>60</sup> But this account mentions neither time nor place, and therefore gives us little assistance.

On the other hand, the representative of the *Manchester Observer* (a Radical paper, it is only fair to state) utterly scouts the idea in his statement that, "as we made a part of the immense multitude, and took our stand near the seat of magistracy, we confess ourselves sceptical on that point. We have not heard of any one person who was present when this indispensable preliminary to legal coercion took place."<sup>61</sup> Similarly, the *Manchester Mercury* of Tuesday, August, 17, does not mention the matter; no reading was heard by the re-

<sup>58</sup> Page 261, col. 1.

<sup>59</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 2, p. 24.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.



porters of the *Liverpool Mercury* or the *Times*, and very few letters from Manchester to the London papers mention the subject.<sup>63</sup> On this important matter of the reading of the Riot Act, in fact, we do not possess any more accurate evidence than that contained in a letter written from Manchester on the evening of August 16, which states that "this evening, near the New Cross, where a party of the 31st Foot were posted, it was found necessary to read the Riot Act, and to fire upon the mob, several of whom were wounded severely, but none dangerously."<sup>64</sup> This evidence is corroborated by the edition of the Conservative *Manchester Mercury* of August 16, where it appears that the Act was read at 7 P.M. as the result of a mob gathering in Oldham Street<sup>65</sup> and expressing their disapproval of the events which had taken place earlier in the day by tearing up the pavement and breaking the windows of a grocer named Tate.<sup>66</sup>

In short, it is by no means certain that the magistrates read the Act before the meeting held by Hunt. If they did so, then it is clear that they read it in some obscure place and that it was not heard by any person who was later ready to come forward and give definite evidence on the matter. Under such circumstances it would certainly appear that it was the capture of Hunt and his associates and the punishment of his auditors, rather than the actual preservation of the public peace, which primarily interested the Manchester authorities.

Two other matters, the findings of the coroners' juries at the inquests on the victims of the massacre, and the proceedings at the trial of Mr. Hunt, materially contributed towards inflaming the passions of the people. The coroners' verdicts certainly gave some ground for comment. On August 18, the verdict found in the case of a woman from Barton-upon-Irwell, who was killed at the top of Bridge Street, Manchester,

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>64</sup> Extract from letter of Jeremiah Garnett, written for Mr. Wright, to Henry Hobhouse, Esq.; Manchester, 9:00 o'clock, August 16. In the Public Record Office among the Home Office Papers of this date.

<sup>65</sup> This is something over half-a-mile from St. Peter's.

<sup>66</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 2, p. 27. The crowd was under the impression that Tate had been one of the special constables, and that he had been instrumental in capturing a much-prized flag of the Reformers. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

by the pressure of the crowd, was "accidental death," and the only rider added by the jury consisted of an expression of regret at "the great indiscretion of women in wantonly putting themselves in the way of harm" and it was remarked "that they must, under such circumstances, take the consequences." On August 19, the verdict on the body of Mr. Ashworth, a special constable killed at St. Peter's, was again "accidental death." On the same day an inquest was also held on a man from Cow Hill, near Oldham, who had been brought dead to the hospital from St. Peter's, and in this case the verdict was the still more unsatisfactory one of "found dead; but how the deceased came to his death no satisfactory evidence appeared." The verdict of "accidental death" was also returned on the body of a child that died in the arms of its mother who was ridden down by a light horseman.<sup>66</sup> Most flagrant, however, of all cases, was that of John Lees, of Oldham, who died on September 7.<sup>67</sup> The medical evidence on the case was contradictory and confusing. Of the three doctors who had anything to do with the deceased, one was a Quaker and refused to be sworn, so that his evidence was not heard. Of the other two, Dr. Basnett, who was called in by the parents, saw Lees the day after his death and made an autopsy. Dr. John Cox, who was asked by the constables to view the corpse, did the same, but his chief anxiety in court appeared to be to avoid giving any definite opinion, and his evidence consisted largely of a technical lecture to the jury on physiology and a description of the wounds received by Lees, without any assistance being given to the jury to enable them to arrive at a sound conclusion as to how those wounds had been inflicted.<sup>68</sup>

But from the evidence of Dr. Basnett, and from that of many non-professional witnesses who saw Lees regularly after August 16 until his death, it is almost certain that Lees died from mortification of the intestines occasioned by severe blows administered at the Peterloo meeting. At the same time, it appears fairly clear that Lees had been very seriously neglected during his sickness, and that proper attention might have saved his life. Under such circumstances it is difficult to

<sup>66</sup> Reports given in *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 2, p. 29.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 *passim* for report of the Lees case.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 8, pp. 115-117.

understand why the coroner should not have allowed the jury entire freedom in arriving at a decision. The bench, however, appears to have felt intensely that the force of public opinion was against the authorities, and the conduct of the enquiry gives considerable occasion for dissatisfaction. It was, naturally, to the interest of the solicitor in charge of Lees' interests (Mr. James Harmer) to prove conclusively that the military, on August 16, had indiscriminately cut down the crowd. It was the duty of the magistrate merely to ascertain the truth as to how Lees had met his death, irrespective of whom the evidence might implicate. In fact, it is common knowledge that the evidence collected at coroners' inquests very often provides a basis for an indictment for murder or some near-allied crime. But in this case the utmost care was taken by the magistrates to smother any evidence tending to emphasize the actions of the military on the 16th. Nothing was allowed as admissible which had not for its object the definite establishment of the fact that a *particular individual*, known to the witness *by name*, did actually strike Lees: no newspaper reports of the inquest were allowed to be taken, and finally, the enquiry, begun on September 8 and subsequently adjourned from time to time, was finally suspended entirely in the beginning of December by an order of the Court of King's Bench.<sup>69</sup>

In the matter of the trial of Mr. Hunt, it must be admitted that, from the strictly legal point of view, the conduct of the magistrates was passably fair, and that considerable freedom of expression of opinion was allowed the accused. But for all that, in the preparation of the evidence to be used against the Reformers, a disgraceful amount of sharp practice appears to have been employed. In a letter to Major Cartwright and S. Brooks, Esq., Treasurers of the Reformers' Committee, Mr. Charles Pearson, who was Hunt's attorney at the trial, made serious charges against the integrity of the magistrates in several particulars. The first instance concerned the question as to whether a certain Mr. Moorhouse was on the hustings with Hunt. As the presence of any person on that platform was taken in this instance as *prima facie* evidence of conspiracy, to charge a man with being there was a serious matter. James

<sup>69</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 14, pp. 215-216.

Platt and Robert Derbyshire, Manchester police constables, had deposed, on oath, on August 16 that they had seen Mr. Moorhouse there, and further, when brought face to face with the accused, Platt had assured the magistrates that he was certain that he had made no mistake as to his identity. Being sure, for once, of their ground, the Reformers, through their attorney, brought a charge of perjury against the constables. It was proved conclusively that Moorhouse had alighted from Hunt's carriage on its arrival at St. Peter's, and that, during the whole of the meeting, he was in the Windmill Inn, in full sight of three persons at least, who regularly deposed to these facts. In spite, however, of such evidence, the Grand Jury refused to find true bills for perjury against Platt and Derbyshire. Such a proceeding, bad enough in itself, appeared in an infinitely worse light when it became known afterwards that Platt and Derbyshire were both principal witnesses for the prosecution against Hunt and his fellows. It is clear that to have committed them for perjury would have discounted their subsequent evidence enormously.

The next business engaged in by the Grand Jury was that of hearing evidence on the bill of indictment of Hunt and his friends. Here again there were irregularities. Mr. Milne, the attorney for the prosecution, contrary to all the rules of the profession, was called into the room with the jury, and remained there for some time. Later, he himself brought out the bill of indictment, and at that late time strengthened his case by adding still another witness to his list. Moorhouse, as well as Hunt and eight other friends of his, were indicted for conspiracy, but it was a matter for much comment that no less than seven of the witnesses were police runners.

At the same time, five separate indictments were cited against named Manchester Yeomen for maliciously cutting and wounding. The first was preferred by Mr. E. Gilmore against Edward Tebbutt. Regular evidence was given that Tebbutt had struck and wounded Gilmore with a sabre when Gilmore was in a perfectly defenceless situation. Tebbutt was also charged by a Mrs. Elizabeth Farren with wantonly cutting open her head with a sabre, in spite of the fact that she had a child at her breast at the time, and begged for mercy. In the third place a charge was made, under Lord Ellenborough's

Act, against Edward Meagher, the trumpeter of the Yeomanry. In this case, a man called Cheetham, with two or three others, was walking down a street, going in a direction leading away from St. Peter's, when he was met by Meagher and others of the Yeomanry. Meagher appears to have acted in a despicable manner. He gave the impression of making room for the pedestrians to pass, but as Cheetham attempted to do so, cried out: "Damn you, I will cut your head off," and made a desperate stroke at him which produced a dreadful gash three inches long and one deep in Cheetham's neck. Cheetham's associates all gave straightforward evidence as to Meagher's "bloodthirsty fury." The next indictment was made by an old woman of sixty against Thomas Shelmerdine. This woman was looking for her son on the outskirts of the meeting when Shelmerdine rode up in a threatening manner. She had known him since he was a child, and cried out: "Tom Shelmerdine, thee will not hurt me, I know," but in spite of everything the trooper dealt her a slash across the head so severe as to put her life in jeopardy. Lastly, a charge was made against a Yeoman named Carlton, who had seriously cut a little boy, who, having attended the meeting from sheer curiosity, ran to the soldier for protection, only to be sabred across the head.

But the Grand Jury, whose duty, after all, was not to try these cases, but merely to decide whether a sufficient case had been made out to send a defendant to take his trial, threw out every one of these bills and contrived to give the country at large an impression of a very decided partiality.<sup>70</sup>

Moreover, the use of written depositions put in by witnesses who were not called at the trial, and who could not, therefore, be subjected to examination by the counsel for the defence, and a meticulous supervision of what questions on the part of the defendants should be considered proper to be put, and, above all, the sudden reduction of the charge against Hunt and his fellows from one of High Treason to one of mere misdemeanour, were matters which were made much of in the

<sup>70</sup> Letter of Mr. Charles Pearson of September 5, 1819, in *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 6, pp. 82-87.

local press<sup>71</sup> and tended to make Hunt more than ever a popular champion and idol.<sup>72</sup>

The fierceness of the measures taken by the Manchester magistrates on August 16, and the subsequent efforts to check the activities of the Reformers by means of the law failed entirely of their object. Meetings multiplied, and the name of Hunt became, in the mouth of the common people, almost synonymous with liberty. Of these meetings, perhaps the most important and symptomatic, because it was the least trammelled, was that which was held at Westminster on September 2, 1819.<sup>73</sup> Sir Francis Burdett, the sitting member, and a man already mentioned as the strongest supporter of Reform at the time in Parliament, took the chair and was the principal speaker. His speech was far more inflammatory than Hunt's Manchester oration:

"Some wicked and foolish scribe," he cunningly intimated to the assembled crowd of some 30,000, "has insinuated as much as that it was the intention of the military to assassinate Mr. Hunt at the meeting at Manchester." (Cries of 'Shame.') . . . I think Mr. Hunt, on that trying occasion, conducted himself with great propriety. I shall neither look backward nor forward, I shall ever be found to praise the Englishman who does his duty—I think Mr. Hunt baffled and defeated, and exposed the Manchester magistrates. I think he conducted himself with wisdom and propriety, and I am glad to give him the tribute of my applause, for the conduct he pursued on the occasion to which I allude." (Loud applause.)<sup>74</sup>

His harangue was made the ground for the passing of certain resolutions. It was agreed that the Manchester meeting was a lawful meeting; that the Yeomen had "wantonly, wickedly and cruelly" attacked the Reformers; that the attack was "an attempt to destroy by the sword all the yet remaining liberties of Englishmen"; that the Manchester episode was but "one of the many lamentable consequences of the House of

<sup>71</sup> For account of the trial see *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 2, pp. 28-32; No. 3, pp. 33-46; No. 4, pp. 62-64; No. 5, pp. 65-70.

<sup>72</sup> Hunt and his friends were let out on bail on September 7. On March 16, 1820 Hunt was sentenced to two years six months imprisonment; Joseph Johnson, Joseph Healey and Samuel Bamford to one year. Cf. Axon, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>73</sup> Westminster was a constituency which, because it was entirely free from the influence of local landowners, was consistently most democratic. Its elections were absolutely free and uncontrolled.

<sup>74</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 4, p. 52.

Commons being everything but what it ought to be—a real Representation of the People”; and “that the liberties we still possess can only be preserved, those we have lost restored, the peace, the comfort, the happiness of the people be promoted, and their property protected, by making the Elective Franchise so equal, so extensive, and so secure, that it shall be impossible to corrupt the Electors; and the duration of Parliament so short that it shall be the interest of the Representative to act faithfully towards his constituents.” It was also voted that an address based upon these resolutions should be presented to the Prince Regent by Sir Francis Burdett, John Cam Hobhouse, Esq., and Major Cartwright.<sup>75</sup>

Among other meetings held in the cause of Reform at this time may be quoted “The Surrey and Southwark meeting,” held on Kennington Common on Monday, August 23, 1819, when Hunt was voted into the chair, although he was, at the time, detained in prison and unable to fulfil his duties,<sup>76</sup> and that held, one September 21, in the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, London, “to express the Opinion of the BRITISH PUBLIC upon the recent conduct of the YEOMANRY, CAVALRY and the MAGISTRATES in dispersing the Manchester Meeting for Reform.”<sup>77</sup> Here Hunt actually took the chair, and as had been the case on his passing through Manchester and other towns of Lancashire after his release, he was received with acclamations and a display of triumph surpassing, in the words of a contemporary writer, “the joyous entre of the Emperor Joseph into Brabant” and “furnishing London with a sight which was never witnessed in England, no, nor in Europe, before!”<sup>78</sup> Hunt’s speech at the Crown and Anchor was largely a recapitulation of the frightfulness of the massacre and of his own experiences after his arrest. One sentiment he uttered, at least, which proved so true that it deserves record: “Gentlemen, the country is roused, and the cowardly and bloody deeds of Manchester have done more for the cause of Reform than all that you and I could have effected by our humble exertions for ten years.”<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>76</sup> See broadside headed “Universal, Civil and Religious Liberty,” in Public Record Office: Home Office Papers.

<sup>77</sup> Broadside in Public Record Office: Home Office Papers.

<sup>78</sup> *Peterloo Massacre*, No. 6, p. 87.

<sup>79</sup> See account of the meeting, *ibidem*, No. 6, pp. 87-96; No. 7, pp. 98-103.

containing a crown surrounded by bayonets. This was surmounted by the figure of a Yeomanry Cavalryman on a prancing steed, riding down and cutting with his sabre a prostrate group of men, women and children. The inscription "Manchester, August 16, 1819" ran along the base, and the accompanying letterpress was printed beneath:

#### VICTORY OF PETERLOO

A monument is proposed to be erected in the commemoration of the achievements of the MANCHESTER YEOMANRY CAVALRY, on the 16th. August 1819, against THE MANCHESTER MEETING of Petitioners for Redress of Wrongs and Grievances, and Reform in Parliament. It has been called a *battle*, but erroneously; for the multitude was *unarmed*, and made no resistance to the heroes *armed*; there was no contest—it was a *victory*; and has accordingly been celebrated in triumph. This event, more important in its consequences than the Battle of Waterloo, will be recorded on the monument, by simply stating the names of the officers and privates successfully engaged, on the one side; and on the other, the names of the persons killed, and of the six hundred maimed and wounded in the attack and pursuit; also the names of the captured, who are still prisoners in His Majesty's goals [sic]; with the letter of thanks addressed to the victors, by His Majesty's Command.<sup>89</sup>

As a fitting accompaniment to the monument, it was satirically suggested that: "Meagher's trumpet shall be melted down, and that the brass shall be carefully applied to the purpose of multiplying an appropriate design to be distributed among the warriors who distinguished themselves on the occasion, and to be worn by each as a PETERLOO MEDAL." This proposed medal also is illustrated. It takes the form of a masked trumpeter slashing at a poor panic-stricken man with a bloody axe with which he has already laid a woman lifeless at his feet. The whole is surrounded by a black circlet garnished with skulls and crossbones and with it goes the inscription:

Am I not a man and a brother?  
No!—You are a poor weaver!"<sup>90</sup>

<sup>89</sup> In the burlesque "Advertisement" section of the pamphlet entitled *A Slap at Slap and the Bridge Street Gang*, printed by and for William Hone, 45, Ludgate Hill, London, 1822, p. 3. The drawing is by Cruikshank.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.



Among the poets, Leigh Hunt responded to the stimulus with his *Manchester Yeoman* and *A New Chaunt*:<sup>91</sup>

And we'll put soldiers all about instead of constables, like our good promise-making friend the Prussian;

And pin down the great body of Englishmen as if it were GULLIVER, each like a super-eminent Lilliputian;

And having taxed away the people's dinners, we'll tax away their tea, in order to bring their remaining courage to a conclusion;

And if they dare nevertheless to meet again, we'll deliver them with a vengeance, —namely, up to execution;

Man, woman and child,—not a soul that comes in our way shall that pretty review shun;

And we'll make the Prince thank us for it without knowing anything of the matter, and delay and deny justice,<sup>92</sup> and treat every approach to the throne as an intrusion . . .

But it was Shelley who had, all along, experienced the greatest reaction to current happenings in England.<sup>93</sup> The Peterloo incident fairly opened the floodgates of his wrath and disgust at the Government:

The same day that your letter came, came the news of the Manchester work and the torrent of my indignation has not yet done boiling in my veins. I wait anxiously to hear how the country will express its sense of this bloody, murderous opposition of its destroyers. 'Something must be done. What, yet I know not.'<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Leigh Hunt was also fired to write prose editorials on this topic. See among others, *Examiner*, No. 608, of Sunday, August, 22, 1819, pp. 529-531; No. 609, of Sunday, August, 29, 1819, pp. 545-547; also excerpts from the *Times* on pp. 556-558. No. 610, of Sunday, September 5, 1819, pp. 561-562 contains a leading editorial on the liberation of Henry Hunt, with some details of his examination etc. Hone's anti-governmental publications were being advertised in the *Examiner* in 1821, and Leigh Hunt's poem *A Hanging We Will Go*, which appeared in the *Examiner*, No. 713, of Sunday, September 2, 1821, p. 553, was certainly influenced by the Manchester affair and its consequences.

<sup>92</sup> A tag from Magna Carta, often quoted by the Reformers.

<sup>93</sup> For some expressions of Shelley's views of earlier years, in addition to those already quoted, see *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. Roger Ingpen. Bell. 1914, I, 202, of Dec. 26, 1811: 292, of April 16, 1812; 308-309, of May 7, 1812; 384 and footnote 1 to the same. Cf. also *The Revolt of Islam*, VI, v-vii and xiv-xv.

<sup>94</sup> Ingpen, *op. cit.*, II, 716. Letter to Charles and James Ollier, of September 6; written from Leghorn.

Writing to Thomas Love Peacock, later in the month, he exclaimed:

What an infernal business this of Manchester! What is to be done? Something, assuredly. Mr. Hunt has behaved, I think, with great spirit and coolness in the whole affair.<sup>66</sup>

Nor did the matter soon cease to agitate the poet.

Post succeeds post [he wrote to Leigh Hunt, on November 3, 1819] and fresh horrors are ever detailed. First we hear that a troop of the enraged master-manufacturers are let loose with sharpened swords upon their starving dependents; and in spite of the remonstrances of the regular troops that they ride over them and massacre without distinction of sex or age, and cut off women's breasts and dash the heads of infants against the stones. Then comes information that a man has been found guilty of some inexplicable crime, which his prosecutors call blasphemy, one of the features of which, they inform us, is the denying that the massacring of children was done by the immediate command of the author and preserver of all things.<sup>67</sup>

The general attitude, in fact, of the Shelleys to their native land, may, perhaps, be grasped from a letter of Mary Shelley, dated November 24, 1819:

Not that I much wish to be in England, if I could but import a cargo of friends and books from that island here. I am too much depressed by its enslaved state, my inutility; the little chance there is for freedom, and the great chance there is for tyranny, to wish to be witness of its degradation step by step, and to feel all the sensations of indignation and horror which I know I should experience were I to hear daily the talk of the subjects, or rather the slaves, of King Cant whose dominion I fear is of wider extent in England than anywhere else . . . No, since I have seen Rome, that City is my Country, and I do not wish to own any other until England is *free* and *true*; that is until the throne *Cant*, the God, or if you will, the abominable idol, before whom at present the English are offering up a sacrifice of blood and liberty, be overthrown . . . that nook of *ci-devant* free land, so sweetly surrounded by the sea is no longer England, but Castlereaghlant or New Land Castlereagh . . . All those who wish to become subjects of the new kingdom ought to be obliged to take an oath of citizenship not as Irish, English or Scotch, but as Castlereaghish . . . A man would only have to enter himself a slave, a fool, a bigot and a tyrant where he can, to become a Castlereaghishman. The form of their oath should be,—The King shall have my breath, Castlereagh my obedience, his Parliament my love, the *Courier* my trust, the *Quarterly* my belief, Murray my custom—down with the Whigs

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 720, of September 21, 1819; also from Leghorn.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 736-737. The prosecution mentioned in this letter was that of Richard Carlile, the famous Radical publisher. See Ingpen, *op. cit.*, footnote to p. 736.

and Radicals—So God help me! I really think I will write to Castlereagh on the subject; it would be a Godsend to him, such a kingdom, and save him a world of trouble in grinding and pounding and hanging and taxing the English that remain into Castlereaghish, for all that would not accede to the terms of his agreement would be aliens and so an end to them."<sup>7</sup>

On the poet himself, one result of the Manchester affair was to coalesce in his mind for use in the near future certain principles upon which Reform might eventually be obtained:

Economy, retrenchment, the gradual abolition of the National Debt by some just yet speedy and effectual system, and such a reform in the representative system, and such a reform in the representation as by admitting the constitutional presence of the people in the State may prevent the recurrence of evils which now present us with the alternative of despotism or revolution, are the objects at which the jury unceremoniously struck when from a sentiment of religious intolerance they delivered a verdict of guilty against Mr. Carlile."<sup>8</sup>

The immediate result, however, of the receipt of the news of the massacre was the penning of *The Mask of Anarchy*. The first nine stanzas of the poem, in particular, show Shelley's indignation blazing forth in personalities fiercer even than those of Hone's political satires, and often in terms strikingly reminiscent of those works. Later, the old revolutionary flashes out in the lines:

Men of England, heirs of Glory,  
Heroes of unwritten story,  
Nurslings of one mighty Mother,  
Hopes of her, and one another;  
Rise like Lions after slumber  
In unvanquishable number,  
Shake your chains to earth like dew  
Which in sleep had fallen on you—  
Ye are many—they are few."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Letters of Mary W. Shelley*, ed. Henry H. Harper, for the Bibliophile Society, Boston, 1918. Excerpts from pp. 87-92.

<sup>8</sup> Ingpen. *op. cit.*, II, 743-744. Letter to Leigh Hunt of November 3, 1819.

<sup>9</sup> *The Mask of Anarchy*, stanzas xxxvii-xxxviii: Cf. Southey, *Wat Tyler*:

"The mighty multitude shall trample down  
The handful that oppress them."

Medwin (*Life of Shelley*, 1847, I, 60) says that Shelley's favorite poet in 1809 was Southey. This influence, as Prof. Walter E. Peck has pointed out, extended even to 1820. See *Descriptive Catalogue of the First Editions in Printed Book Form of the Writings of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 1923, p. 59.

But as the poem progresses, and as the splendid heat of passion in which the first lines were penned died out somewhat, Shelley demonstrates to what extent counsels of moderation had tempered his early views:

Let a vast assembly be,  
And with great solemnity  
Declare with measured words that ye  
Are, as God has made ye, free—  
. . . . .

Let the horseman's scimitars  
Wheel and flash, like sphereless stars  
Thirsting to eclipse their burning  
In a sea of death and mourning.

Stand ye firm and resolute,  
Like a forest close and mute,  
With folded arms and looks which are  
Weapons of unvanquished war,

And let Panic, who outspeeds  
The career of armed steeds  
Pass, a disregarded shade  
Through your phalanx undismayed.

Let the laws of your own land,  
Good or ill, between you stand  
Hand to hand, and foot to foot,  
Arbiters of the dispute,

The old laws of England—they  
Whose reverend heads with age are gray,  
Children of a wiser day;  
And whose solemn voice must be  
Thine own echo—Liberty!

On those who first should violate  
Such sacred heralds in their state  
Rest the blood that must ensue,  
And it will not rest on you.

And if then the tyrants dare  
Let them ride among you there,  
Slash, and stab, and maim, and hew,—  
What they like, that let them do.

With folded arms and steady eyes,  
 And little fear and less surprise,  
 Look upon them as they slay  
 Till their rage has died away.<sup>100</sup>

*The Mask of Anarchy* was completed about the third week in the September of 1819.<sup>101</sup> It was sent to Leigh Hunt for publication in the *Examiner*, but it remained in manuscript until the year 1832, since Hunt "thought that the public at large had not become sufficiently discerning to do justice to the sincerity and kind-heartedness of the spirit that walked in this flaming robe of verse."<sup>102</sup> Into the wisdom of Leigh Hunt's judgment it is perhaps idle to enquire. To us it would appear that *The Mask of Anarchy* was by no means the most objectionable shaft levelled at the British Government in the year 1819. On the contrary, Shelley shines forth in quite a surprising manner as the apostle of moderation and wise submission—as a teacher of the wisdom of a steady reference to precedent and a cool contemner of the doctrine of red revolution—at a time when the press of England was flooding the country with much more fiery stuff. The chief interest, indeed, of *The Mask of Anarchy* lies in the fact that, though it was written on the spur of the moment, and on the impulse of deep feeling, it nevertheless contains much of the body of thought immediately afterwards incorporated into the recently published *Philosophical View of Reform*, a work which, had it been earlier given to the world, might have done much to free Shelley from that imputation of radicalism and extreme thought which so many have been found ready to impute to him.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *The Mask of Anarchy*, stanzas lxxiii and lxxviii-lxxxv. This poem was written at Leghorn.

<sup>101</sup> "A few days before we left Leghorn, which is now two months ago, Shelley sent a poem called *The Mask of Anarchy*." *Letters of Mary Shelley*, ed. cit., p. 78, under date of Nov. 24, 1819.

<sup>102</sup> Leigh Hunt's preface to the edition of 1832, page v. Mentioned, but not quoted by H. Forman Buxton in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1887, p. 240. Cf. Shelley Society's Publications. Extra Series. No. 4 of 1887, pp. 12-13.

<sup>103</sup> *The Philosophical View of Reform* was written in 1819-1820 but first published by T. W. Rolleston, for the Oxford University Press in 1920. This edition contains a multitude of errors. The manuscript, which belongs to Mr. Carl H. Pforzheimer of New York, is now being re-edited by my friend Prof. Walter E. Peck. All references to the text in this paper are to the folio numbers of the MS. and contain many of Prof. Peck's corrections.

The keynote of the *Philosophical View of Reform* is moderation combined with tolerance and human sympathy. True, when Shelley deals with the theory which underlies government he still recognises the right of the individual to rebel:

Right government being an institution for the purpose of securing such a moderate degree of happiness to men as has been experimentally practicable, the sure character of misgovernment is misery, and first discontent, and if that be despised, then insurrection, as the legitimate expression of that misery...<sup>104</sup>

But in legitimising armed resistance to government, Shelley was doing no more than expressing his natural revulsion against such unwarranted onslaughts as that at Manchester which had so revolted him.

The last resort of resistance is undoubtedly insurrection. The right of insurrection is derived from the employment of armed force to counteract the will of the nation. Let the government disband the standing army, and the purpose of resistance would be sufficiently fulfilled by the incessant agitation of the points of dispute before the courts of common law, and by an unwarlike display of the irresistible number and union of the people.<sup>105</sup>

Here, in fact, we have much more of an approximation to the modern notion of arbitration and compromise than to the short methods of the French Revolution, methods abhorrent and fearful to the British Government of the early 19th century, and flirted with, it must be admitted, upon occasion, by some of the English Reformers. To Shelley, good government meant the achievement of the happiness of the people by fair means—not the levelling of all men by some socialistic formula. It was when such reasonable happiness was refused the masses by deliberate machination that Shelley foresaw revolution and bloodshed, not as a result of the malice of the mob, but as the inevitable result of the visualisation of wrong aims and the employment of vicious means.

Whenever this [i.e. public happiness] is attained in a nation, not from external force, but from the internal arrangement and the divisions of the common burthens of defence and maintenance, then there is oppression. And then arises an alternative between Reform and the institution of a military Despotism, or a Revolution in which these two parties one striving after ill-digested systems

<sup>104</sup> *Philosophical View of Reform*. Fol. 56r.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, Fol. 109r-v.

of democracy, and the other clinging to the out-worn abuses of power, leave the few who aspire to more than the former and who would overthrow the latter at whatever expense, to wait for<sup>106</sup> that modified advantage which with the temperance and the toleration which both regard as a crime, might have resulted from the occasion which they both let pass in a far more signal manner.<sup>107</sup>

Such public happiness Shelley, in common with many other advanced thinkers of his day, conceived to depend, at least in part, upon popular representation:

The advocates of universal suffrage have reasoned correctly that no individual who is governed can be denied a direct share in the government without supreme injustice.<sup>108</sup>

At the same time, the poet, with a fine caution, refused entirely to entrust himself to the Radicals. He feared, to some degree, the extent to which they might push their theories—he could see no logical end to their arguments but the total abolition of monarchy and aristocracy, the levelling of wealth, and an agrarian re-distribution.<sup>109</sup> Not that these prospects utterly dismayed him or appeared to him preposterous—to his mind “(that the House of<sup>110</sup> Commons should reform itself, uninfluenced by any fear that the people would, on their refusal, assume to itself that office, seems a contradiction,”<sup>111</sup> but he deeply feared that the people had not sufficient political sense and experience to carry through, unaided, a satisfactory change

Any sudden attempt at universal suffrage would produce an immature attempt at a Republic. It (is better)<sup>112</sup> that (an)<sup>113</sup> object so inexpressibly great and sacred should never have been attempted than<sup>114</sup> that it should be attempted and fail.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>106</sup> MS. “until.”

<sup>107</sup> *Philosophical View of Reform*, Fol. 56r, 56v, 57r.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, Fol. 82r. Cf. “That Representative Assembly called the House of Commons ought unquestionless to be *immediately* nominated by the great mass of the people” (*Ibid.*, Fol. 87v).

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, Fol. 82v.

<sup>110</sup> Cancelled in MS. and no substitute provided.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, Fol. 84v.

<sup>112</sup> Cancelled in MS. and no substitute provided.

<sup>113</sup> “that,” erroneously, in MS.

<sup>114</sup> Fol. 88v.

To Shelley's mind, all possibility of a moderate and gradual reform by consent had been unhappily and miserably dissipated by the events of the last two years.

Two years ago [i.e., in 1817] it might still have been possible to have commenced a system of gradual reform. The people were then insulted, tempted and betrayed, and the *petitions of a million* of men rejected with disdain. Now they are more miserable, more hopeless, more impatient of their misery. Above all, they have become more universally aware of the true sources of their misery.<sup>115</sup>

And so Shelley reverts to the opinion earlier expressed in *The Mask of Anarchy*—that patience and long-suffering are the only efficient weapons remaining to the people, but that through them they will eventually gain their ends and maintain at the same time their self-respect.

Lastly, if circumstances had collected a more considerable number as at Manchester on the memorable 16th. of August, if the tyrants command their troops to fire upon them or cut them down unless they disperse, he [i.e. the true patriot] will exhort them peaceably to risque the danger, and to expect without resistance the onset of the cavalry, and wait with folded arms the event of the fire of the artillery and receive with unshrinking bosoms the bayonets of the charging battalions. Men are every day persuaded to incur greater perils for less manifest advantage. And this, not because active resistance is not justifiable when all other means shall have failed, but because in this instance temperance and courage would produce greater advantages than the most decisive victory.<sup>116</sup>

Had the *Philosophical View of Reform* been published on its completion, it is to be feared that the advice it contained would hardly have gained for Shelley the whole-hearted approbation of a majority of the Reformers. But to a modern world Shelley shines forth, both in *The Mask of Anarchy* and in its prose complement, as one of the few balanced writers on Reform, as an unbiased thinker of no mean calibre, and, finally, as a prophet born out of his time.

A. STANLEY WALKER

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, Fol. 93<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, Fol. 98<sup>v</sup>.



## VI. SHELLEY, MARY SHELLEY, AND RINALDO RINALDINI

Late in 1817, while residing at Great Marlow, Shelley wrote out the fragment known as *Prince Athanase*, presenting the characteristically Shelleyan hero, imbibing "philosophic wisdom, clear and mild" from an old hermit named Zonoras.

When Mrs. Shelley, in 1839, issued the first definitive edition of her husband's poetical works, she made a note on the unnamed hermit of *Laon and Cythna (The Revolt of Islam)* who liberates Laon from prison, that this character was "founded on that of Doctor Lind, who, when Shelley was at Eton, had often stood by to befriend and support him, and whose name he never mentioned without love and veneration."<sup>1</sup> She did not say (though Mr. H. Buxton Forman has so asserted<sup>2</sup>) that Dr. Lind was also the original of the hermit, Zonoras, in *Prince Athanase*. Medwin, however, did say it,<sup>3</sup> and Lady Jane Shelley,<sup>4</sup> Rossetti,<sup>5</sup> Dowden,<sup>6</sup> Ingpen,<sup>7</sup> and Clutton-Brock<sup>8</sup> have repeated it. But neither Hogg nor Woodberry ventures to put the theory forward as fact; and in spite of the reasonableness of the inference attaching to two poems similar in parts and written within the same period (the year 1817) it seems to me that both are justified in their caution in this matter.

I have been at so much pains in running down these statements, because in this paper I wish to indicate another possible source of the characters of these two hermits, of characters and incidents in Shelley's juvenile romances, and of the germinal idea of *Frankenstein*, in a romance read by Mary in the spring of 1815.

On Tuesday, March 7, 1815, Mary wrote in her journal: "... read ... *Rinaldo Rinaldini*." On the next day she added:

<sup>1</sup> *Poetical Works*, 1839. i. 376.

<sup>2</sup> *Works of Shelley*, 1880. iii. 138, n.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Shelley*, 1847. i. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Shelley Memorials*, 1859. p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoir of Shelley*, 2nd ed. 1886. p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Life of Shelley*, 1886. i. 34.

<sup>7</sup> *Shelley in England*, 1917. p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> *Shelley the Man and the Poet*, rev. ed. 1923. p. 10.

"Finish *Rinaldini*."<sup>9</sup> And in her list of books read during 1815 *Rinaldo Rinaldini* reappears.<sup>10</sup> She did not star the latter entry, in the manner she employed to indicate that Shelley had also read the work named; but I think it just possible that this may have been an accidental omission.

The romance to which Mary thus referred was published in three volumes, in 1800, by Longman and Rees, Paternoster Row, and Geisweiler, Parliament Street, London, and was entitled: *The/Life and Adventures/of/RINALDO RINALDINI,/Captain of Robbers./Translated from the German of Vulvius./By I. Hinckley, Esq./* It is of the type of sensational fiction then much in vogue in the circulating libraries of England (my own copies bear the stamps of two such mediums); and sets of this work are therefore not generally accessible today, having been read and reread until the volumes fell apart and were destroyed. This shall be my excuse for somewhat more generous quotation from the romance than I should otherwise introduce, for I imagine that few American college and university libraries contain it.

It is my opinion that Shelley read *Rinaldo Rinaldini* while at Sion House or Eton. Medwin tells us that in 1803 he and Shelley were wont to resort to the circulating library of Brentford (Sion House Academy was located at Isleworth, near Brentford) where, he says, "the treasures at first seemed inexhaustible." At the school he "greedily devoured all the books which were brought to school after the holidays; these were mostly *blue* books."<sup>11</sup> Shelley's first juvenile romance, *Zastrozzi*, was published while he was still a student at Eton; and it contains elements pretty certainly derived from *Rinaldo Rinaldini*. In making this assertion I am not unaware of the far greater debt (fully stated by Mr. Hughes<sup>12</sup>) which, in both *Zastrozzi* and *St. Irvyne*, Shelley owed to Charlotte Byrne's *Zofloya, or the Moor* (3 vols., 1806) Mrs. Radcliffe's *The Italian* (3 vols., 1797) and Godwin's *St. Leon* (4 vols., 1799); nor hereafter, when I shall have occasion to refer to the relation between

<sup>9</sup> *Life and Letters of M. W. Shelley*, 1889. i. 109.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 123.

<sup>11</sup> *Life of Shelley*, 1847. i. 29-30.

<sup>12</sup> "Shelley's *Zastrozzi* and *St. Irvyne*" in *Mod. Lang. Review*, Cambridge, 1912.

*Rinaldo Rinaldini* and *Laon and Cythna*, shall I lose sight of the much greater obligation of Shelley in this poem, (lately set forth by Dr. McDonald<sup>13</sup>) to Miss Owenson's *The Missionary* (3 vols., 1811).

The hero of both *Rinaldo Rinaldini* and *Zastrozzi* is a captain of banditti. But this fact in itself means little; for the type was reasonably common among romances of the period. Monk Lewis, for example, introduced such a character in his *Bravo of Venice*, which Shelley probably read. A mountain retreat, a banquet, a Romany woman in love with the chief, the power (amounting almost to tyranny) of the chieftain over the band—all these are common to the three. Verezzi, in *Zastrozzi*, accepts the offer of an old woman that he should till her garden for his maintenance; and the incident has its parallel in *Rinaldo Rinaldini* where Rinaldo is similarly employed by a widow,<sup>14</sup> first introduced as "Old Woman," but afterwards named "Martha." In this connection it may be interesting to note that when Mary Shelley introduced a similar character into her novel, *The Last Man* (3 vols., 1826) she christened her "Old Martha."<sup>15</sup>

The indebtedness of *St. Irvyne* to *Rinaldo Rinaldini* is more marked. A statement, made by Medwin regarding *Zofloya* (mentioned above) here has its interest. Describing a part of the plot of that novel he refers to the principal actor in that story as being named "Olympia."<sup>16</sup> There is no character of this name in *Zofloya*; but there is in *Rinaldo Rinaldini*,<sup>17</sup> and her faithlessness and treachery are duplicated by Shelley's Olympia in his novel, *St. Irvyne*. This Olympia was a prototype of the most modern caricature of the militant suffragette. Rinaldo did not propose to her; so she hurled herself at his head; and her behaviour in this matter is faithfully copied by Shelley's vampire of the same name, enamoured of Wolfstein. Rinaldo, like Wolfstein, rejects this affection at first, being moved to the rejection by a sense of loyalty to another woman. Both heroes, however, yield at last to the seductions of these

<sup>13</sup> *The Radicalism of Shelley and Its Sources*, 1912. pp. 53-64.

<sup>14</sup> *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, iii. 144.

<sup>15</sup> *The Last Man*, 1826. ii. 233.

<sup>16</sup> *Life of Shelley*, 1847. i. 31.

<sup>17</sup> *Rin. Rin.*, i. 247.

evil women, and forget their former loves in the companionship of the new. In *Zastrozzi*, Matilda, and in *St. Irvyne*, Wolfstein are summoned to be judged for their crimes by the Inquisition. The original of both incidents is in *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, in the summons served on Rinaldo by the "Black Judges in Secret."<sup>18</sup> Matilda's execution at the decree of the court agrees with the sentence passed on Rinaldo; but the latter was slain, before the sentence could be put into effect, by his tutor, Onorio, the "Old Man of Fronteia."

The result of Mary's reading of the romance in 1815 and the consequent discussion of the story may well have been to emphasize some details of the plot anew for Shelley, for we observe some really striking parallels between its story and that of *Laon and Cythna*,<sup>19</sup> parallels indicated by the outline here presented:

#### RINALDO RINALDINI

- III. 21. Olympia tells Rinaldo that her homeland, Corsica, is in the hands of tyrants, from whose domination she hopes that Rinaldo may set her people free.
- III. 24. She fears that the enterprise may terminate in his death.
- III. 5. Rinaldo is captured by soldiers and put in prison.
- III. 7. An old hermit (Onorio) enters the prison at midnight and offers to free Rinaldo on condition that the latter will in all things yield to his direction. This Rinaldo declines to do; but the next day, as he is being transferred from his prison to another place he is rescued by horsemen acting under the orders of Onorio.

#### LAON & CYTHNA

- II. iv. Cythna tells Laon that the city, Byzantium, is in the hands of tyrants, from whose domination she hopes that Laon may set its people free.
- II. xlvii. She fears that the enterprise may terminate in his death.
- III. xi. Laon is captured by soldiers and put in prison.
- III. xxviii. An old hermit enters the prison at midnight and frees Laon.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 50-51.

<sup>19</sup> Sometimes called *The Revolt of Islam*; pub. 1818.

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|--|---|
| III. 109. Rinaldo, again a prisoner, has a horrid dream. He wakes to find a company of his bandit-companions in the room.  | III. vi. Laon, in his cottage, has a horrid dream. He wakes to find a company of soldiers in the room.  |
|  | III. xxvii. Laon, in prison, has a horrid dream. He wakes to find the hermit in the room.   |
| I. 114. Donato, another hermit, is described as a Roman exile, driven out of his native city by its enemies.   | IV. ix. The hermit has exiled himself from his slavish fellow-citizens, who bow to the yoke of tyranny.   |
| III. 10. Onorio says that Rinaldo has been, though unwittingly, a mere machine in his hands.   | IV. xvi. The hermit says that he has been the "passive instrument" of Laon (the reverse of the situation in <i>Rinaldo Rinaldini</i> ).             |
| III. 142. Rinaldo sails with a company of mariners to an island, where they are welcomed by a large assemblage. "Toward night they —entered a bay and dropped anchor." | VIII. i. Laon sails with a company of mariners to a country where they are welcomed by a large assemblage. "That night we anchored in a woody bay." |
| III. 113. Olympia promises that the women of Fronteia will welcome the victorious liberators with crowns of flowers.   | V. xvi. The women of the Golden City receive the conquering liberators and crown them with flowers.   |

In the poem, *Prince Athanase*, written at Marlow in 1817, Shelley portrayed a youth (Prince Athanase) who came under the instructorship of an old Hermit (Zonoras) and was instructed by him in the classics and philosophy. The device, common to many writers in the Romantic Age (witness such titles as *Zapolya*,<sup>20</sup> *Zofloya*,<sup>21</sup> and Shelley's own *Zastrozzi*) of prefixing the letter Z to the names of characters and titles of books might be adduced to explain the variation between the name of Shelley's hermit, in *Prince Athanase*, and that of Onorio, the old hermit-tutor of Rinaldo in *Rinaldo Rinaldini*. We know (thanks to the investigations of Mr. A. M. D. Hughes<sup>22</sup>) that Shelley's *Zastrozzi* owed certain elements to a French work, *La Caverne di Strozzi*. If he could coin *Zastrozzi* from *Strozzi*, why not *Zonoras* from *Onorio*?

<sup>20</sup> By Coleridge, pub. 1817.

<sup>21</sup> By Charlotte Byrne, pub. 1806.

<sup>22</sup> "The Nascent Mind of Shelley," in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* 1912.

Whether he did nor not (and I do not urge the point) the similarity in the characters of the two hermits makes it difficult to reject the supposition that Zonoras was drawn from Onorio. To this end I submit the following parallels:

*RINALDO RINALDINI*

ii. 82. "This hermit, whose name was Onorio, had not always worn his present solitary dress. He knew mankind, was a man of an acute understanding, and had fled from the world, because, as he said, he had learnt to despise it. This man readily undertook the task of instructing the inquisitive youth . . . became his tutor in reading and writing, communicated to him a great deal of knowledge by conversation, and supplied him with books . . . which Rinaldo devoured in solitude. They consisted of translations of Plutarch's lives, Livy, and Quintus Curtius, books of knight errantry, & the Italian historians. All these books gave a romantic turn to the imagination of Rinaldo, & had a striking influence on his plans & resolutions, as well as on all his actions."

*PRINCE ATHANASE*

Prince Athanase had one  
beloved friend  
—— Zonoras —— filled  
From fountains pure ——  
The spirit of Prince Atha-  
nase, a child,  
With soul-sustaining songs  
of ancient lore,  
And philosophic wisdom,  
clear and mild.  
(ll. 125, 168-172).

It is at least an interesting coincidence that of the works recommended by Onorio to Rinaldo, Plutarch's *Lives* appears in Mary Shelley's reading list for 1815,<sup>23</sup> Livy in her journal entries for May 30, 31, and June 1, 1819.<sup>24</sup> Under date of Sunday, August 18, and Tuesday, August 20, 1816, Mary recorded Shelley's absorption in Plutarch's *Lives*.<sup>25</sup> In her journal notes for August 4, 1819, we read: "Since I left home I have read several books of Livy. . . . Shelley . . . reads Plutarch's *Lives*."<sup>26</sup> Among the journal entries made during the Shelley's stay in Switzerland in 1816 (the year after the reading of *Rinaldo Rinaldini*) there are repeated references to Quintus Curtius, as follows: "Monday, July 29 . . . read . . . Quintus Curtius. . . Tuesday, July 30. Read Quintus Curtius. Wednesday, July 31. Read ten pages of Quintus Curtius. Thursday, August 1. . . Read twelve pages of Quintus Curtius. Sunday, August 4. . . I read Curtius with Shelley, and finish

<sup>23</sup> *Life and Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 1889. i. 124.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* i. 241.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* i. 156.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* i. 245.

the first volume," etc.<sup>27</sup> And in the reading list for this year it is recorded that Shelley and Mary both read the *Vita Alexandri* of Curtius.<sup>28</sup>

The power which the "old man of Fronteia" exercised over the actions of Rinaldo is of a kind to suggest (as who shall be certain it did not?) the terrible forces released by Frankenstein when he created the monster in his laboratory, in Mary Shelley's famous novel begun in Switzerland in that summer of 1816. Some excerpts from a colloquy that takes place between Onorio and Rinaldo may bear this out.

*Old Man.* Give yourself up to me unconditionally, and I will rescue you from prison and from death.

*Rinaldo.* I am no machine. Good night.

*O. M.* What ill-timed pride! You have been nothing but a machine ever since you began your celebrated career.

*R.* What say you?

*O. M.* You have—and that without knowing it.

*R.* Indeed!

*O. M.* Yes, a machine, and my machine. You behold me with wonder. I repeat it: you were my machine, are so still, and will continue so as long as I please. On me and my plans depend your destruction or salvation.<sup>29</sup>

Later in the narrative the idea recurs:

"A mere trick of that old impostor of Fronteia," said he [Rinaldo] to himself; "whose machine I am, as he has already told me himself."<sup>30</sup>

I believe it should be evident, from the preceding, that in this wild romance were, not improbably, suggestions which Shelley and Mary appropriated and worked out into literature of another and infinitely higher order of genius and power.

WALTER EDWIN PECK

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* i. 146-7. There are other references to the reading of Curtius in entries for Wednesday, August 7, Friday, August 9, Saturday, August 10, Friday, August 16, Sunday, August 18, and Tuesday, August 20; Saturday, October 5, Monday, October 7, and Wednesday, October 9, 1816. (*Life and Letters of M. W. Shelley*, i. 147 and 156.)

<sup>28</sup> Dowden, *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ii. 75.

<sup>29</sup> *Rin. Rin.*, iii. 10.

<sup>30</sup> *Rin. Rin.*, iii. 58.

## VII. SHELLEY'S *PROMETHEUS UNBOUND*, OR EVERY MAN HIS OWN ALLEGORIST

The respectable number of books and articles about Shelley within recent years have concerned themselves mainly with the review of a puzzling personality and an inspiring, if not altogether acceptable "message." At one of those times, the aftermath of a centennial, when authors may be assayed anew, we have contented ourselves with reaffirming, somewhat indifferently, the opinions of the last seventy-five years. This fact seems to argue that the poet's reputation has become stabilized. Although scholars and critics will no doubt continue to add minutiae, it is probably true that our main body of information and opinions concerning Shelley is definitely fixed, for some time to come. And yet in the case of Shelley's principal poem, *Prometheus Unbound*, there are considerations which indicate that the generally accepted view needs to be revised. These considerations hardly affect the value or the essential meaning of the poem, but they do fundamentally affect the method by which it is commonly approached.

Hand books and special studies of *Prometheus Unbound* tell us that the poem is an allegory. If by this the commentators mean that it is a symbolic representation of the conflict of Tyrant and Oppressor, no one will gainsay them. But if they mean, as their ascription of definite symbolic meanings to the various characters implies, that it is an allegory in anything like the real meaning of the word—vague as that meaning is—certain doubts may be raised. One may wonder if they have not argued after the fashion of Mark Twain's Eve: it looks like an allegory, it acts like an allegory—let's *call* it an allegory. Anyone so wondering will readily grant that, superficially at least, it looks like an allegory—there lies the beginning of the notion that it *is* an allegory. Whether or not it acts like an allegory should be a subject for investigation. And even if we *call* it an allegory, it is worth while to investigate the author's intentions to see if he regarded or intended it as one. It is conceivable that, after it has wandered beyond the author's protection, a piece of literature may be stretched upon the bed



of Procrustes and compelled to be an allegory. The author of the *Song of Solomon* thought he was writing a simple love poem. But devout mediæval theologians thought it an allegory of Christ's love for the Church, so they fitted it with the complete allegorical paraphernalia which is still preserved in the chapter headings of the King James Bible, and thus made of it as ferocious an allegory as any that Mrs. Malaprop imagined upon the banks of the Nile. It looked like an allegory; it acted like an allegory (under compulsion); but no scholarly clergyman today will call it an allegory. By the simple expedient of cutting the garment to the pattern, almost any bit of literature may be converted into allegory. The nursery rhyme of Little Jack Horner may be turned very convincingly into an allegorical satire on modern office-hunting politicians. The *Beowulf* and Lewis Carroll's *Jabberwocky* are equally capable of being regarded as allegories of the conflict of humanity with monstrous nature. Just as the flies in Holmes' stethoscope were amenable to various explanations completely convincing to the explainers, so almost any piece of literature may lend itself to several allegorical interpretations, all unintended. So obvious is this fact, that an allegory should no more be regarded as proved unless the intention to allegorize be established, than a charge of fraud without establishing the intention to defraud. An accidental allegory is no allegory at all; there cannot possibly be any purpose in its figurative meaning.

The numerous critics and commentators to whom Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* has looked like an allegory have neglected to show that it was intended for one. Except for Mrs. Olwen Ward Campbell's recent discussion of *Prometheus Unbound* in *Shelley and the Unromantics*, practically all the writers who have discussed the poem have assumed the allegorical intention and supplied Shelley with the key to the allegory. In some cases this has been done explicitly, as in the studies by Salt, Todhunter, and W. M. Rossetti. In other cases it is done by implication, as when Miss Vida Scudder, after developing the differences between myth and allegory and showing *Prometheus Unbound* to be a genuine myth as distinguished from allegory, then proceeds, almost incidentally, to attribute allegorical meanings to nearly all the important characters. It is worth while, therefore, to see what Shelley himself has contributed to the question.

In the preface Shelley discusses the poem somewhat at length, but nowhere mentions or hints at an allegorical purpose. He refers to the freedom taken by the Greek dramatists in treating the same myth differently and claims the same right to give the Prometheus legend a different treatment from that accorded it by Æschylus. "I was averse," he says, "from a catastrophe so feeble as that of reconciling this champion with the Oppressor of mankind." In comparison with Milton's Satan, he regards Prometheus (not necessarily his own Prometheus, but the Prometheus of mythical and literary tradition) as "the type of the highest perfection of moral and intellectual nature, impelled by the purest and the truest motives to the best and the noblest ends." This is no more to proclaim Prometheus an allegorical character or *Prometheus Unbound* an allegory than it is to allegorize Shakespeare when we regard Othello as the type of a jealous husband or Falstaff as the type of genial unscrupulousness.

It cannot be assumed that allegory is implied from the poem's connection with Æschylus. The *Prometheus Unbound* of Æschylus is certainly not an allegory. To Æschylus, the most pious of the Greek dramatists, Prometheus was simply a noble character. He was a person in revolt against divine authority, not an abstraction. Not even Might and Force, whose abstract names may seem to hint at allegory, are figurative creations of the dramatist. They may be traced straight back to Hesiod, where, as material beings, they "ever sit beside deep-thundering Jove." They are allegorical only in so far as all mythology is unconsciously allegorical. If Æschylus' Prometheus typifies certain general human characteristics, it is only because great art always seeks to comprehend the universal in the particular and the particular in the universal. In the same way Shelley's *The Cenci*, in common with nearly all his longer poems, embodies the forces of Oppression and Revolt; but it has never been regarded as an allegory, and Shelley explicitly denies any intention other than historical fidelity.<sup>1</sup>

Shelley's letters for 1819 and 1820 are full of references to *Prometheus Unbound*, "my favorite poem."<sup>2</sup> Somewhere among

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Peacock; Ingpen, *Collected Letters*, p. 698.

<sup>2</sup> Ingpen, *op. cit.*, pp. 626, 630, 660, 688, 715, 720, 728, 758, 759, 766, 772, 781, 783, 801, 805, 809, 830, 845, 874.

nineteen separate references, each in a different letter, one would certainly expect Shelley to mention the allegorical nature of the poem if allegory were a part of his intention. This is especially true in view of the fact that many of the references deal with the nature of the poem. But nowhere does Shelley hint at an allegorical purpose. The poem is "original," "it cost me severe labor," it is "perhaps less an imitation than anything that has gone before it," it is "in the merest spirit of ideal poetry," it is "a drama of a character and mechanism yet unattempted." This originality, if we are to judge from Mrs. Shelley's note and from Shelley's particular anxiety to avoid typographical errors in the lyrics,<sup>3</sup> is a kind of abstract and ideal imagery suggested by that of Sophocles in *Ædipus Tyrannus*. It can hardly be the exaltation of the sympathetic rebel, in contrast to Æschylus' solution by compromise, for Shelley well knew that Prometheus the rebel had already been exalted by Byron and Goethe. And it is certainly not such a commonplace originality as an allegorical method of treatment. "In poetry I have sought to avoid system and mannerism," wrote Shelley<sup>4</sup> in speaking of both *Prometheus* and *The Cenci*; and allegory, it must be admitted, involves system. Shelley's letters do not deny an allegorical meaning for *Prometheus Unbound*, any more than an average American, unasked, would deny being an Eskimo, but they do make an allegorical intention seem improbable.

In any discussion of allegory it is vital to distinguish between the general representative value of all great art and a real machinery of definite parallel values. No one questions the existence of the former in *Prometheus Unbound*, but the latter has been so often demonstrated and interpreted as to make its actual existence a matter worthy of some investigation. One of the strongest reasons for supposing that the poem does not have an allegorical machinery is Mrs. Shelley's note to the poem. Almost the whole purpose of Mrs. Shelley's notes to her husband's poetry was to establish his reputation among the great English poets. Forbidden by the poet's inexorable father to publish a biography during his lifetime, she used her notes to

<sup>3</sup> Ingpen, *op. cit.*, p. 781.

<sup>4</sup> Ingpen, *op. cit.*, p. 809.

convey biographical information and to explain Shelley's ideas. She was the poet's Apostle Paul; her office was both to explain and conform Shelley, as far as possible, to the Gentiles—some of whom, unfortunately, were Philistines. Her prudent desire to propitiate public sentiment is unmistakable.<sup>5</sup> She praises the poems, softens the crudeness of *Swellfoot the Tyrant* and of the attack on Wordsworth in *Peter Bell the Third*, and palliates the irregularities of Shelley's behaviour. Although Mrs. Shelley tells us that *The Cenci* was the only one of his works that he communicated to her during its progress,<sup>6</sup> there is ample evidence that she was familiar with other works before their publication. She acted as Shelley's amanuensis. The very fact that she offers explanatory notes is an assumption of special knowledge on her part, and this assumption is borne out by the *ex cathedra* tone of her explanations. The opening lines of *Rosalind and Helen* were retained at her request. Shelley wrote a poem to her on her objection to the lack of human interest in *The Witch of Atlas*. It is incredible that Shelley would talk to correspondents about *Prometheus Unbound*, the poem that absorbed his interest more than any other, and at the same time remain silent about it to Mrs. Shelley, just as it is unlikely that Mrs. Shelley should copy such a poem without asking about it. Had the poem possessed an allegorical mechanism, therefore, Mrs. Shelley would almost certainly have known it. If Mrs. Shelley had possessed any such knowledge, she certainly would have made it known in the note in which she explains the poem. Mrs. Shelley was well acquainted with the charges of obscurity brought against *Prometheus Unbound* by its contemporary reviewers. To the *Quarterly* that poem had been utter nonsense, "absolutely and intrinsically unintelligible," its predominant characteristic "frequent and total want of meaning." The *Literary Gazette* had pronounced Shelley little better than a lunatic, and his poem "a melange of nonsense, cockneyism, poverty and pedantry." If there had been an allegorical mechanism in

<sup>5</sup> See her notes on *Alastor*, *Peter Bell the Third*, *Rosalind and Helen*, *The Cenci*, and *Swellfoot the Tyrant*, and the comments on some of these notes offered by reviewers in the *Athenaeum* for Dec. 14, 1839; *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, N. S. 7 (1840): 56-59; and *Monthly Review*, N. S. 1 (1840): 125-130.

<sup>6</sup> Note to *The Cenci*.

*Prometheus Unbound*, an explanation of it would have elucidated the poem and silenced these charges forever. It is unnatural to suppose that Mrs. Shelley would have been ignorant of its existence, and it is fatuous to suppose that she would have kept silence on the one point most certain to establish a clarity of meaning in the poem. The conclusion is almost inescapable that Shelley intended no allegorical machinery.

It may be objected that Mrs. Shelley does offer an allegorical machinery in identifying Prometheus with Humanity, Jupiter with Evil, Hercules with Strength, and Asia with Nature. But these are offered upon her own authority—at least there is no explicit reference to Shelley's intention—and they explain only four out of seventeen characters. Moreover, the first two are simply another method of stating that the general representative nature of the poem is the revolt of humanity against oppressive evil. The identification of Hercules with Strength is hardly more than to say that Hercules is Hercules. The difficult problems are untouched. •

Only an explicit denial from Shelley could settle beyond cavil the question as to whether *Prometheus Unbound* ever possessed an allegorical intention beyond the treatment of the conflict between good and evil under a concrete image. Everything except that denial, however, points to the conclusion that Shelley did not intend the characters in that poem to constitute an allegorical mechanism. Perhaps this should end the question, but it is still pertinent to inquire whether an allegorical mechanism in *Prometheus Unbound* is consistent with Shelley's practice as a writer, how the various allegorical interpretations arose, and whether the poem in itself is as amenable to an allegorical machinery as is commonly assumed.

In the whole corpus of Shelley's writings there is little to lend color to the supposition that *Prometheus Unbound* is a real allegory. Aside from two vague minor poems of fifteen and forty-eight lines respectively, published as "allegories" in Mrs. Shelley's 1824 edition, none of Shelley's poems bears the label of allegory. It is true that Shelley says in the preface to *Alastor*, that the poem "may be regarded" as allegorical of a state of mind, and proceeds to explain the allegory as far as it may be applied. Plainly it applies only to the central figure of the poem. The vision Alastor pursues is represented

as what it is, and does not have a double meaning, as it would in regular allegory. Nor do the various scenes through which Alastor passes have any apparent significance other than as descriptions of wild and beautiful scenery. They have their subdued originals in Shelley's own travels up the Thames and in Switzerland.<sup>7</sup> A double significance is palpably lacking. There is no allegorical machinery at all. The allegory consists simply in the fact that Alastor's visionary search after an ideal Love may be anybody's search—if he is like Alastor. It is another case of the individual typifying the general—the representative quality of art, not technical allegory.

*Swellfoot the Tyrant* is allegorical in nature, in that its story parallels the story of the Queen Caroline impeachment and its characters represent George IV's ministers and the Milan Commission, but in this case Shelley gives notice of allegorical intentions by prefixing the verses:

Choose Reform or Civil War  
When through thy streets, instead of hare with dogs,  
A CONSORT QUEEN shall hunt a KING with hogs  
Riding on the IONIAN MINOTAUR.

The occasional nature of this satire, and its resemblance in many details to the numerous anonymous satires on the same subject then in circulation made the allegory, both of plot and of characters, very apparent to the reader—so apparent that the volume was promptly suppressed.

In all of Shelley's longer narrative poems the architectural element is conspicuously weak. The plots are meagre, digressive, and formless; it is not what his characters do that interests Shelley, but what they say. This preference for speech above action, for the subjective above the objective, is apparent even in *The Cenci*, where with a plot already to hand, Shelley frequently holds up dramatic action to give his characters opportunities to utter their emotions rather than act them. A scene by scene analysis of the play reveals the fact (as did its actual performance in 1886) that fully half the scenes fail to further the action of the play. If the clear evolution of a simple plot in his longer poems was a task both difficult and uncongenial to Shelley, the added difficulty of allegorical

<sup>7</sup> See Mrs. Shelley's note; also Shelley's Preface to *The Revolt of Islam*.

machinery must certainly be regarded as foreign to his inclinations and likely, even if attempted, to lose itself in lyric enthusiasm. Very significant indeed, and very consistent with Shelley's instructions to his publisher and with the character of his genius, is Mrs. Shelley's remark that the ideas in *Prometheus Unbound* are developed "more particularly in the lyrics of this drama."

The word "allegory" is scarcely to be found in the contemporary reviews of the poem. In attacking the obscurity of the poem, *Blackwood's*, the *Monthly Review*, the *Quarterly*, and the *Literary Gazette* make no mention of defects in the allegorical mechanism of the poem, because, apparently, they suspected no such mechanism. The *London Magazine and Monthly Critical and Dramatic Review* hailed the poem enthusiastically but evidently harbored no suspicions of allegory. *Blackwood's*, the only one that even mentions allegory, uses the word loosely as synonymous with myth, treats the matter casually, and evidently suspects the existence of no double meaning beyond a general relation between Prometheus' struggle and that of humanity. Leigh Hunt, in defending the poem against the charges of obscurity so savagely pressed by the *Quarterly*, contents himself with exposing the unfair methods of quotation, asserting the general rectitude of Shelley's moral principles, and citing examples of clear and beautiful poetry.<sup>8</sup> He admits that Shelley's poetry is occasionally obscure, and neglects altogether to demonstrate the clarity of Shelley's general conception, which could have been done most simply and effectively by explaining the allegorical parallelism—had he known of any such parallelism to explain. His sole effort in this direction is a parenthesis, in which he remarks that Prometheus is "a personification of the Benevolent Principle, subjected for a time to the Phantasm Jupiter, or in other words to that False Idea of the great and beneficent First Cause."

Whence, then, comes the development of the allegorical mechanism by means of which the poem is generally expounded? It takes its origin from the recognized and indisputable fact that the poem as a whole does represent the struggle of humanity against oppression. It was principally their detestation of

<sup>8</sup> *Examiner*, 1822, pp. 355, 370, 389.

Shelley's ideas of evil and reform, in connection with this fact, that envenomed the attack of contemporary reviewers. There is no confusion here; the confusion appears only when subsequent critics have tried to elaborate the meaning of the poem by working out an allegorical mechanism for it. Perhaps they took their cue from Mrs. Shelley herself, whose identification of four characters seemed to lend both authority and encouragement to further efforts to work out such a mechanism. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the allegorical interpretations, which had been conspicuously absent in the contemporary reviews, appeared in several of the reviews of the 1839 edition, which contained Mrs. Shelley's notes on the poem. They may hardly be said to have become a common method of elucidation, however, until after the Shelley revival of the late 1880's.

Shelley, more than any other Romanticist, has offered a strong stimulus to sympathetic criticism. His enthusiasm and expansiveness communicated themselves to most of his commentators and are reflected in a type of criticism in which judgment is totally subordinated to emotion. To sympathetic natures the character of Shelley's enthusiasm is hypnotic; they accept his expansiveness and expand upon it. By sympathetic refining upon meaning in a manner more poetic than judicial they make a rare soul rarer still. Such critics—

are furnished by criticism with a telescope. They see with great clearness whatever is too remote to be discovered by the rest of mankind, but are totally blind to all that lies immediately before them. They discover in every passage some secret meaning, some remote allusion, some artful allegory, or some occult imitation, which no other reader ever suspected; but they have no perception of the cogency of arguments, the various colors of diction, or the flowery embellishments of fancy; of all that engages the attention of others they are totally insensible, while they pry into worlds of conjecture and amuse themselves with phantoms in the clouds.<sup>9</sup>

The words are Doctor Johnson's, written while Romantic sympathy was in its incipience and with no special reference to sympathetic criticism, yet they foreshadow with some degree of accuracy the tendency of later critics of Shakespeare and Shelley. Coleridge's principle that reverence is the only medium of approach to Shakespeare was the beginning of his inclination,

<sup>9</sup> *Rambler*, 176. Nov. 23, 1751.



"to reject as not genuine in Shakespeare whatever was not worthy of Shakespeare." Through reverent sympathy it tended to break down the more sensible and contained judgments of Dryden and Johnson and establish an apotheosized Shakespeare whose most trivial phrase is a subtle reflection on life. Something of the same attitude on the part of Shelley's admirers has produced an inclination to spin out the meaning of *Prometheus Unbound* to a fine-drawn tenuosity whose basis is, in the final analysis, their own poetic sympathy.

An examination of the five principal expositions of this poem (exclusive of Mrs. Shelley's, whose solution has already been given) shows that each regards the poem as having an allegorical machinery. W. M. Rossetti<sup>10</sup> identifies Prometheus as the "Mind of Man," Asia as "Nature," Demogorgon as "Eternity," and Jupiter as "Fortune." John Todhunter<sup>11</sup> makes Prometheus "the Genius of Humanity," Asia "divine beauty and love," Demogorgon "Divine Justice," Mercury "the Spirit of Compromise," Hercules "the power of divine reason," Panthea "faith," Ione "hope," Thetis "false ideals, sham love," and the Phantasm of Jupiter "a young Prometheus." John Addington Symonds<sup>12</sup> says that Prometheus is the "Mind of Man," Asia "Beauty, Love, Nature," and Jupiter "the incarnate opposite of Prometheus." Miss Vida D. Scudder<sup>13</sup> identifies Prometheus with "Humanity," Asia with "Emotion," "Love," Demogorgon with the "Ancient Principle of Reason; Revolution," Jupiter with the "evils of man," and Panthea with "Intuition or Faith." H. S. Salt<sup>14</sup> makes Prometheus represent "Human Mind," Asia "Nature, the spirit of Immortality," Jupiter "Tyranny and Custom," Panthea "Faith," and Ione "Hope." To this it may be added that the New York *Biblical Repository* was quoted by the *Boston Quarterly Review* for October, 1841, as identifying Jupiter with God and Prometheus with Satan!

It will be noted that Todhunter calls Asia "divine beauty and love"; Symonds calls her variously Beauty, Love and

<sup>10</sup> *Publications of the Shelley Society*, Series I, Part 1.

<sup>11</sup> *A Study of Shelley*.

<sup>12</sup> *Shelley, in English Men of Letters*.

<sup>13</sup> Introduction to *Prometheus Unbound*.

<sup>14</sup> *A Shelley Primer*.

Nature (assuming, it would seem, the equivalence of these ideas); Miss Scudder calls her Emotion, Love; and Salt calls her "Nature, the spirit of Immortality." Miss Scudder calls Demogorgon both the Ancient Principle of Reason and Revolution. The very indefiniteness and composite nature of these conceptions are so foreign to the nature of true allegorical machinery as we know it in the moralities and *Pilgrim's Progress* as to be almost a confession of no allegorical mechanism at all. It is also to be noted that all, except Todhunter, confine their efforts to four or five characters and that not even Todhunter can suggest a meaning for all the characters. No two solutions agree on all the characters attempted. In the case of no character discussed by more than three persons is there a unanimous agreement. The elements that confuse the attempts to solve Spenserian allegory—scantiness of definite information regarding the author and his opinions—are not present in this case. Considering the industry and ability of those who have attacked this problem and then comparing their attempts at a solution, it must be concluded that no authoritative allegorical solution of the individual characters can be reached. Even Rossetti, whose analysis of the poem is the most scholarly and closely reasoned, failed to impose all of his ideas on the Shelley Society at the time he read the papers in which they are expounded. George Bernard Shaw, Dr. Furnivall, and Dr. Garnett, the principal participants in the ensuing discussion<sup>15</sup> all had alternative theories to offer about one or more important points in the solution. And so may any one with imagination and sympathy offer alternative theories without fear of successful contradiction, so long as he keeps within the general outline of the plot. Within this ample region the allegory builders may continue forever piping songs forever new, and forever careless of dissonance in the choral effect.

The very nature of the poem inhibits a convincing demonstration of allegorical machinery. There is a monitory force in Mrs. Shelley's remark, "It requires a mind as subtle and penetrating as his own to understand the mystic meanings scattered throughout the poem," that should have been more

<sup>15</sup> *Shelley Society Notebook*, I, 1, 119 ff.

generally heeded. Any attempt to build up a systematic allegorical interpretation of the poem must start with Scene Four of Act Two, in which Asia interviews the Delphic and amorphous Demogorgon and strives (vainly, for most readers) to discover the real source and power of evil. Rossetti does make use of this passage as a basis for arguing that Prometheus is the Mind of Man. He cites as his principal evidence Asia's long speech enumerating Prometheus' services to humanity. But a comparison with the *Prometheus Bound* of Æschylus shows that in that poem, where Prometheus is unquestionably not an allegorical character, he makes the same claims for himself that Asia makes for him in Shelley's poem. Unless there is proof that Shelley meant this passage to be allegorical, the assumption must be that it is a mere transfer of ideas and — no more allegorical than its original. The same difficulty exists in other passages. Rossetti sometimes reasons very closely from single lines, a very dangerous thing in itself, but doubly dangerous when the line may be either Shelley's or one borrowed or adapted from Æschylus. There are twenty-three lines and passages in *Prometheus Unbound*<sup>16</sup> that have their parallels in *Prometheus Bound*. There are also similarities to the *Choe-phoræ* and the *Eumenides*. Who except the poet himself can tell whether these lines were taken over consciously or unconsciously, whether they have a special significance or not?

Very few allegories, even the clearest, are capable of certain solution without the aid of a key furnished by the author. This applies even to political allegories, where the material handled is naturally more definite, and to moral allegories, such as the medieval ones, where the symbolism is partly conventional. It is very likely true, as Macaulay asserts, that no human ingenuity could produce such a centipede as a long allegory in which the correspondence between the outward sign and the thing signified should be exactly preserved; nevertheless there is a fundamental difference between imperfect allegorical machinery and none at all. There are lapses in the allegory even of *Pilgrim's Progress*, but there is no confusion as to either its genre or its interpretation. Such allegories as

<sup>16</sup> See Richard Ackerman: "Studien über Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*," *Englische Studien*, XV, 19-39; also Miss Scudder, *op. cit.*

*Pilgrim's Progress*, *Everyman*, and *The Vision of Mirza* are true allegories because their very structure and nomenclature provide a key, and the author has made his allegorical intention clear. Shelley himself furnishes a key to *Alastor* and *Swellfoot the Tyrant*. For *Prometheus Unbound*, however, we have no key; we have instead, from Shelley's own letters, the strong probability that neither key nor allegory entered into Shelley's thoughts concerning the poem. Attempts to fit the poem with an allegorical mechanism, over Shelley's veto, as it were, have so signally failed of completeness and have been so indefinite individually and so contradictory en masse that they practically demonstrate an absence of intelligible machinery. The nature both of the poem and of Shelley's genius are likewise counter to any supposition of allegory.

There are perhaps, no clear differentia between real allegories and imaginary ones. Allegory, as a critical term, badly needs clarification. The word is frequently used in a loose and general meaning. Nevertheless, it should be perfectly clear that *Prometheus Unbound* is not an allegory in the sense in which W. M. Rossetti, John Todhunter, Miss Scudder and others have treated it. Its tradition as such is a clear case of expansive Romantic sympathy following a false lead. If we follow only our imaginative sympathies we can make of it an allegory of sorts—each after his own manner. So *Robinson Crusoe* was made, first an allegory of Defoe's life, and only recently a social document for solving the labor problem. But if we give due weight to mere facts, we must conclude that *Prometheus Unbound* was not meant as an allegory, does not look like an allegory, and does not act like an allegory. Continuing to call it an allegory is merely, as Shelley said of Ollier's typographical errors, to "assist the obscurity of the 'Prometheus.'"

NEWMAN I. WHITE

## VIII. SHELLEY'S DEBT TO LEIGH HUNT • AND THE *EXAMINER*

Of Leigh Hunt's service to Shelley no adequate study has been made. We naturally look for it in Dowden's *Life of Shelley* (1886) or in Dr. Miller's *Leigh Hunt's Relations with Byron, Shelley and Keats* (N. Y., 1910). Unfortunately, both of these works contain serious misstatements regarding the *Examiner*, and Dowden's *Life*, also, is apparently responsible for the mistaken notion that John Wilson deserves the chief place among Shelley's contemporaries for publicly recognizing his genius. Yet a review of the criticism which appeared during Shelley's lifetime shows that Wilson's appreciation (and that of most other critics, for that matter) was confined to vague and unimportant assertions of Shelley's "genius," offset by disapprobation of his views on almost every subject he wrote about. Early extravagant views expressed by the poet, although modified later, were not forgotten by adherents of the Establishment and the Crown. His published opinions and the rumors regarding his conduct interfered with general approval of his work as a poet. Leigh Hunt soon saw that the attacks on Shelley were induced chiefly by his misunderstood philosophy and the scandalous stories circulated about his conduct, and accordingly set about explaining his theories and defending his life. But in this effort to defend and interpret Shelley, Hunt in his generation stood practically alone, at least as far as the organs of criticism were concerned.<sup>1</sup>

Considering the fact that writers who governed literary tribunals like the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine* were hostile to anything savoring of heterodoxy in religion or radicalism in politics, one can see that Shelley's *Necessity of Atheism* would sufficiently account for the avalanche of abuse which fell upon his subsequent efforts. A summary of Shelley criticism between the years 1816 and 1822 reveals the consequences of his early indiscretions, and emphasizes the pre-eminence of Hunt as apologist and interpreter of this poet.

<sup>1</sup> For the authorship of the *Examiner* articles referred to in this paper, see *Correspondence of Leigh Hunt*, London 1862, i, 134, 135, 154, 159; and *Autobiography*, ii, 27n.

Except for a brief notice of *Alastor*, no important discussion of Shelley's poetry was published until the beginning of the year 1818.<sup>2</sup> *Laon and Cythna*, which appeared in November 1817, had produced a damaging impression and was withdrawn from circulation in December, to be re-issued in January as the *Revolt of Islam*. Of this no reviews appeared until Leigh Hunt, in three *Examiner* articles of February and March, gave a careful exposition of the poem. He expounded Shelley's message and explained his method. He made a wholly favorable and—according to present-day standards—a rather just evaluation of its merits.<sup>3</sup>

But the extravagances of Shelley's youth had not been forgotten. In May 1818 John Wilson Croker, reviewing Hunt's *Foliage* for the Tory *Quarterly Review*, made sarcastic references to an associate of Hunt who had been expelled from Oxford, had abandoned his wife, and had written his name "Atheist" in a Swiss hotel register.<sup>4</sup> Croker's caustic comments indicated what Shelley must expect from the conservative critics. Nor were these indications misleading. Less than a year later, John Taylor Coleridge reviewed in the *Quarterly* not the *Revolt of Islam* but *Laon and Cythna*, thus after nearly two years maliciously calling attention to the original and suppressed form of the poem.<sup>5</sup> Coleridge further recalled the abrupt termination of Shelley's career at Oxford, and professed to believe that the young poet's object was to pull down churches, level the establishment, burn Bibles, do away with marriage, and repeal the law against incest. Admitting some of the "beauties" of Shelley's poem—they resembled the later things of Southey—he nevertheless condemned it as "insupportably dull and laboriously obscure." *Rosalind and Helen* was briefly characterized as a less able production, less pure in thought, more vulgar, and more unintelligible.

Such execrable treatment of Shelley by the Tory critic, whose influence on the author's reputation in those days was

<sup>2</sup> *Examiner*, Dec. 1, 1816. In an article entitled "Young Poets."

<sup>3</sup> *Examiner*, Feb. 1, Feb. 22, and Mar. 1, 1818. Dr. Miller erroneously gives the first and second dates as Jan. 25 and Feb. 8 (p. 76).

<sup>4</sup> *Quarterly Review*, XVIII, 324. Authorship from Murray's Register.

<sup>5</sup> *Quarterly Review*, XXI, 469, April 1819. The reviewer was a nephew of S. T. Coleridge, and later was Gifford's successor as editor of the *Quarterly*.

of considerable weight, caused Hunt to come to Shelley's defense. This he did in a critique on *Rosalind and Helen* and in another series of three articles on the *Revolt of Islam* in the *Examiners* of May, September, and October, 1819.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, *Blackwood's* in January, June, and November published three critical notices of the *Revolt of Islam*, *Rosalind and Helen*, and *Alastor* respectively.<sup>7</sup> The first is said to be from the pen of John Wilson. Dowden quotes another writer (evidently Richard Garnett) who called it "by far the worthiest recognition that Shelley's genius had received up to this time."<sup>8</sup> The other two reviews show a somewhat more reserved approval of Shelley's poetry, but condemn in no uncertain terms his views on political and religious questions. *Blackwood's* reviewer or reviewers, like those in the *Quarterly* and other periodicals later, were not unprejudiced by Shelley's early extravagances.

The *Cenci* was given its first notice by the *Examiner* in 1820. Leigh Hunt called it "undoubtedly the greatest dramatic production of the day."<sup>9</sup> *Blackwood's* referred to the *Cenci* in

<sup>6</sup> May 9; *Revolt of Islam*, Sept. 26, Oct. 3 and 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Blackwood's* IV, 475; V, 268; VI, 150.

<sup>8</sup> *Life of Shelley*, 1886, ii, 302. Dowden refers to Garnett's edition of DeQuincey's *Confessions* (London 1885, 217. See Introduction—"DeQuincey's Conversations with Richard Woodhouse") and relates the incident there described, concluding that DeQuincey's favorable comment on the *Revolt of Islam* influenced Wilson to give it a good review. Dowden indiscriminately comments on and quotes from the three articles in *Blackwood's* as if they were by one author. His main quotation is from the second review, which contains the sentence: "In *Rosalind and Helen* he [Shelley] touches with equal mastery the same softer strings of pathos and tenderness which had before responded so delightfully to the more gentle inspirations of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Wilson." Wilson could hardly have written that. As far as I have been able to determine, there is no evidence that Wilson wrote any of the reviews in question. The critique of the *Revolt of Islam* was not included by his son-in-law, Professor Ferrier, in the edition of his *Works*, 1855-56.

<sup>9</sup> *Examiner*, Mar. 19. Dr. Miller (p. 78) refers to two other mentions of the *Cenci* in the *Examiner*, on July 19 and July 26, 1820. The quotation she gives, however, is from the *Indicator, or Literary Examiner*, an entirely different publication, which was begun in 1818.

This is a very important bit of Shelley criticism, perhaps the finest example of Hunt's *interpretation*. The article, in two parts, is entitled "The Destruction of the Cenci Family, and Tragedy on the Subject." Shelley's drama, Hunt asserted, required more than an ordinary introduction to the public. Hunt recounted the story from the *Cenci* MS. and showed how Shelley ennobled it in the telling. He quoted Shelley's Preface to show his purpose ("There is

December, 1821, as "cockney madness, expressed through a vocabulary of rottenness and reptilism."<sup>10</sup> The *Monthly Review* mentioned it in February 1821, and acknowledged Shelley's genius, but called him a demon of bad taste, doubt, and vanity, just as in March and October, 1819, it had assailed his pernicious and demi-maniac views of the marriage institution and the Christian Church. In the same article in which the *Cenci* is noticed, *Prometheus Unbound* is called "unmixed nonsense."

The *Quarterly* did not review *Prometheus Unbound* until October, 1821, when William Sydney Walker of Cambridge contributed an attack on Shelley even more scurrilous than that of John Taylor Coleridge. The incidental but sweeping condemnation of the poetry as "drivelling prose run mad" reminds one of the *Monthly's* phrase, "unmixed nonsense." But the larger part of the review in the *Quarterly* was an attack on Shelley's private life.<sup>11</sup> Hunt in June once more came to the support of Shelley in two *Examiner* articles (not three, as stated by Dowden) in which he answered Walker's charges of nonsense, obscurity, and want of decency, and incidentally praised certain shorter poems, including *To a Skylark* and the *Ode written in October 1819*.<sup>12</sup> To these in July Hunt added a third article, one on *Adonais*, consisting of expostulation with the hostile critics, personal reminiscences that illustrated the high ideals and noble character of the poet, and elaborate interpretation as well as appreciation of the great elegy—elements which combine to make this the best, on the whole, of Hunt's estimates of Shelley, the man and poet. And this was published months

no living author who writes a preface like Mr. Shelley"), praised his work, and emphasized again the poet's "great sweetness of nature and enthusiasm for good."

<sup>10</sup> *Blackwood's*, X, 698. See also *Literary Gazette*, April 1, 1820, and *London Magazine*, May 1820.

<sup>11</sup> *Quarterly Review* XXVI, 168. Authorship from Murray's Register.

<sup>12</sup> Dowden, *Life of Shelley*, ii, 538n.

There were three articles in the *Examiner*, two (June 16 and 23, 1820) on *Prometheus Unbound* and the last (July 7) a review of *Adonais*. It is certainly worthy of comment and correction that Dr. Miller not only makes the mistake of referring to three articles on *Prometheus Unbound* (following Dowden, perhaps) but actually states that Hunt's projected review of *Adonais* "does not seem to have seen the light of publication." (*Leigh Hunt's Relations with Byron, Shelley, and Keats*, N. Y. 1910, p. 79.)



before a critic in *Blackwood's* declared the whole poem contained "about five readable lines," and compared it with a burlesque *Elegy on My Tomcat*, declaring the latter a better poem.<sup>13</sup>

In February, 1822, a notice in *Blackwood's* of *Epipsychidion*, which has been generally overlooked (neither Dowden nor Dr. Miller mention it) is important.<sup>14</sup> It is one more bit of evidence that the early effects of Wilson's assertion that Shelley was a man of genius must have been nullified and lost in *Blackwood's* persistent censure of the poet's social and religious thinking, its constant upbraiding of Shelley as a wilful and wicked man. The writer of this review categorically stated here that Shelley "has now published a long series of poems, the only object of which seems to be the promotion of atheism and incest." Shelley was characterized again as a man of genius, but not of sense or judgment. He was merely an inspired idiot. *Epipsychidion* was called more reprehensible than Byron's *Cain*.

Now it must be admitted that John Wilson, when in 1819 he called Shelley a man of genius, was writing for an organ far more influential than Hunt's *Examiner*. But this very fact made his sweeping charges all the more damaging to the poet's reputation—charges that Shelley was an enemy to religion and morality, that he was of the "Cockney School," and as a philosopher was weak and worthless. Wilson found much good in the *Revolt of Islam*. In a similar way, Wilson or another critic of *Blackwood's* staff, saw "beauties" in *Rosalind and Helen* and *Alastor*. Shelley was credited with passion, imagination, music and magic, tenderness and pathos; but the reviewer in each case dwelt at length upon his perversion of moral principle, wilful misrepresentation of the laws of society and virtue and human happiness, upon his wickedness and folly. The chief effect of *Blackwood's* criticism, therefore, must have been to support and embolden the traducers of the poet. Whatever good Wilson's recognition of his "genius" may have done Shelley, was secondary to this.

Hunt, on the other hand, seeing the poet's utterances and manner of life so much in need of vindication, devoted himself

<sup>13</sup> *Blackwood's*, X, 696, Dec. 1821.

<sup>14</sup> *Blackwood's*, XI, 237-239. The criticism is embodied in a "Letter from London," and may be easily overlooked.

in his critical writings very largely to explanations of the poems and to apology for Shelley's conduct. The *Examiner's* most important answers to the hostile critics are those which followed the *Quarterly's* reviews of the *Revolt of Islam* and *Prometheus Unbound*. In all, there are twelve important articles on Shelley and his work in the *Examiner*, between February 1818 and June 1822, to say nothing of a dozen minor references, published poems, and quotations. Hunt outlined the poems and interpreted them simply and clearly. He quoted Shelley's prefaces regarding the purposes of the poems. He emphasized constantly the poet's efforts to kindle in his readers "virtuous enthusiasm for the doctrines of liberty and justice . . . and a hope in something good, which neither violence, nor misrepresentation, nor prejudice, can ever totally extinguish among mankind." He denied that Shelley aimed at perfection in his endeavors to reform mankind and make love the law of the world. He even pointed out the obvious analogy of Shelley's doctrine to Christ's, maintaining that the teaching of neither was impracticable if taken as taught.

But, it will be objected, the real test of Hunt's criticism was his appreciation of the merits of Shelley's poetry. In the first place, his sympathetic interpretation and efforts to make others enjoy Shelley's verse must be contrasted with Wilson's assertion that the poet was a man of genius. It cannot be forgotten that in the same breath Wilson declared Keats as a poet "worthy of sheer and instant contempt." Wilson, or other *Blackwood's* reviewers, later gave Shelley a place *near* the great creative masters, but lower than Scott and Byron. He, or they, praised the rare strength and abundance of his poetic imagery and feeling, his music, his intellect, and his passion. Altogether, the poems mentioned in *Blackwood's* are the *Revolt of Islam*, *Rosalind and Helen*, *Alastor*, *Epipsychidion*, and later, *Prometheus Unbound*, *Adonais*, *The Cenci*, *The Sensitive Plant*, *To a Skylark*, and the *Ode to the West Wind*. The last three were praised for "richness of melody and tenderness of feeling," while—as has been noted—the *Revolt* and *Alastor* received qualified commendation. The others were almost entirely condemned, the reviewers being blinded to any poetic merit they possess by the political and religious sentiments expressed. *Prometheus Unbound*, finest of them all, was dismissed as a

"pestiferous mixture of blasphemy, sedition, and sensuality," although the author of this ineptitude professed a belief that Shelley would leave a great name behind him, and devoutly wished it could be pure as well as great.

In the *Examiner*, between 1816 and 1822, were criticised, or quoted approvingly, or published for the first time, eleven of Shelley's poems. They were *Alastor*, the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*,<sup>15</sup> the *Revolt of Islam*,<sup>16</sup> *Ozymandias*,<sup>17</sup> *Rosalind and Helen*, *The Cenci*, *Prometheus Unbound*, the *Ode written October 1819*, *To a Skylark*, *Lines written among the Euganean Hills*,<sup>18</sup> and *Adonais*.<sup>19</sup> As early as 1816, Hunt anticipated all other critics by hailing the author of *Alastor* as a striking and original thinker, and a lover of nature. He reviewed the *Revolt of Islam* months before Wilson, and found its pervading social message delivered with depth of sentiment and grandeur of imagery. He discovered in the poem a versification remarkably sweet, various, and noble. He perceived an audacity of speculation that reminded him of Lucretius, and an imagination and a grandeur of supernatural architecture reminiscent of Dante. Remarking the noble simplicity of *Rosalind and Helen*, he said of Shelley:

For him, if for any poet that ever lived, the external world has an answering heart, and the very whispers of the wind a meaning . . . To Mr. Shelley, all that exists, exists indeed,—color, sound, motion, thought, sentiment, the lofty and the humble, great and small, detail and generality,—from the beauties of the blade of grass or the most evanescent tint of a cloud, to the heart of man which he would elevate, and the mysterious spirit of the universe, which he would seat above worship itself.

When other reviewers mentioned *The Cenci* only to condemn, Hunt called it the greatest dramatic production of the day. He had the discernment to perceive in the "terrific" story an ever-present tone of sentiments of an amiable, refreshing, and

<sup>15</sup> Quoted January 19, 1817, with commendation.

<sup>16</sup> Quite apart from the three reviews and three later articles of defence of this poem, the *Revolt of Islam* was quoted January 25, 1818, and October 7, 1821. Eight stanzas from *Laon and Cythna* appeared November 30, 1817.

<sup>17</sup> January 11, 1818. First appearance of *Ozymandias*. Printed under the heading "Original Poetry" and signed "Gibrastes."

<sup>18</sup> Mentioned in review, May 9, 1819.

<sup>19</sup> Reviewed August 5, 1821.

exalted nature. In answer to Walker's contention that this volume of 1820 contained "not one original image of nature, one simple expression of human feeling, or one new association of the appearances of the moral world with the material world," Hunt quoted *To a Skylark* in full, declaring he knew nothing in lyric poetry so filled with original images of nature, simple expressions of human feeling, and associations of the appearances of the moral world with those of the material world. "I know of nothing more beautiful than this," he concludes, "more choice of tones, more natural in words, more abundant in exquisite, cordial, and most poetic associations. One gets the stanzas by heart unawares, and repeats them like snatches of old tunes."

Hunt was not blind to Shelley's faults. He declared the *Revolt of Islam*, *Prometheus Unbound*, and *Adonais* too abstract and subtle to be popular, but he believed they would delight the few "to whom Mr. Shelley is accustomed to address himself." He saw the poet's tendency to use the same images too frequently, and he wisely agreed with castigators of Shelley that obscurity was one of his weaknesses. But no other contemporary critic approaches Hunt as apologist or as a consistently sympathetic and discerning critic of Shelley's poetry. During Shelley's life, no other reviewer wrote so many criticisms. Consciously or unconsciously employing the romantic method of Coleridge, Hunt interpreted the poet by quoting the latter's prefaces; he allowed Shelley to speak for himself, and explain his own purposes. Finally, Hunt alone pointed out what posterity has clearly recognized: the beneficent social purpose in Shelley's poetry; the genuine Christianity of his spirit; his faith, not in perfectibility, but in the "slow, gradual change" for the better in human affairs; his cherished hope that his poetry might somehow help to make men "fearless, independent, happy, wise, affectionate, and infinitely social."

WALTER GRAHAM

## IX. TWO EARLY REVIEWS OF KEATS'S FIRST VOLUME

It has been the accepted opinion that Keats's first volume received very little attention at the time of its publication in 1817. This is no doubt due to the fact that until recently the only review known was that by Leigh Hunt published in three parts in the *Examiner* for June 1, July 6, and July 13, 1817. In 1917, Sir Sidney Colvin<sup>1</sup> brought to light two others, namely that in the September issue of the *Eclectic Review* and that in Constable's *Scots and Edinburgh Magazine* for October, 1817. It has been my good fortune to discover two additional reviews which seem to have been overlooked by students of Keats, although they are apparently the earliest published.

Of these, the first is an unsigned review which appeared in the *Champion*, a weekly London paper, for March 9, 1817—the very month in which, as Sir Sidney Colvin<sup>2</sup> and M. de Selincourt<sup>3</sup> have stated, Keats's volume was published. Even if we accept Sir Sidney's view that the volume appeared in the first days of March, it is altogether improbable that any other review appeared earlier than March 9. We seem justified, therefore, in accepting this as the very earliest review of Keats's book to be published.

The interest attaching to this notice of Keats's volume, and the comparative inaccessibility of the files of the *Champion* seem to warrant the reprinting of this text in full.

<sup>1</sup> *John Keats, His Life and Poetry, His Friends, Critics, and After-Fame*, London, 1917, p. 132. In his earlier study of Keats Sir Sidney, after mentioning the review in the *Examiner*, added: "and several of the provincial papers noticed the book" (*Keats*, Eng. Men of Letters, 1887, p. 65; this statement was repeated by Professor Hoops in *Engl. Stud.* XXI, 307). Such notices, however, can hardly be dignified as reviews. Also the use of the phrase "provincial papers" makes it clear that Sir Sidney did not have in mind the reviews to which the present article calls attention.

<sup>2</sup> Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> *The Poems of John Keats*, 4th ed. revised, N. Y., 1921, p. 387.

[From *The Champion*, March 9, 1817]LITERATURE

POEMS: BY JOHN KEATS, Price 6 s. LONDON. OLLIER, WELBECK-STREET. 1817.

Here is a little volume filled throughout with very graceful and genuine poetry. The author is a very young man, and one, as we augur from the present work, that is likely to make a great addition to those who would overthrow that artificial taste which French criticism has long planted amongst us. At a time when nothing is talked of but the power and the passion of Lord Byron, and the playful and elegant fancy of Moore, and the correctness of Rogers, and the sublimity and pathos of Campbell (these terms we should conceive are kept ready composed in the Edinburgh Review-shop) a young man starts suddenly before us, with a genius that is likely to eclipse them all. He comes fresh from nature,—and the originals of his images are to be found in her keeping. Young writers are in general in their early productions imitators of their favorite poet; like young birds that in their first songs, mock the notes of those warblers, they hear the most, and love the best: but this youthful poet appears to have tuned his voice in solitudes,—to have sung from the pure inspiration of nature. In the simple meadows he has proved that he can

“———— See shapes of light, aerial lymning,

And catch soft floating from a faint heard hymning.”

We find in his poetry the glorious effect of summer days and leafy spots on rich feelings, which are in themselves a summer. He relies directly and wholly on nature. He marries poesy to genuine simplicity. He makes her artless,—yet abstains carefully from giving her an uncomely homeliness;—that is, he shows one can be familiar with nature, yet perfectly strange to the habits of common life. Mr. Keats is fated, or “we have no judgment in an honest face;” to look at natural objects with his mind, as Shakespeare and Chaucer did,—and not merely with his eye as nearly all modern poets do;—to clothe his poetry with a grand intellectual light,—and to lay his name in the lap of immortality. Our readers will think that we are speaking too highly of this young poet,—but luckily we have the power of making good the ground on which we prophesy so hardily. We shall extract largely from his volume:—It will be seen how familiar he is with all that is green, light, and beautiful in nature;—and with what an originality his mind dwells on all great or graceful objects. His imagination is very powerful,—and one thing we have observed with pleasure, that it never attempts to soar on undue occasions. The imagination, like the eagle on the rock, should keep its eye constantly on the sun,—and should never be started heavenward, unless something magnificent marred its solitude. Again, though Mr. Keats’ poetry is remarkably abstracted, it is never out of reach of the mind; there are one or two established writers of this day who think that mystery is the soul of poetry—that artlessness is a vice—and that nothing can be graceful that is not metaphysical;—and even young writers have sunk into this error, and endeavoured to puzzle the world with a confused sensibility. We must however hasten to the consideration of the little volume before us, and not fill up our columns with observations, which extracts will render unnecessary.

The first poem in the book seems to have originated in a ramble in some romantic spot, "with boughs pavilioned." The poet describes a delightful time, and a little world of trees,—and refreshing streams,—and hedges of filberts and wild briar, and clumps of woodbine

"—— taking the wind  
Upon their summer thrones."

and flowers opening in the early sunlight. He connects the love of poetry with these natural luxuries.

"For what has made the sage or poet write,  
But the fair paradise of Nature's light?"

This leads him to speak of some of our olden tales; and here we must extract the passages describing those of Psyche, and Narcissus. The first is exquisitely written.

"So felt he, who first told, how Psyche went  
On the smooth wind to realms of wonderment;  
What Psyche felt, and Love, when their full lips  
First touched; what amorous and fondling nips  
They gave each other's cheeks; with all their sighs,  
And how they kist each others tremulous eyes;  
The silver lamp—the ravishment—the wonder—  
The darkness—loneliness—the fearful thunder;  
Their woes gone by, and both to heaven upflown,  
To bow for gratitude before Jove's throne."

The following passage is not less beautiful,

"What first inspired a bard of old to sing  
Narcissus pining o'er the untainted spring?  
In some delicious ramble, he had found  
A little space, with boughs all woven round;  
And in the midst of all, a clearer pool  
Than e'er reflected in its pleasant cool,  
The blue sky, here and there serenely peeping  
Through tendril wreaths fantastically creeping.  
And on the bank a lonely flower he spied,  
A meek and forlorn flower, with nought of pride,  
Drooping its beauty o'er the watery clearness,  
To woo its own sad image into nearness:  
Deaf to light Zephyrus it would not move;  
But still would seem to droop, to pine, to love.  
So while the poet stood in this sweet spot,  
Some fainter gleamings o'er his fancy shot;  
Nor was it long ere he had told the tale  
Of young Narcissus, and sad Echo's Vale.

This Poem concludes with a brief but beautiful recital of the tale of Endymion, —to which indeed the whole poem seems to lean. The Address to the Moon is extremely fine.

"—— Or by the moon, lifting her silver rim  
Above a cloud, and with a gradual [sic] swim

Coming into the blue with all her light.  
 O maker of sweet poets, dear delight  
 Of this fair world, and all its gentle livers;  
 Spangler of clouds, halo of chrystal rivers;  
 Mingler with leaves, and dew and tumbling streams,  
 Closer of lovely eyes to lovely dreams,  
 Lover of loneliness, and wandering,  
 Of upcast eye, and tender pondering!  
 Thee must I praise above all other glories  
 That smile us on to tell delightful stories."

'The Specimen of an induction to a poem,' is exceedingly spirited,—as is the fragment of a Tale of Romance immediately following it; but we cannot stay to notice them particularly. These four lines from the latter piece are very sweet.

"The side-long view of swelling leafiness,  
 Which the glad setting sun in gold doth dress;  
 Whence ever and anon the jay outsprings,  
 And scales upon the beauty of its wings."

The three poems following, addressed to Ladies, and the one to Hope are very inferior to their companions;—but Mr. Keats inform [sic] us they were written at an earlier period than the rest. The imitation of Spenser is rich. The opening stanza is a fair specimen.

"Now morning from her orient chamber came,  
 And her first footstep touch'd a verdant hill;  
 Crowning its lawny crest with amber flame,  
 Silv'ring the untainted gushes of its rill;  
 Which, pure from mossy beds, did down distil,  
 And after parting beds of simple flowers,  
 By many streams a little lake did fill,  
 Which round its marge reflected woven bowers,  
 And, in its middle space a sky that never lours."

The two Epistles to his friends, and one to his brother are written with great ease and power. We shall extract two passages, both equally beautiful.

"But might I now each passing moment give  
 To the coy muse, with me she would not live,  
 In this dark city, nor would condescend  
 Mid contradictions her delights to lend.  
 Should e'er the fine-ey'd maid to me be kind,  
 Ah! surely it must be whenc'er I find  
 Some flowery spot, sequester'd, wild, romantic,  
 That often must have seen a poet frantic;  
 Where oaks, that erst the Druid knew, are growing,  
 And flowers, the glory of one day, are blowing;  
 Where the dark-leav'd laburnum's drooping clusters  
 Reflect athwart the stream their yellow lustres,  
 And intertwined the Cassia's arms unite,  
 With its own drooping buds, but very white.



Where on one side are covert branches hung,  
 'Mong which the nightingales have always sung.  
 In leafy quiet: where to pry aloof,  
 Atween the pillars of the sylvan roof,  
 Would be to find where violet beds were nestling,  
 And where the bee with cowslip-bells was wrestling.  
 There must be too a ruin dark, and gloomy,  
 To say 'joy not too much in all that's bloomy.'

The next passage is from the opening of the poet's letter to a friend.

"Oft have you seen a swan superbly frowning,  
 And with proud breast his own white shadow crowning;  
 He slants his neck beneath the waters bright,  
 So silently, it seems a beam of light  
 Come from the galaxy: anon he sports,—  
 With outspread wings the Naiad Zephyr courts,  
 Or ruffles all the surface of the lake  
 In striving from the chrystal face to take  
 Some diamond water drops, and them to treasure  
 In milky nest, and sip them off at leisure.  
 But not a moment can he there insure them,  
 Nor to such downy rest can he allure them;  
 For down they rush as though they would be free,  
 And drop like hours into eternity.  
 Just like that bird am I in loss of time,  
 Whene'er I venture on the stream of rhyme;  
 With shatter'd boat, oar snap'd, and canvass rent,  
 I slowly sail, scarce knowing my intent;  
 Still scooping up the water with my fingers,  
 In which a trembling diamond never lingers."

Except in a little confusion of metaphor towards the end, the above passage is exquisitely imagined and executed.

A few Sonnets follow these epistles, and, with the exception of Milton's and Wordsworth's, we think them the most powerful ones in the whole range of English poetry. We extract the first in the collection, with the assurance that the rest are equally great.

#### TO MY BROTHER GEORGE

Many the wonders I this day have seen;  
 The sun, when first he kist away the tears  
 That fill'd the eyes of morn;—the laurell'd peers,  
 Who from the feathery gold of evening lean;—  
 The ocean with its vastness, its blue green,  
 Its ships, its rocks, its caves, its hopes, its fears,—  
 Its voice mysterious, which whoso hears  
 Must think on what will be, and what has been.  
 E'en now, dear George, while this for you I write,  
 Cynthia is from her silken curtains peeping  
 So scantily, that it seems her bridal night,  
 And she her half discover'd revels keeping.

But what, without the social thought of thee,  
Would be the wonders of the sky and sea?

We have been highly pleased with that Sonnet which speaks—  
Of fair hair'd Milton's eloquent distress,  
And all his love for gentle Lycid drown'd;—  
Of lovely Laura in her light green dress,  
And faithful Petrarch gloriously crown'd."

But the last poem in the volume, to which we are now come, is the most powerful and the most perfect. It is entitled "Sleep and Poetry." The poet past a wakeful night at a brother poet's house, and has in this piece embodied the thoughts which passed over his mind. He gives his opinion of the Elizabethan age,—of the Pope's school,—and of the poetry of the present day. We scarcely know what to select,—we are so confused with beauties. In speaking of poetry, we find the following splendid passage:—

"—— Also imaginings will hover  
Round my fire side, and haply there discover  
Vistas of solemn beauty, where I'd wander,  
In happy silence, like the clear meander  
Through its lone vales; where I found a spot  
Of awfuller shade, or an enchanted grot,  
Or a green hill o'er spread with chequer'd dress  
Of flowers, and fearful from its loveliness,  
Write on my tablets all that was permitted,  
All that was for our human senses fitted.  
Then the events of this wide world I'd seize  
Like a strong giant, and my spirit tease,  
Till at its shoulders it should proudly see  
Wings to find out an immortality!"

The following passage relating to the same, is even greater. It is the very magic of imagination.

"—— For lo! I see afar,  
O'er sailing the blue cragginess, a car,  
And steeds with streamy manes—the charioteer  
Looks out upon the winds with glorious fear:  
And now the numerous tramlings quiver lightly  
Along a huge cloud's ridge; and now with sprightly  
Wheel downward come they into fresher skies,  
Tipt round with silver from the sun's bright eyes.  
Still downward with capacious whirl they glide;  
And now I see them on a green hill's side,  
In breezy rest among the nodding stalks,  
The charioteer with wondrous gesture talks  
To trees and mountains;——"

We have not room to extract the passages on Pope and his followers, who

"——With a puling force,  
Sway'd them about upon a rocking horse,  
And thought it Pegasus."

Nor can we give those on the modern poets. We shall conclude our extracts with the following perfect and beautiful lines on the busts and pictures which hung around the room in which he was resting.

"Sappho's meek head was there half smiling down  
At nothing; just as though the earnest frown  
Of over thinking had that moment gone  
From off her brow, and left her all alone.  
Great Alfred's too, with anxious pitying eyes,  
As if he always listen'd to the sighs  
Of the goaded world; and Kosciusko's worn  
With horrid suffrance—mightily forlorn.

Petrarch, outstepping from the shady green,  
Starts at the sight of Laura; nor can wean  
His eyes from her sweet face. Most happy they!  
For over them was seen a free display  
Of outspread wings, and from between them shone  
The face of Poesy: from off her throne  
She overlook'd things that I scarce could tell."

We conclude with earnestly recommending the work to all our readers. It is not without defects, which may be easily mentioned, and as easily rectified. The author, from his natural freedom of versification, at times passes to an absolute faultiness of measure:—This he should avoid. He should also abstain from the use of compound epithets as much as possible. He has a few faults which youth must have;—he is apt occasionally to make his descriptions overwrought,—but on the whole we never saw a book which had so little reason to plead youth as its excuse. The best poets of the day might not blush to own it.

We have had two Sonnets presented to us, which were written by Mr. Keats, and which are not printed in the present volume. We have great pleasure in giving them to the public,—as well on account of their own power and beauty, as of the grandeur of the subjects; on which we have ourselves so often made observations.

TO HAYDON, WITH A SONNET WRITTEN ON SEEING THE  
ELGIN MARBLES

Forgive me, Haydon, that I cannot speak  
Definitively on these mighty things,—  
Forgive me that I have not eagle's wings,—  
That what I want, I know not where to seek:  
And think that I would not be overmeek  
In rolling out up-follow'd thunders,  
Even to the steep of Heliconian springs,  
Were I of ample strength for such a freak.  
Think too that all those numbers should be thine;  
Whose else? In this who touch thy vesture's hem?  
For where men stared at what was most divine,  
With browless idiotism—o'erweening phlegm;—

Thou hadst beheld the Hesperian shine  
Of their star in the east, and gone to worship them.

ON SEEING THE ELGIN MARBLES

My spirit is too weak—mortality  
Weighs heavily on me, like unwilling sleep,—  
And each imagined pinnacle and steep  
Of godlike hardship, tells me I must die,  
Like a sick eagle looking at the sky.  
Yet 'tis a gentle luxury to weep,  
That I have not the cloudy winds to keep  
Fresh for the opening of the morning's eye.  
Such dim conceived glories of the brain,  
Bring round the heart an undescribable feud;  
So do these wonders a most dizzy pain,  
That mingles Grecian grandeur, with the rude  
Wasting of old Time—with a billowy main—  
A Sun—a shadow of a magnitude!

The authorship of this review seems to be established beyond doubt by the inclusion in the review of the (as yet unprinted) sonnets on the Elgin marbles, with the accompanying statement:

We have had two Sonnets presented to us, which were written by Mr. Keats, and which are not printed in the present volume. We have great pleasure in giving them to the public,—as well on account of their own power and beauty as of the grandeur of the subjects; on which we have ourselves so often made observations.

As the above title shows, these sonnets were addressed by Keats to Haydon. That they were presented, as well as addressed, to Haydon is proved by a letter (March 1817) from the painter to Keats, thanking the poet for the "two noble sonnets," and praising the figure of the sick eagle looking at the sky.<sup>4</sup> This figure, it will be noted, seems to have been borrowed by the reviewer in his sentence, "The imagination, like the eagle on the rock should keep its eye constantly on the sun." Furthermore, Haydon is known to have published articles on the Elgin marbles.<sup>5</sup> Compare with this the reviewer's

<sup>4</sup> *Correspondence and Table Talk of Benjamin Robert Haydon*: With a Memoir by His Son, F. W. Haydon, London, 1876, II, 2.

<sup>5</sup> For an account of Haydon's part in the controversy over the Elgin marbles, see *The Life of B. R. Haydon* . . . from his *Autobiography*, ed. Tom Taylor 2nd ed., London, 1853, I, 269-73; 294-315.

statement in regard to the marbles as a subject on which he had often "made observations." It is true that John Scott, the editor of the *Champion*, had also written at least two articles in behalf of the Elgin marbles,<sup>6</sup> but there is no evidence to suggest that Keats ever presented a draft of his poems to John Scott. Finally, one notes the enthusiastic tone of the review, surprising at a time when Keats was wholly unrecognized. The reviewer believed that Keats seemed likely to eclipse Byron, Rogers, Campbell and Moore, and praises Keats's sonnets as being, "with the exception of Milton's and Wordsworth's, the most powerful ones in the whole range of English poetry." This again points toward Haydon, who wrote, in the course of a letter to Keats, in terms of extravagant eulogy: "I have read your 'Sleep and Poetry.' It is a flash of lightning that will rouse men from their occupations, and keep them trembling for the crash of thunder that will follow."<sup>7</sup> For all these reasons we can confidently identify the author of the review in the *Champion* with Benjamin Robert Haydon.

The second review is one which appeared over the initials "G.F.M." in the *European Magazine* for May, 1817, still in advance of the often-quoted review by Leigh Hunt. The question may possibly be raised whether this number of the *European Magazine* was actually printed before the first of June. In regard to this it may be said that the periodical certainly appeared before the middle of June, for in the *European Magazine* for June, 1817, is included a letter<sup>8</sup> dated June 12, referring to a communication from Thomas Pumphrey which appeared in the May issue.<sup>9</sup> In any case, the review antedates what are, for the present discussion, the most important portions of Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* article. The first part of Hunt's critique, which came out, as noted above, in the *Examiner* for June 1,<sup>10</sup> contains only one paragraph on Keats, the other two paragraphs being taken up with comment upon the change

<sup>6</sup> *Life of B. R. Haydon*, ed. cit., I, 329. The entry is given under the date 1816.

<sup>7</sup> *Correspondence and Table Talk of B. R. Haydon*, II, 6.

<sup>8</sup> *European Mag.*, LXXI, 493.

<sup>9</sup> *European Mag.*, LXXI, 422.

<sup>10</sup> *Examiner*, No. 492.

which poetic taste had recently undergone, and with a somewhat particular discussion of the part played by the Lake poets in reviving a taste for nature. The real criticism of Keats is found in the *Examiner* for July 6 and July 13, 1817.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps it is worth noting that in the second part of his criticism Leigh Hunt, like G. F. M., refers to the similarity between Keats's and Wordsworth's explanation of the origin of myth. The comparison is obvious enough, however, and I should not wish to argue that Leigh Hunt borrowed it from G. F. M.

More important, however, than the actual date of publication is the time at which the review was actually composed. And concerning this we find an interesting bit of evidence in the April number of the *European Magazine*. In the "Acknowledgments to Correspondents" on the *verso* of the title page of this issue, "The Review of Keats' Poems" is included among the items postponed until "our next."<sup>12</sup> This makes it virtually certain that the review in question reached the editorial desk as early as April, 1817.

Following is the full text of the review in the *European Magazine*.

[From the *European Magazine*, May, 1817, pp. 434-437]

*Poems by John Keats*. Foolscape, 8 vo. pp. 121.

There are few writers more frequent or more presumptuous in their intrusions on the public than, we know not what to call them, versifiers, rhymists, metre-ballad mongers, what you will but poets. The productions of some among them rise, like the smoke of an obscure cottage, clog the air with an obtrusive vapour, and then fade away into oblivion and nothingness. The compositions of others equally ephemeral, but possessing, perhaps, a few eccentric features of originality, come upon us with a flash and an explosion, rising into the air like a rocket, pouring forth its short-lived splendour and then falling, like Lucifer, *never to rise again*.

The attention of the public, indeed, has been so frequently arrested and abused by these exhalations of ignorance, perverted genius, and presumption, that "poems" has become a dull feature upon a title page, and it would be well for the more worthy candidates for regard and honour, particularly at this physiognomical, or, rather craniological period, could the spirit of an author be reflected there with more expressive fidelity. A quotation from, and a wood-engraving of *Spencer*, therefore, on the title page of Mr. Keats's volume, is very judiciously and appropriately introduced as the poetical beauties of the volume we are now about to review, remind us much of that elegant and romantic writer.

<sup>11</sup> *Examiner*, Nos. 497, 498.

<sup>12</sup> *European Mag.*, LXXI, 282.

For the grand, elaborate, and abstracted music of nature our author has a fine ear, and now and then catches a few notes from passages of that never-ending harmony which God made to retain in exaltation and purity the spirits of our first parents. In "places of Nestling-green for poets made," we have this gentle address to Cynthia:

"O maker of sweet poets! dear delight  
Of this fair world, and all its gentle livers;  
Spangler of clouds, halo of crystal rivers,  
Mingler with leaves, and dew, and tumbling streams,  
Closer of lovely eyes to lovely dreams,  
Lover of loneliness and wandering,  
Of upcast eyes and tender pondering!  
Thee, must I praise, above all other glories  
That smilest us on to tell delightful stories."

And also in his last poem, concerning sleep, the following interrogations and apostrophes are very pleasing.

"What is more gentle than a wind in summer?  
What is more soothing than the pretty hummer  
That stays one moment in an open flower,  
And buzzes cheerily from bower to bower?  
What is more tranquil than a musk rose, blowing  
In a green island, far from all men's knowing?  
More healthful than the leafings of dales?  
More secret than a nest of nightingales?  
More serene than Cordelia's countenance?  
More full of visions than a high romance?  
What but thee, sleep!"

The volume before us indeed is full of imaginations and descriptions equally delicate and elegant with these; but, although we have looked into it with pleasure, and strongly recommend it to the perusal of all lovers of real poetry, we cannot, as another critic has injudiciously attempted, roll the name of Byron, Moore, Campbell and Rogers, into the milky way of literature, because Keats is pouring forth his splendors in the Orient. We do not imagine that the fame of one poet, depends upon the fall of another, or that our morning and our evening stars necessarily eclipse the constellations of the meridian.

Too much praise is more injurious than censure, and forms that magnifying lens, through which, the faults and deformities of its object are augmented and enlarged; while true merit looks more lovely beaming through the clouds of prejudice and envy, because it adds to admiration and esteem the association of superior feelings.

We cannot then advance for our author equal claim to public notice for maturity of thought, propriety of feeling, or felicity of style. But while we blame the slovenly independence of his versification, we must allow that thought, sentiment, and feeling, particularly in the active use and poetical display of them, belong more to the maturity of summer fruits than to the infancy of vernal blossoms; to that knowledge of the human mind and heart which is acquired only by observation and experience, than to the early age, or fervid

imagination of our promising author. But if the gay colours and the sweet fragrance of bursting blossoms be the promise of future treasures, then may we prophecy boldly of the future eminence of our young poet, for we have nowhere found them so early or so beautifully displayed as in the pages of the volume before us.

The youthful architect may be discovered in the petty arguments of his principal pieces. These poetical structures may be compared to no gorgeous palaces, no solemn temples; and in his enmity to the French school, and to the Augustan age of England, he seems to have a principle, that plan and arrangement are prejudicial to natural poetry.

The principal conception of his first poem is the same as that of a contemporary author, Mr. Wordsworth, and presumes that the most ancient poets, who are the inventors of the Heathen Mythology, imagined those fables chiefly by the personification of many appearances in nature; just as the astronomers of Egypt gave name and figure to many of our constellations, and as the late Dr. Darwin ingeniously illustrated the science of Botany in a poem called "the Loves of the Plants."

After having painted a few "places of nestling green for poets made" thus Mr. Keats:

"What first inspired a bard of old to sing  
Narcissus pining o'er the untainted spring?  
In some delicious ramble he had found  
A little space, with boughs all woven round,  
And in the midst of all a clearer pool  
Than were reflected in its pleasant cool  
The blue sky, here and there serenely peeping  
Thro' tendril wreaths fantastically creeping.  
And on a bank a lonely flower he spied,  
A meek and forlorn flower, with nought of pride,  
Drooping its beauty o'er the watery clearness  
To woo its own sad image into nearness;  
Deaf to light Zephyrus, it would not move;  
But still would seem to droop, to pine, to love;—  
So while the poet stood in this sweet spot,  
Some fainter gleamings o'er his fancy shot;  
Nor was it long ere he had told the tale  
Of young Narcissus and sad Echo's bale!"

In the fragment of a Tale of Romance, young Calidore is amusing himself in a little boat in the park, till, hearing the trumpet of the warder, which announces the arrival of his friends at the castle, he hastens home to meet them: in after times we presume he is to become the hero of some marvellous achievements, devoting himself, like Quixote, to the service of the ladies redressing wrongs, dispelling the machinations of evil genii, encountering dragons, traversing regions aerial, terrestrial, and infernal, setting a price upon the heads of all giants, and forwarding them, trunkless, like "a cargo of famed cestrian cheese," as a dutiful tribute to the unrivalled beauty of his fair Dulcinea del Toboso. This fragment is as pretty and as innocent as childishness can make it, save that it savours too much,—as indeed do almost all these poems,—of the foppery and affectation of Leigh Hunt!



We shall pass over to the last of some minor pieces printed in the middle of the book, of superior versification, indeed, but of which, therefore, he seems to be partly ashamed, from a declaration that they were written earlier than the rest. These lines are spirited and powerful:

"Ah! who can e'er forget so fair a being?  
Who can forget her half retiring sweets?  
God she is like a milk-white lamb that bleats  
For man's protection. Surely the Allseeing,  
Who joys to see us with his gifts agreeing,  
Will never give him pinions, who intreats  
Such innocence to ruin; who vilely cheats  
A dove-like bosom. . . .!"

There are some good sonnets; that on first looking into Chapman's Homer, although absurd in its application, is a fair specimen:

"Much have I travell'd in the realms of gold,  
And many goodly states and kingdoms seen;  
Round many western islands have I been,  
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold:  
Oft of one wide expanse have I been told,  
That deep brow'd Homer ruled as his demesne;  
Yet did I never breathe its pure serene,  
Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold.  
Then felt I like some watcher of the skies  
When a new planet swims into his ken;  
Or like stout Cortez when, with eagle eyes,  
He stared at the Pacific—and all his men  
Looked at each other with a wild surmise,  
Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

"Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold" however is a bad line—not only as it breaks the metaphor—but as it blows out the whole sonnet into an unseemly hyperbole. Consistent with this sonnet is a passage in his "Sleep and Poetry."

"A schism

Nurtured by foppery and barbarism,  
Made great Apollo blush for this his land,  
Men were thought wise who could not understand  
His glories: with a puling infant's force  
They swayed about upon a rocking-horse,  
And thought it Pegasus. Ah! dismal soul'd!  
The winds of heaven blew, the ocean roll'd  
Its gathering waves,—ye felt it not. The blue  
Bared its eternal bosom, and the dew  
Of summer nights collected still to make  
The morning precious: beauty was awake!  
Why were ye not awake? but ye were dead  
To things ye knew not of,—were closely wed  
To musty laws lined out with wretched rule

And compass vile: so that ye taught a school  
 Of dolts to smooth, inlay, and clip, and fit,  
 Till, like the certain wands of Jacob's wit,  
 Their verses tallied. Easy was the task:  
 A thousand handicraftsmen wore the mask  
 Of poesy. Ill-fated, impious race!  
 That blasphemed the bright lyrist to his face,  
 And did not know it,—no! they went about,  
 Holding a poor, decrepited standard out,  
 Marked with most flimsy mottoes, and in large  
 The name of one Boillard!"

These lines are indeed satirical and poignant, but levelled at the author of *Eloise*, and of *Windsor Forest*; of the *Essays* and the *Satires*, they will form no sun, no centre of a system; but like the moon exploded from the South Sea, the mere satellite will revolve only around the head of its own author, and reflect upon him an unchanging face of ridicule and rebuke. Like Balaam's ass before the angel, offensive only to the power that goads it on.

We might transcribe the whole volume were we to point out every instance of the luxuriance of his imagination, and the puerility of his sentiments. With these distinguishing features, it cannot be but many passages will appear abstracted and obscure. Feeble and false thoughts are easily lost sight of in the redundancy of poetical decoration.

To conclude, if the principal is worth encountering, or the passage worth quoting, he says:

"Let there nothing be  
 More boist'rous than a lover's bended knee;  
 Nought more ungente than the placid look  
 Of one who leans upon a closed book;  
 Nought more untranquil than the grassy slopes  
 Between two hills.—All hail delightful hopes!  
 As she was wont, the imagination  
 Into most lovely labyrinths will be gone,  
 And they shall be accounted Poet Kings  
 Who simply tell the most hearteasing things.  
 O may these joys be ripe before I die."

Though he well adds:

"Will not some say that I presumptuously  
 Have spoken? that from hastening disgrace  
 'Twere better far to hide my foolish face?"

Let not Mr. Keats imagine that the sole end of poesy is attained by those

"Who strive with the bright golden wing  
 Of genius, to flap away each sting  
 Thrown by the pitiless world."

But remember that there is a sublimer height to which the spirit of the muse may soar; and that her arm is able to uphold the adamant shield of virtue, and guard the soul from those insinuating sentiments, so fatally inculcated by many of the most popular writers of the day, equally repugnant both to

reason and religion, which, if they touch us with their poisoned points, will contaminate our purity, inoculate us with degeneracy and corruption, and overthrow among us the dominion of domestic peace and public liberty.

Religion and the love of virtue are not inconsistent with the character of poet; they should shine like the moon upon his thoughts, direct the course of his enquiries, and illuminate his reflections upon mankind. We consider that the specimens here presented to our readers, will establish our opinion of Mr. Keats's poetical imagination; but the mere luxuries of imagination, more especially in the possession of the proud egotist of diseased feelings and perverted principles, may become the ruin of a people—inculcate the falsest and most dangerous ideas of the condition of humanity—and refine us into the degeneracy of butterflies that perish in the deceitful glories of a destructive taper. These observations might be considered impertinent, were they applied to one who had discovered any incapacity for loftier flights—to one who could not appreciate the energies of Milton or of Shakespeare—to one who could not soar to the heights of poesy,—and ultimately hope to bind his brows with the glorious sunbeams of immortality.

G. F. M.

By October, G. F. M.'s review had travelled across the Atlantic. In the Boston *Athenaeum*, a fortnightly publication whose editors attempted to cull from the English magazines the articles best suited to the American public, a part of this review appeared October 15, 1817.<sup>13</sup> In removing its imperfections from its head the American editors, it is true, had cut off the rather discouraging introduction and the stern admonitions of the latter half, but they left enough—the portions most complimentary to Keats—to acquaint their readers with the young English poet and with some of the "beauties" of his verse. That this was the first criticism of Keats to appear in America, although not absolutely certain, is highly probable.

It remains to discover, if possible, the identity of the reviewer who signed himself merely "G. F. M." Perhaps one ought not to assume without further evidence that these letters were actually the initials of the author's name. Nevertheless, in comparison with SWXZ, ABC, ZZZ—some of the other signatures employed by correspondents in the *European Magazine*, they at least create the impression of reality. Now there was in Keats's circle from 1805 apparently until 1817<sup>14</sup> a young man with these very initials. To him Keats addressed, in November, 1815, his well-known "Epistle to George Felton Mathew."

<sup>13</sup> *The Athenaeum*, or *The Spirit of the English Magazines*, II (Boston, October 15, 1817), pp. 50-51.

<sup>14</sup> See Colvin's *Keats*, London, 1920, p. 24.

It would appear from this "Epistle" that Mathew was a person of literary turn who was accustomed to writing verses. Further plausibility is given to this identification by the fact that between October, 1816, and April, 1818, the "G. F. M." of the *European Magazine* contributed a number of poems to that periodical, one of which—apparently the first of G. F. M.'s contributions—seems clearly to be addressed to Keats himself, as is shown by its subject matter and by the explanatory footnote: "Alluding to his medical character," as well as by the fact that G. F. M. later appears as reviewer of Keats's *Poems*. It is possible also—though this cannot be proved—that G. F. M.'s poem was actually composed a twelve-month earlier than its appearance in print, and that it either was a direct response to Keats's *Epistle* or perhaps supplied the occasion for that poem. In order that the reader may draw his own conclusions, I quote the text in full.<sup>15</sup>

TO A POETICAL FRIEND

O Thou who delightest in fanciful song,  
And tellest strange tales of the elf and the fay;  
Of giants tyrannic, whose talismans strong  
Have power to charm gentle damsels astray;

Of courteous knights-errant, and high-mettled steeds;  
Of forests enchanted, and marvellous streams:—  
Of bridges, and castles, and desperate deeds;  
And all the bright fictions of fanciful dreams:—

Of captures, and rescues, and wonderful loves;  
Of blisses abounding in dark leafy bowers;—  
Of murmuring music in shadowy groves,  
And beauty reclined on her pillow of flowers:—

O where did thine infancy open its eyes?  
And who was the nurse that attended the spring?  
For sure thou'rt exotic to these frigid skies,  
So splendid the song that thou lovest to sing.

Perhaps thou traversed the glorious East;  
And like the warm breath of its sun, and its gale,  
That wander 'mid gardens of flowers to feast,  
Are tintured with every rich sweet that prevails?

<sup>15</sup> *European Mag.* (Oct. 1816) LXX, 365.

O no!—for a Shakespeare—a Milton are ours!  
And who e'er sung sweeter than they?  
As thine is, I ween was the spring of *their* powers;  
Like theirs, is the cast of thine earlier lay.

It is not the climate, or the scenery round,  
It was not the nurse that attended thy youth;  
That gave thee those blisses which richly abound  
In magical numbers to charm, and to soothe.

O no!—'tis the Queen of those regions of air—  
The gay fields of Fancy—thy spirit has blest;  
She cherished thy childhood with fostering care,  
And nurtured her boy with the milk of her breast.

She tended thee ere thou couldst wander alone,  
And cheer'd thy wild walks amidst terror and dread;  
She sung thee to sleep with a song of her own,  
And laid thy young limbs on her flowery bed.

She gave thee those pinions with which thou delightest  
Sublime o'er her boundless dominions to rove;  
The tongue too she gave thee with which thou invitest  
Each ear to thy stories of wonder and love.

And when evening shall free thee from nature's decays,\*  
And release thee from Study's severest control,  
Oh warm thee in Fancy's enlivening rays;  
And wash the dark spots of disease from thy soul.

And let not the spirit of Poesy sleep;  
Of Fairies and Genii continue to tell—  
Nor suffer the innocent deer's timid leap  
To fright the wild bee from her flowery bell.

G. F. M.

\* Alluding to his medical character.

As an objection to identifying G. F. M. as George Felton Mathew it may possibly be urged that the review of Keats's poems, as well as the other two reviews contributed by G. F. M. are staid, prosy, and didactic in tone, and do not read like the work of a young man in his early twenties—as Mathew would have been at this time, for writing to Monckton Milnes in the 1840's, he states that he and Keats were about the same age.<sup>16</sup> Such an objection, however, does not seem decisive, or

<sup>16</sup> See the letter of Mathew as quoted by Colvin, *John Keats*, etc., 1920, p. 25. The text of the letter is quoted in part by R. M. Milnes, *The Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats*, N. Y., 1848, p. 22.

even serious, for in the letter to Milnes it is to be noted that he was of a graver turn than his friend and that he describes himself as "languid and melancholy" and "thoughtful beyond [his] years." And, after all, even youth is not invariably impatient of rules and preachments.

Again, it may be objected that the general character of the criticism expressed in the review is not altogether what we should expect from the "too partial friend" of Keats's "Epistle." G. F. M.'s review, though in part complimentary, even laudatory in places, is not partial. There is one sentence, however, which sounds as if it might have been written by way of apology: "Too much praise is more injurious than censure, and forms that magnifying lens, through which the faults and deformities of its object are augmented and enlarged; while true merit looks more lovely beaming through the clouds of prejudice and envy, because it adds to admiration and esteem the association of superior feelings."<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the reviewer's adverse comments are such as might be expected from one who, as George Felton Mathew said of himself, "hated controversy and dispute—dreaded discord and disorder—loved the institutions" of his country. As will be seen from the text of the review quoted above the imagination of the poet is said to be luxuriant, but his sentiments often puerile; the satire in "Sleep and Poetry" directed against Pope and his followers is said only to reflect discredit upon its author; "Mr. Keats," finally, is sternly admonished against the perils of mere luxuries of the imagination unsupported by religion and virtue.

When we look again at Felton Mathew's often quoted characterization of himself and Keats, we see how well these criticisms may have come from one whose conservatism was diametrically opposed to the liberal views of Keats, and from one who could write thirty years afterward: "His eye admired more the external decorations than felt the deep emotions of the Muse. He delighted in leading you through the mazes of elaborate description, but was less conscious of the sublime and the pathetic."<sup>18</sup>

ROBERTA D. CORNELIUS

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 203.

<sup>18</sup> R. M. Milnes, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

## X. THACKERAY'S *PENDENNIS* AS A SOURCE OF FONTANE'S *FRAU JENNY TREIBEL*

Theodor Fontane's interest in English literature dates back to his boyhood years in Swinemünde. Here he first became familiar with the name of the arch-magician Walter Scott, a favorite with his father and at that time the most brilliant luminary in the literary firmament. Keen admiration for the great Briton the poet retained throughout his life. Clear reflections of this enthusiasm may be discerned in his first novel, the broad historical canvas *Vor dem Sturm* (1878), and also to a lesser extent in several of his later works.<sup>1</sup>

Fontane's literary relationship with other British novelists has yet to be thoroughly investigated, although we know that he was at home in the works of the great English humorists, especially Thackeray and Dickens, but also Smollett, Fielding, and Sterne. His residence as a journalist in London in 1852 and again in 1855-59 afforded him ample opportunity to indulge his fondness for English fiction.

After Scott, Thackeray probably held a greater interest for Fontane than any other British writer. But unfortunately we have to rest our case for Thackeray influence mainly on internal evidence, as allusions to the Englishman in the works of the poet are far from numerous. Furthermore, the only novel by Thackeray which our author names is *Vanity Fair*. This masterpiece made a profound impression upon the journalist and student of manners. In spite of a sincere admiration for British literature and for many aspects of British civilization, he looked upon Mid-Victorian England with Thackeray's eyes and saw everywhere snobbishness and the mania for display. Indeed, he refers to an incident mentioned in *Vanity Fair* to support this contention.<sup>2</sup>

Undoubtedly Fontane's latent skill as an observer of the habits of contemporary society was greatly sharpened both by his experience with the brilliant panorama of British life and by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my monograph, *The Influence of Walter Scott on the Novels of Theodor Fontane*, New York, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> *Ein Sommer in London*, p. 213.

The sentimentality of the two women finds its chief outlet in poetry. Blanche treasures a volume of her own poems bearing the lachrymose title "Mes Larmes." To her young Pendennis writes poems, and on one occasion she entertains him and Harry Foker by singing one of her lover's poems.<sup>10</sup> (These verses, "The Church Porch" Thackeray quotes in full.<sup>11</sup>) On another occasion, Miss Amory, walking with Pendennis in the country, recalls how they had sung together in the happy days before he became known as an author.<sup>12</sup>

The sentimentality of Jenny Treibel is illustrated even more sharply by her poetic cravings. This "Musterstück einer Bourgeoise," as Fontane calls her, educated herself on poetry in the humble shop of her father. As a girl, Jenny enjoyed a brief romance with young Wilibald Schmidt, a student who dedicated a number of poems to her.<sup>13</sup> One of these effusions Fontane has used with rare virtuosity as a sort of *Leitmotiv* for his book. This "himmlische Trivialität" Jenny delights in singing even as a settled matron and *Kommerzienrätin*. Like Thackeray, Fontane quotes his song:

Was soll Gold? Ich liebe Rosen  
Und der Blumen schlichte Zier.  
.....  
Ach, nur das, nur das ist Leben,  
Wo sich Herz zum Herzen find't.<sup>14</sup>

Also, as in the case of Blanche Amory, Jenny never tires in later years of reveling in tender recollections. On the eventful picnic in the environs of Berlin the middle-aged woman reminds Schmidt of the unique beauty of their early years together.<sup>15</sup>

Coming now to the victim of the enchantress, we find less an *organic* than a *functional* resemblance between Pendennis and Wilibald Schmidt. Yet this is important enough to deserve being traced out. As a young man Thackeray's hero is entranced by the languishing wiles of Miss Amory, by her sentiment and

<sup>10</sup> Vol. I, p. 390. References are to the Cambridge Edition of Thackeray's works, Boston, 1881.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319.

<sup>12</sup> Vol. II, p. 268.

<sup>13</sup> This volume of poems has a blue cover, as does Blanche's book.

<sup>14</sup> P. 232.

<sup>15</sup> P. 146.



her music, and after some years in London he becomes engaged to her. But the fickle girl jilts her brilliant lover to betroth herself to the wealthy Harry Foker. After his defeat Pendennis marries Laura Bell, his foster sister, whose feelings for him have remained constant.

Fontane has delineated his male character more sharply than has Thackeray. Wilibald Schmidt's affair with Jenny Bürstenbinder is *Vorgeschichte* in the German novel, and is related with delicious irony by the staid pedagogue: following the composition of his notorious love-poem the young man considered himself engaged. But when the rich manufacturer Treibel entered the Bürstenbinder shop one day, Jenny conveniently forgot all about the higher life. As Schmidt puts it, "Nun ist das Püppchen eine Kommerzienrätin geworden und kann sich alles gönnen, auch das Ideale."<sup>16</sup>

Fontane very cleverly repeats and rounds out Schmidt's early romance in the second generation. His daughter Corinna, very like the professor and possessing a good portion of "das Schmidtsche," as Wilibald phrases it, determines to marry the son of Frau Treibel. But once more the money bags win the day. Jenny, who has just been eloquent on the subject of the ideal to the *father*, refuses to allow her docile offspring to marry the relatively poor *daughter*. Whereupon Corinna, like Pendennis, comes to her senses and marries her faithful playmate, in this instance, her cousin.

The successful suitors, as well as the jilted lovers, correspond in Thackeray and Fontane.<sup>17</sup> Both Harry Foker and *Kommerzienrat* Treibel are rich and represent inherited wealth, the former brewing, the latter, manufacturing interests. Both are decidedly bourgeois, especially when contrasted with their unsuccessful rivals, author and teacher, respectively. Although Treibel is endowed by Fontane with a sense of ironic humor lacking in his wife, he still cannot deny his bourgeois ancestry. However, Foker bears more *organic* resemblance to Treibel's younger son Leopold than to the manufacturer himself. As has been noted, the Schmidt family receives a second defeat when the daughter Corinna aspires to exchange the wealth of

<sup>16</sup> P. 14.

<sup>17</sup> It must be admitted that Harry Foker does not go further than an engagement with Blanche Amory.

intellect for that of hard cash. Both Foker and Leopold, rather slow and unenterprising, are foils for the brilliant girls whom they want to marry. Moreover, both are controlled by their wealthy families who have suitable matches already selected for them. Harry is banished from England for disregarding his family's wishes in this matter, whereas Leopold lacks the courage to defy his formidable mother to marry Corinna.

Aside from similarity in plot and characterization, *Pendennis* and *Frau Jenny Treibel* exhibit a general kinship since both are social satires. There is in each novel the same atmosphere of domestic intrigue and the same semi-humorous treatment of secondary characters.<sup>18</sup>

In technique (the point on which Fontane's claim to originality rests) Thackeray and Fontane are polar opposites. The former is expansive and loquacious, the latter subtle and suggestive. A paragraph in *Pendennis* would be equivalent to one ironical word in *Frau Jenny Treibel*. Moreover, the two heroines are treated in a different manner: Blanche is the sentimental Victorian coquette, while Jenny, a far more original character, is the snobbish bourgeoisie. In spite of these differences, however, the similarity in content in *Pendennis* and *Frau Jenny Treibel* is marked enough to make the influence of Thackeray on Fontane highly probable.

LAMBERT A. SHEARS

<sup>18</sup> Cf. especially the guests at Frau Treibel's dinner-party, chapters 3 and 4.

## REGULATIONS ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting are expected to prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical treatises may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten minutes. The papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than twenty (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not, shall submit to the Secretary, by November 1, with its title, a typewritten synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the programme.

3. The Secretary shall select the programme from the papers thus offered trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

4. The question of publication is to be decided for each paper on its merits as a contribution to science, without regard to the form in which it has been presented at the meeting.

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# The Modern Language Association of America

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Volumes I to VII of the *Publications*, constituting the Old Series, are out of print, but Volumes I to IV, inclusive, have been reproduced, and can be supplied at \$3.00 each. All of the New Series, beginning with Volume VIII, may be obtained of the Treasurer at the rate of \$3.00 a volume, or \$1.00 each for single numbers.

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XI.

THE FABLIAU "DES DEUX ANGLOIS ET DE L'ANEL"

The caricature of the Englishman in the Middle Ages was never complete in the eyes of the French without some allusion to or parody upon his incorrect and unpleasant manner of speaking French, the French of Marlborough<sup>1</sup> or of Stratford atte Bowe.<sup>2</sup> A number of parodies of this sort have come down to us<sup>3</sup> and are still of interest, popular caricatures of real though at times coarse humor. One of the best episodes of the *Roman de Renart* depicts Renart in the disguise of an Anglo-Norman *jongleur* affecting the outlandish accent and thus concealing his identity from his wife. Perhaps the best known of all these

<sup>1</sup> Walter Map says in the *De Nugis Curialium*: Apud Marleburgam fons est, quem si quis, ut aiunt, gustaverit, gallice barbarizat; unde cum viciose quis illa lingua loquitur, dicimus eum loqui gallicum Marleburgae.

<sup>2</sup> The quality of the French spoken by Chaucer's Prioress is well known:

And Frensh she spak ful faire and fetisly,

After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,

For Frensh of Paris was to hir unknowe. (*Cant. Tales*, A. 124-126).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, 3rd ed., 1911, Appendice II, p. 442, and the article of C. V. Langlois upon the English in the Middle Ages, *Revue Historique*, 1893, p. 311. Some examples of this type of parody are, *La Paix aux Anglais* in A. Jubinal, *Jongleurs et Trouvères*, Paris, 1835, p. 170; *La Charte aux Anglais* and *La Nouvelle Charte de la Paix aux Anglais*, *Romania*, XIV, 280; *Roman de Renart*, ed. Ernest Martin, Strasbourg, 1882, I, 62 f.; cf. also *Le Mystère de Saint Louis*, ed. F. Michel (Roxburghe Club), Westminster, 1871, p. iii of the preface and p. 395 f., where are found numerous references to the pronunciation and use of French by the English. Cf. H. Albert, *Mittelaltlicher englisch-französischer Jargon* (Halle, 1922).

We have little or no information as to how the French pronounced English because it appears that they considered it as barbaric and never paid much attention to it. Ellis (*On Early English Pronunciation*, London, 1869, II, 531) gives a few references to English in the mouths of Frenchmen in the Middle Ages.

parodies is found in the *fabliau Des Deux Anglois et de l'Anel*,<sup>4</sup> a *conte* entirely insignificant in itself, but nevertheless suggestive of the lack of esteem in which the French dialect spoken in England must have been held by the continentals about the epoch of St. Louis.

This *fabliau* seems to depend entirely upon a quid-pro-quo caused by the dialectal pronunciation of French. An Englishman is sick. He says to his companion, Alain by name:

Triant, fait-il, par Seint Tomas  
Se tu avez. I. anel cras,  
Mi porra bien mengier, ce croi.

The butcher, to whom Alain tries to make known the wants of his sick friend, can understand nothing of his jargon:

Que as-tu, fait-il, fastroillant?  
Ge ne sais quel mal fez tu diz.  
Va t'en, que tes cors soit honiz!  
Es-tu Auvergnaz ou Tiois?<sup>5</sup>

He finally guesses that Alain is ordering an *anel*, a young ass, and gives it to him instead of an *agnei*:

Bien t'en est, fait-il, avenu,  
M'anesse en oit, ersoir, un bel.  
Devant l'Anglois a mis l'anel.

The ass is skinned and cooked and the sick man, famished by long fasting, eats almost the entire animal of which he finds only the thigh a bit tough. After the meal, when he views the ass's skin, head and ears, he exclaims:

Si fait pié, si faite mouse'  
Ne si fait pel n'a mie ainel.  
Ainelet a petite l'os,  
Corte l'eschine et cort le dos;  
Cestui n'est mie fils *bèhè*.  
Quoi dites-vos, Alein, que est?  
Ce ne fu mie fielz berbis.

The incident has fortunate results, however, for the sick man laughs so hard over it that he recovers his health:

<sup>4</sup> Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Recueil Général des Fabliaux*, Paris, 1880, II, 46.

<sup>5</sup> Tiois = "bas-allemand, néerlandais" (Mont. Ray., VI., p. 383).



Quant li malades li oït dirc,  
Ainz ne se pot tenir de rire:  
Du mal gari et respassa;  
Onques l'asnel que il menja  
Ne li fist mal, si con cil dist  
Qui le flabel des Anglois fist.

The very nature of this story, which depends entirely, as it seems, upon the play upon words, would indicate that it is the pure invention of its anonymous author. In fact, it would appear futile to search for sources or analogues of a tale so apparently unique. No one, as far as I know, has suggested a story of similar content.<sup>6</sup> In the course of a study in the *fabliaux*, recently terminated, I have, however, found several analogues of this curious tale which suggest the possibility that it is an adaptation to a dialectal pun, of some common source. It is true that the *exemplum* (14th century) and the late medieval tale (1515), which are published herewith, both post-date the *fabliau*<sup>7</sup> by considerable periods of time and may be interpreted to be versions of it, but they have points of difference with each other and with the *fabliau* which might indicate that all are variants of a general theme. As the *fabliau* concerns both the ass and the lamb, whereas the *exemplum* has to do with the lamb only, and the tale with the ass only, it might seem to be closer to a common original which would deal with both lamb and ass. It does not seem likely that a pun due to dialectal mispronunciation in the *fabliau* would have furnished the model for the other two versions which deal with confusion of proper names and which would be more generally understood. In this respect *they* would seem to be nearer a common original.

The *exemplum* of which the text follows, is found in MS Harley 7322 of the British Museum, a vellum manuscript of the second half of the 14th century.<sup>8</sup> It is one of a series of *exempla* which have been bound up with a collection of Latin sermons and theological notes interspersed with verses and prose passages in English. Our text is found on fol. 102<sup>v</sup> and is number

<sup>6</sup> Bédier, *loc cit.*, says of this *fabliau*: "Je n'ai retrouvé nulle part cette historiette."

<sup>7</sup> The unique ms. *Bib. Nat. fonds français*, 19152, dates from the 13th cent.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS, Brit. Mus.*, III, 174; F. J. Furnivall, *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, E. E. T. S., 1903, p. 249.

93 of the collection. It evidently gives a brief summary of a tale which was current at the time. The diners this time, upon their demand for lamb, are served a fat dog which answered to the name of *Moton*. As in the *fabliau* and in the *conte*, the diners, after the meal, appear to have enjoyed the joke. The none-too-evident moral drawn from the story was evidently uppermost in the mind of the author.

Exemplum de illis qui optimum mutulini<sup>9</sup>rataverant<sup>10</sup>quales carnes elegerant pro prandis set cum provisor illorum dixerat eis quod comederant unum pinguem canem qui vocabatur *Moton*, plus tunc gravabantur<sup>11</sup> quam in comedendo delectabantur pro certo, et sic voluptuosi post hanc vitam gravius dolebunt quam gaudent cane. Igitur ne cecus ducat videntem et ne ursus corpus ducat usuarium<sup>12</sup> et animam; ne symea ducat ductorem suum quia si sic ducet ad infernum, non est de mirabilibus mundi.

Philippe de Vigneulles,<sup>13</sup> author of the prose tale to which reference has been made, in the natural course of events, could hardly have known directly the *fabliau*, for as an active literary genre the *fabliaux* had disappeared over one hundred and fifty years before his time. His *contes*, which were written as a pastime during a long period of convalescence (1505-1515) and in which more than one famous folklore theme is represented, seem to have come to him mainly by oral transmission through the mouths of his *bons compagnons* in the city of Metz where he was a *chaussetier* or hosier by trade. The resemblance between the tale and the *fabliau* is striking. The confusion in the tale arises from a play on words which is not so natural as that of the *fabliau*. The *seigneurs* are finally convinced that they have eaten ass meat when the hide is shown them (the exhibition of the hide is also a detail of the *fabliau*) and the laugh, as in the *fabliau*, is a hearty one.

There is, however, introduced into Philippe's tale, an incident entirely unnecessary to it, which may be a reminiscence of the

<sup>9</sup> *mutulini*, cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium* : *mutunus* (chart of 1307). I have not found *mutulinus* used outside of the present passage.

<sup>10</sup> *rataverant*, cf. Du Cange, *op. cit.*: *delere, oblitescere*.

<sup>11</sup> *gravabantur*: felt inconvenienced.

<sup>12</sup> *usuarium*, cf. Du Cange, *ed. cit.*, under this word: *usufructus, seu potius jus utendi*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Revue du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, X, 159-203, where I have dealt at length with this little known tale-teller who furnishes us with an interesting date in French literary history.

dialect word-play in the *fabliau*: that is, the conversation in which the peasant who is accustomed to dialectal French, thinks good French is Latin. Philippe tells us in his *Mémoires* that he "translatit et mit de ancienne rime en prouse le livre de la belle Biautris et celui du Lourain Guérin."<sup>14</sup> His researches in older French may have brought him into contact with a manuscript containing the old *fabliau*. The evidence is, however, too scanty to determine exactly the relation between the *fabliau* and the *conte*, but, as I have suggested above, the probability of a common source for the two seems reasonable.

Here follows the fourth tale of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* of Philippe de Vigneulles, a work as yet unedited.<sup>15</sup> A leaf has been torn from the MS so that the text begins imperfectly. The fourth tale itself is, nevertheless, intact and actually begins with the second sentence of the text, for what goes before is only a short comment on tale three, which represents a version of another famous *fabliau*, *Le Dit des Perdis* (Mont. Ray., I, 188):

. . . . adviennent comme par ci devant avez ouy là où il parle de la finesse d'un jeune garson que mangea les perdis et si n'en fut pas batu par sa cautelle et malice.

Or je vous en vueil icy compter une pour tousiours multiplier le nombre, laquelle fut bien contraire à celle devant dicte, car au lieu de perdis ung pouvre prebtre ignorant fist tuer son asne et le manger par sa simplesse, et eust mieulx le dict prebtre avoir payés une douzaine de perdis que ledict asne, mais par mal entendre, il fast faict comme vous orres.

Il est vray et n'y a pas longtemps comme j'ay ouy racompter à gens clerics et dignes de foy, que en l'esveschié de Mets du costez vers Sainte Barbe fut ordonnez par les prelatz et souverains de l'eglise et par ceulx qui ont la charge et l'aministracion de cest office, de faire visitacion par aucuns lieux de la dicte esveschié et souverainement par se quartier là, et avecques les dicts officiers estoit l'archeprebtre du lieu; et furent les dessus-nommez en beaucoup de lieux et en plusieurs eglises et prenoient leurs repas et leur gist en lieu qui leurs sembloit le plus convenables.

Or y avoit en celluy pays là en ung villag<sup>e</sup>, dont je ne sçay le nom, demeurant ung bon simple prebtre lequel estoit asses riches des biens de fortune mais despourveu estoit de toute clergie et moins que à ung prebtre n'appartenoit, car il ne sçavoit ne n'entendoit comme point de latin. Et avoit ce dict prebtre beaucoup de bestial entre lesquelz il avoit ung asne qui avoit toute la peine de la maison comme pour pourter son bleidz au molin, rapporter la farine, aller

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Gedenkbuch des Metzser Bürgers-Philippe von Vigneulles*, ed. 1852, by Henri Michelant, p. 283.

<sup>15</sup> The unique manuscript of the tales was recently discovered and acquired by the author of this article.

querir le bois; et cent m. aultres prouffictz leur faisoit le dict asne; mesme le prebtre montoit bien dessus ou aucunesfois sa baiselle<sup>16</sup> quant ilz venoient à Mets; et appelloient cest asne Modicum. Or fut conclud par les seigneurs dessus-nommez de venir le lendemain prendre leur refection et leur disner chieu le dict prebtre, la cause pourquoy qui leur sembloit qu'il avoit des biens et qu'il les tiendrait bien aises. Mais pour luy faire assavoir, donnerent la charge à l'archeprebtre de luy dire affin qu'il fist sa pourveance de bonne heure, non point que leur intencion fut que le dict prebtre fist grande despence, mais seulement qu'ilz eussent quelque chose de glou et d'appetit et ung peu de legière viande sans faire les grans monceaux ne aussi les grants costenges.

Et vint le dict archeprebtre noncer et dire à icelluy povere simple prebtre comment les seigneurs devant dictz et eulx tous ensembles viendroient le lendemain disner chieu luy, dont le povere homme fust bien esbahis et bien estonnez, non point qu'il craindist la despence mais ce qui luy sembloit qu'il ne seroit pas l'homme pour bien servir ses seigneurs comme à eulx appartenoit. Et l'archeprebtre quant il vist sa contenance et qu'il s'embaissoit<sup>17</sup> tant du service qui luy falloit faire, le print à conforter disant qu'il ne se esbahit de rien et qu'il ne fauldroit pas faire la moitié tant de chose qu'il pourroit bien penser. "Et voir mais," se dist le povere simple prebtre, "je ne sçay comment je dois faire ne quelle viande je leur dois appareillier ne quel chose sera à leur appetit." "Ha, mon dieu," dist l'archeprebtre, "vous estes ung terrible homme, il ne leur fault pas grant chose, faictes seulement qu'ilz ayent *modicum et bonum* et ilz auront asses sans faire grant outrage." "Modicum," dist le povere simple prebtre. "Et voir, voir," dist l'autre, "qu'ilz ayent *modicum* et n'en faictes autrement car se ne sont pas gens effamés." "Et bien," dit le povere prebtre, "je vous croirez."

Et à ceste heure prindrent congies l'un de l'autre et s'en retourne l'archeprebtre devers ses gens et le povere prebtre vint vers sa mamin quasi tout en pleurant et luy compta comment qu'il faillait tuer leur povere asne nommez Modicum pour festoier les officiers qui debvoient venir le lendemain disner leans comme l'archeprebtre luy avoit dit. Et sa mamin se print à pleurer avec luy de pitié du povere Modicum en la baisant et acollant mais velà il n'y a remede, il fault qu'il se face puis qu'il plaist au seigneur archeprebtre, et en grant regretz fust tuée la dicte asne puis escorchiez et mis<sup>18</sup> en pieces. Et le lendemain ne misrent autre chose au feu en pot ny en rot<sup>19</sup> que tout ne fut de Modicum,

<sup>16</sup> *baiselle* = jeune fille, servante.

<sup>17</sup> *s'embaissoit*: the passages cited by Godefroy and La Curne do not explain the meaning here which would be "be apprehensive about" or perhaps "to have a poor opinion of himself about."

<sup>18</sup> This is the manuscript reading. The scribe has paid no attention to participial agreement.

<sup>19</sup> A little refrain from a proverb of the time. Cf. *Ils sont ensemble à pot et à rot* (ils sont très familiers), *Dict. de l'Académie*, ed. 1835; and:

Chacun potier loue ses pots

Et davantage les cassez et rots.

cf. Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Proverbes Français*, Paris, 1859, II, 268 f.

puis le lendemain venu et l'eur (l'heure) approche que les seigneurs debvoient venir, et fut dressée la table et les nappes mises et tout apparilliez.

Or avoient les dicts seigneurs aucunes bagues dessus ung aultre aïsne pour lesquelles amener ilz prindrent par luaige ung bon homme du pais qui leur conduit et amena leur dict asne avec leurs bagues jusques au lieu là où il devoient disner, c'est assavoir chieu le bon simple prestre devant dict comme il fist; et ne vint pas si tost au logis que les seigneurs devant dicts lesquels aprèz ce qu'ilz furent arrivez, ils se asseurent à table et furent servis de telz viande qu'on leur avoit aparilliez, mais il n'y avoit celluy qui ne fut esbahis quelle deable de chair que se povoit estre que leur hoste leur faisoit menger. Et n'en pavoient menger ny avaler et ce prindrent à tencer et à murmurer contre l'archeprebtre lequel avoit eu la commission de faire apparillier quelque chose d'apetit et de legier et il avoient trop de viande mais ne valloit rien, car le dict prebtre avoit mis des grosses pieces du dict asne sur la table à grant monceaux comme se ce fust pour des charetons. Et le seigneur archevêque qui en estoit fort mal contents, leurs dit en soy excusant comment icelluy prebtre n'avoit pas faict sen qui luy avoit dict et ordonnez. “Car,” dist il, “je luy ay dit qu'il apresta bien et de legier et que l'on n'eust que *modicum et bonum* qui est à dire ung petit de bon et de legier.”

Et ainsi qu'ilz paroloient vecy venir le bon homme qui amenoit l'aisne des seigneurs chargez de leurs bagues, et quant il eust mist son aïsne en l'estable, il vint faire ung *preu vous face*<sup>24</sup> devant les seigneurs, et sçavoit le bon homme causy autant de latin comme faisoit le povre simple prebtre leur oste, comme vous oyres par la responce qu'il fist, car là entre ses seigneurs y avoit l'un des officiers et commis qui parloit merveilleusement bon françoys et aussi il estoit de France, lequel print à interroguer le bon homme disant ainsi: “Mon amy,” dist-il, “abulaine auguet?” Et le bon homme osta son chapperon et luy dist, “Je ne sçay point de latin, sire,” et le dict officier se print à rire, puis luy dist; “Je ne parle pas latin mais je te demande se nostre aïsne ait bu au guet, c'est à dire, se tu l'as abrevez en passant l'eau?” Et le bon homme qui au presme l'entent, respont, “Dictez-vous au wez, sire? Ay, je l'ay abrouvez au wez,” car ilz avoient passés par ung guet d'eau et illec avoit beu l'aisne, et puis chacun se print à rire de la responce du bon homme.

Cela se passa et se mist l'homme à menger de celle chair tant qu'il en eust asses, et après ce qu'ilz eurent beu et mangez que bien que malz, dont la pluspart se tenoient mal contents contre l'archeprebtre, ilz dirent graces et se leverent de tauble, mais le seigneur archevêque qui point n'avoit oublièz la chose, apela son hoste, le simple prebtre, et luy dist tout en general devant les seigneurs: “Venez, sçay,” dist-il, “nostre hoste, pourquoy n'avez faict comme je vous avoie ordonnez, car les seigneurs en sont fort mal contents et je vous avoie bien dit que n'apparilliez que poc et bon et vous avez faict les grants monceaux et tout n'en vault rien.” Le pouv्रे homme voyant qu'il estoit bien costengez de sa pouv्रे aïsne, fut pareillement mal content des parolles et dist devant tous les seigneurs que s'ilz n'avoient estez traictez comme il leur appartenoit, que la faulte en venoit de l'archeprebtre. “Car,” dist-il, “je luy demanda bien que je debvoie faire et il me dist par plusieurs fois que vous ne vouliez autre chose que *modicum*.

<sup>24</sup> *preu vous face* = souhait de bonheur.

Sy as eu tuez mon povre Modicum dont vous en avez eu mangez<sup>a</sup> des pieces, et vous promes que je vous eusse mieulx avoir donnez des perdis à manger que de mon povvre aisne Modicum, car je m'en servois bien en toutes mes necessitez."

Or quant les seigneurs entendirent qu'ilz avoient mangez de l'aisne vous ne veistes jamais tant rire, mais les aucuns qui estoient delicatz en rendirent presque leurs boyaulx et demanderent au dict prebtre s'il estoit vray qu'il eust tué son aisne: "Je l'ay voirement," dist-il, "tuez et pour les en mieulx acertainer, leur en monstra la peau."

Et ainsi prindrent congiez les seigneurs qui avoient mangez l'aisne Modicum et s'en allerent leur voie mais Dieu sceyt s'il en furent mocquez et s'il en fut ris depuis quant on sceut la verité du cas et qu'ilz avoient mangez de l'aisne, et plus n'en sçay.

It seems remarkable that we should have preserved three versions of a *conte* so insignificant, versions dating from epochs remote one from the other. If we are justified in supposing that these three versions derive from a common source, it would suggest that the subject was a popular one throughout the Middle Ages.

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<sup>a</sup> These peculiar compound forms occur in the text. The sense is clear.

## XII. CHABHAM'S *PENITENTIAL* AND ITS INFLUENCE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Among the penitentials of the middle ages, that by Thomas Chabham<sup>1</sup> is of particular importance on account of its detailed classification of minstrels and players. In distinguishing different classes among these players and entertainers instead of condemning all alike, Chabham affords a notable illustration of the gradual growth in the Church of a tolerant attitude toward innocent amusements. M. Gautier,<sup>2</sup> while recognizing the importance of this passage in Chabham's *Penitential*, raised the question whether "cette somme n'est qu'une compilation d'œuvres antérieures, ou s'il y faut voir l'original de plusieurs autres Sommes de pénitence." In order to decide this question it is necessary to consider such evidence as is available concerning the author and the date of the *Penitential*.

The *Penitential* has been attributed by almost every one to Thomas Cobham who became Bishop of Worcester in 1317, and has therefore been dated at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This ascription, however, rests upon a confusion of two different persons, as Mr. R. L. Poole has already shown in his article on Thomas de Chabham in *The Dictionary of National Biography*. But inasmuch as this error is still repeated by recent writers on mediaeval minstrelsy, notably by so eminent an authority as Mr. E. K. Chambers,<sup>3</sup> it seems worth while to re-examine the evidence in greater detail in order to establish the date of Chabham's treatise beyond all possible doubt.

Leland, the earliest authority to be cited, mentions both Bishop Cobham and "Thomas Chebham," the author of the *Penitential*, but keeps the two entirely apart. His account of the latter is found in the *Commentarii de Scriptoribus*<sup>4</sup> where he is thus described:

<sup>1</sup> See text below, and also in Hauréau, *Not. et Ext.* Paris, 1876, p. 285; and E. K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, London, 1903, II, 262.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Épopées Françaises*. Paris, 1892, II, 22n.

<sup>3</sup> See *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 59, and II, 262, where he both attributes the *Penitential* to Bishop Cobham, and confuses the facts of the bishop's life.

<sup>4</sup> Oxford, 1709, cap. CCLXXXVI, p. 299.

Severianae ecclesiae canonicus, idemque decanus vicarius. *Roberti Plimmoduni*<sup>5</sup> vestigia secutum fuisse conjicio. nam & ille malorum vulneratus impotentia, poenitentiae praesentissimum pharmacum excogitavit; & chartis concreditum victuris commendavit.

The only mention of Bishop Cobham occurs in the *Collectanea* and *Itineraria* and no writings are ascribed to him.<sup>6</sup>

Bale was the first to attribute the *Penitential* to Bishop Cobham, and he fell into this error through supposing that the two men mentioned by Leland were one and the same. Thus, after quoting Leland on Thomas "Chebham," Bale<sup>7</sup> added the details of the life of the bishop, and then appended a list of works, the manuscripts of which he had himself found in various libraries.<sup>8</sup> At the head of the list stands the "De casibus poenitentia." Bale's account was copied by John Pits,<sup>9</sup> and was later cited as authority by Fabricius,<sup>10</sup> who likewise ascribed the *Penitential* to Bishop Cobham. Wharton was apparently the first to question the truth of Bale's ascription of the *Penitential* to the bishop:<sup>11</sup> "Plura ab illo conscripta Baleus recenset. Nescio an ex his ulla supersint." The first person to discover that the mistake lay in the confusion of the two men was Bishop Tanner.<sup>12</sup> After quoting Leland's comment on Thomas "Chebham," he continues:

Thomas Cobham, episcopus Wigorn. nunquam fuit subdecanus Sarum. Sed alius erat Thomas de Chabaam, subdec. Sarisber. qui occurrit inter testes cartae Alani Basset concedentis ecclesiam de Winterborn monachis S. Pancratii de Lewes. . . . Alanus autem fecit hanc concessionem tempore R. Johannis, vel principio Henr. iii.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Robert Plimton was abbot of Tavistock in July, 1131, and archdeacon of Totness in Devon near Salisbury. He wrote a *De Poenitentia* and *Sermones Dominicales*, and died in 1141 or 1145. See G. Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*. London, 1846, p. 90; William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*. ed. Thos. Hearne. Oxford, 1719, p. 710; Leland, *Commentarii*, cap. CCLXXXV, p. 298.

<sup>6</sup> The bishop's name is invariably spelled *Cobham*.

<sup>7</sup> *Illustrium Maioris Brit. Script.*, Basil, 1549, p. 129. The account is virtually the same in the 1557 edition.

<sup>8</sup> Bale's *Index*. ed. R. L. Poole. Oxford, 1902, pp. 433f.

<sup>9</sup> *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis*. Paris, 1619, No. 416, p. 405.

<sup>10</sup> *Bibl. lat.m.e. inf. aet.* Florence, 1858, p. 540.

<sup>11</sup> *Anglia Sacra*. London, 1691, I, 532.

<sup>12</sup> *Bibl. Brit.-Hib.* London, 1748, p. 172.

<sup>13</sup> This date for Alan Basset is corroborated by many other documents dating between the years 1220-8 in which his name appears as a witness,



But though Tanner explained the confusion of the two men, he unfortunately proceeded to assign the *Penitential* to the wrong person, by concluding his account of the author of the *Penitential* and other works with the statement: "Obiit 20 Aug. MCCCXXVII, et sepultus est in ecclesia cath. Wigorn." Among later scholars, Hauréau,<sup>14</sup> following Pits and Fabricius, again made the unfortunate attribution of the *Penitential* to Bishop Cobham, and his mistake has been repeated by M. Gautier<sup>15</sup> and Mr. Chambers.<sup>16</sup>

The manuscripts of the *Penitential* show clearly that it could not have been composed by Bishop Cobham, because at least seven of those extant date from the thirteenth century. One of them, indeed, was actually written before the bishop was born. The following is a list of the known manuscripts of the *Penitential* with such statements as they afford concerning the author's name and office:

Royal 8 A. XV, Art. 1 (British Museum). First half of the thirteenth century  
 Royal 8 F.XIII, Art. 1. Thirteenth century. "magistri Thome de Chabeam."  
 Queen's College, Oxford, No.CCCLXII. Late thirteenth century "magistri Thome de Chabeham, subdecani Sarrebiriarum."

University College, Oxford, No.CXIX. Late thirteenth century.  
 Caius College, Cambridge, No.CCCLI. Late thirteenth century. "Magri. Thome de Chulbeham."

Arundel, No. CLXVII (British Museum). Late thirteenth century.  
 Imperial Library of the Sorbonne, No. 1552, fol.91.<sup>17</sup> Thirteenth century.  
 Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, No.LIII. About 1300. "Thomae de Chabham."

Royal 11 A.VI. About 1300. "magistri Thome de Chabeham."  
 Bodley 127 (Summary Catal. No. 1991). First half fourteenth century.  
 Royal 11 A. I, Art. 1. Early fourteenth century. "mag. Thome de Cobeham."  
 Oriel College, Oxford, No.XVII. Fourteenth century. "magistri Thome de Chebeham."

Peterhouse College, Cambridge, No. CCXVII. Fourteenth century.  
 King's College, Cambridge, No.XVII b. Fourteenth century. "Mag. Thome de Cabaham subd. Sarum."

Harley 4065, Art. 1. Fourteenth century. "Thomae de Cabaham, Subdiaconi Salisburiensis."

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*Charters and Documents of Salisbury.* ed. W.R.Jones. London, 1891, pp. 105, 182, 200f. He died in 1232; see Dugdale, *Baronage*. London, 1675, p. 384.

<sup>14</sup> *Not. et Ext.* Paris, 1876, p. 274.

<sup>15</sup> *Les Épopées Françaises*, II, 22n.

<sup>16</sup> *Medieval Stage*, I, 59.

<sup>17</sup> See, M. F. Guessard, *Anciens Poètes de la France*. Paris, 1860, vol. V. Huon de Borleaux. Pref. vin.

Academia Caesaria Vindobonensis, Vienna. Nos. 1621 and 1628. Fourteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

Trinity College, Cambridge, Nos. 365 and 366. Fifteenth century. "mag. Thome de Chebeham."

Burney Manuscripts, No. CCCLXI (British Museum). Fifteenth century.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Nos. 3218, 3239, 14593, 16419.<sup>19</sup>

Library of the Dukes of Bourgogne, Bruxelles.<sup>19</sup>

Library of François Ranchin of Montfaucon.<sup>19</sup>

The evidence of the manuscripts, it will be noted, goes to show that the name of the author of the *Penitential* was properly "Chabham," and not "Cobham." The thirteenth-century MSS. agree in the *Ch* spelling. The spelling with *C*, which is found only in three fourteenth-century MSS., may possibly be due to confusion with the name of the Bishop of Worcester, who by that time was a well-known person. The family names *Cobham* and *Chabham* (*Chobham*) are wholly distinct in origin. The Cobham family came from Cobham or Cobeham, Cobbeham, on the border between Surrey and Kent. In the eleventh century this place was called Coveham.<sup>20</sup> But Chobham, in the west of Surrey, from which it is most likely that Master Thomas came, was called Chabbheham or Chabham in the thirteenth century, and Cebeham in the eleventh century.<sup>21</sup> Leland and Tanner distinguished the two names by spelling them with a *C* and a *Ch* respectively.

Thomas Chabham author of the *Penitential*, according to the explicit statement of the manuscripts, was subdean of Salisbury. He was collated as subdean about 1213;<sup>22</sup> and held the Prebend of Charminster as is shown by the list made for the taxation of the Prebends for Henry III in 1226.<sup>23</sup> Under the name "Master

<sup>18</sup> *Tabulae Codicum in Bibl. Palatina Vindobonensi*. Vindobonae, 1864, I, 263, 265. Nos. 1621, 1628.

<sup>19</sup> Hauréau, *Not. et Ext.* Paris, 1876, pp. 269ff. Also *Not. et Ext.* Paris, 1890, I, 185, No. 3218; II, 206, No. 3239; III, 75, No. 14593; V, 132, No. 16419.

<sup>20</sup> Camden, *Britannia*. ed. E. Gibson. London, 1695, I, 160. Map p. 185; William Lombarde, *A Perambulation of Kent*. ed. E. Bollifant. London, 1596, pp. 66, 93, etc.; *Victoria County History of Surrey*. London, 1908. III, 442.

<sup>21</sup> *Victoria County History of Surrey*. III, 413; Camden, *Britannia*. 1695, I, 153; and ed. Gough. London, 1789, I, 166.

<sup>22</sup> *Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisberiensis*. ed W. R. Jones. Salisbury, 1879, p. 438; Le Neve, *Fasti*. ed. T. D. Hardy. Oxford, 1854, II, 619.

<sup>23</sup> *Sarum Fasti*, p. 191; *Register of St. Osmund of Sarum*. ed. W. R. Jones. London, 1883, II, 70.

Thomas subdecanus," he appears as witness to numerous Salisbury documents from the year 1214 until 1238,<sup>24</sup> when he presumably died.

The office of subdean of Salisbury was erroneously assigned by Bale to Bishop Cobham because he confused him with the author of the *Penitential*. Pits, oddly enough, although copying Bale in other particulars, denied that the bishop had ever been subdean of Salisbury.<sup>25</sup> Tanner also, as we have already seen, protested against the assignment of the Salisbury office to Bishop Cobham. Nevertheless, two usually reliable authorities such as Le Neve and the *Sarum Fasti* include the Bishop among the subdeans of Salisbury and even give tentative dates for his term of office. Le Neve says that Robert de Worth was subdean of Salisbury in 1309, and that Thomas de Cobham held that office at the time when he was elected archbishop of Canterbury in 1313.<sup>26</sup> After Cobham came "William de Singwike" whose dates Le Neve finds uncertain. The *Sarum Fasti*<sup>27</sup> agrees with Le Neve that Robert de Worth was collated as subdean in 1309, Thomas de Cobham "about 1312," and "William de Tingwike" "about 1320." Mr. Jones, the editor of the *Sarum Fasti* remarks:

There is great difficulty in arranging the succession of Sub-Deans about this time. The exact date of the collation of neither of these [Thomas de Cobham and William de Tingwike] can be traced in the Episcopal, or Capitular, registers. Moreover, if Newcourt be correct as to the tenure of this office by Thomas Cobham<sup>28</sup> (who became Bishop of Worcester in 1317), he must have held it during a portion of the time it is supposed to have been held by Robert de Worth, as the latter was certainly collated in 1309, and is spoken of as Sub-Dean in 1319 [in the preface to Bishop Roger de Mortival's *Statutes*.]

Besides this, the offices known to have been held by Thomas Cobham between 1312 and 1319 make it impossible for him to have been subdean of Salisbury. In 1304 he was Canon of St.

<sup>24</sup> *Register of St. Osmund*, I, 297, 380; II, 108. See further, *Charters and Documents of Salisbury*. Nos. XCVI, CI, CXXI, CCV, CCXIII, CCXVIII.

<sup>25</sup> *Rel. Hist. de Rebus Anglicis*. p. 405.

<sup>26</sup> *Fasti*, II, 619.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 438-40.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Newcourt, *History of the Diocis of London*. London, 1708, I, 148n.: "He was Doctor of Divinity of *Oxford*, Canon and Sub-Dean of *Salisbury*, fairly chosen by the monks of Canterbury to that Archbishoprick in 1313."

Paul's, London, and Prebend of Ealdstreet in that diocese,<sup>29</sup> and he continued to be Canon of St. Paul's as late as 1312, because on June twentieth, 1311, and again on April fourth, 1312, there are orders in the Close Rolls that Thomas Cobham should still be considered as Canon of St. Paul's although he was in France on the king's service.<sup>30</sup> In 1312 he acquired two other offices, that of Precentor of York on July fourteenth, 1312,<sup>31</sup> and that of Prebend of Fenton, York, on December sixth.<sup>32</sup> He held these three offices together in the year that Le Neve and the Sarum *Fasti* would add a fourth office, that of subdean of Salisbury. In the spring of 1313, Thomas Cobham was elected archbishop by the monks of Canterbury, but the election was annulled by the Pope,<sup>33</sup> and he lost all his offices except that of Precentor of York. This he retained until 1317 when he became bishop of Worcester.<sup>34</sup> It is, therefore, practically impossible that Cobham became subdean of Salisbury in 1312, or after 1313; and, of course, it would have been quite impossible after 1317. Moreover, the records show that between 1309 and 1319 the subdean of Salisbury was Robert de Worth.

Finally, one may suggest an explanation for the erroneous statement which appears in the Sarum *Fasti*.<sup>35</sup> It is a curious coincidence at least, that if we reverse the date 1312 which is given for Cobham's collation as subdean we have 1213, which is the very date to which the *Fasti* assigns the collation of "Thomas de Chabbeham." It is possible that some Salisbury official, observing in a manuscript of the *Penitential* the ascription to Thomas de Chabbeham subdean of Salisbury, and guessing that he was the well-known Thomas Cobham, as Hauréau has lately done, concluded that this office must at some time have been

<sup>29</sup> Patent Rolls. 32 Edward I. Year 1306, p. 206; Rymer, *Foedera*. 1705; II, 992; Le Neve, *Fasti*, II, 385.

<sup>30</sup> Close Rolls, 4 Edward II. p. 361. Ordered to France, June 16, 1311. Also pp. 357 and 419.

<sup>31</sup> Wharton, p. 532; Tanner, p. 172b; Le Neve, *Fasti*, III, 154; Fr. Godwin, *Praesulibus Angliae Commentarius*. ed. Gul. Richardson. Canterbury, 1743, p. 103.

<sup>32</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti*, III, 184; Tanner, p. 172b; Newcourt, I, 148n.

<sup>33</sup> Papal Register, II, 115. 8 Clement V, Le Neve, *Fasti*, I, 16.

<sup>34</sup> Patent Rolls, 11 Edward II. p. 52, Le Neve, *Fasti*, III, 55; Papal Register, II, 124. Nov. 15, 1316.

<sup>35</sup> It is curious also to find Le Neve inexact, but he evidently copied from the incorrect Sarum *Fasti*.

held by the Bishop of Worcester. On referring to the Salisbury records, however, he would have found mention only of "Chab-beham" subdean in 1213. Obviously this date would not serve for the Bishop of Worcester, but by a happy inspiration it may have occurred to him to transpose this date, with the result that "Thomas Cobham" was entered in the *Fasti* as subdean in 1312. But, however the bishop's name came into the list, it evidently does not belong there.

Now that the composition of the *Penitential* has been pushed back to the early thirteenth century—approximately between 1213 and 1230—new importance is given to the distinctions recognized in his treatise between different classes of "histriones" and "ioculatores." Previous to the thirteenth century the decrees of the Lateran Councils and the writings of the Church Fathers,<sup>36</sup> unanimously condemned minstrels because of their association with the tricks learned from the Roman slave "histriones." The witnessing of "spectacula" was especially forbidden to the clergy; and strict churchmen like Peter Lombard, who studied under Abelard, would not even allow the laity to take part in them. "Spectacula" are included by Peter Lombard in a list of three things to be avoided by true penitents:

Cohibeat etiam se a ludis a spectaculis seculi qui perfectam vult consequi remissionis gratiam.<sup>37</sup>

This statement, which he adopted verbatim from the pseudo-Augustinian *Liber de Falsa et Vera Poenitentia*,<sup>38</sup> already copied into the *Decretals* of Gratian, became well known to all students for the doctorate because they had to lecture on Lombard's *Sentences* for two years at the universities.

Immediately following the decree of the Lateran Council in 1215 that confession should be made at least once every year,<sup>39</sup> penitentials were written in great numbers to instruct ignorant priests who were not well versed in what the church forbade.

<sup>36</sup> See Gautier, *Épopées Françaises*, II, 71.; and also *The Complete Works of St. Augustine*. Paris, 1878, vol. XVIII, *sermo* 198, p. 845, etc.; Isidore of Spain, *Etymologiae*. ed. Gintherum Zaimer. 1472, lib. XVIII. cap. XVI; Pseudo-Egbert, *Concilia*. ed. Hy. Spelman. London, 1639, II, 277-78. Penitential No. 34; John of Salisbury, Migne, *Patrol.* CXCIX, col. 406.

<sup>37</sup> *Sententiarum*. Paris, 1841, vol. I. lib. IV, dist. XVI, col. 368.

<sup>38</sup> Migne, *Patrol.* XL, col. 1126.

<sup>39</sup> *Acta Conciliorum*, ed. Labbe. Paris, 1714, VII. canon xxi, p. 35.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the office of "Penitentiary" was permanently annexed to that of subdean—in the Cathedral of Salisbury, for example, the annexation took place about 1309—but even earlier than this subdeans may occasionally have acted in that capacity.<sup>40</sup> The fact that Chabham's *Penitential* was written by a subdean would suggest that in one case at least the confessional was administered by a subdean as early as the first quarter of the thirteenth century, for it is hardly probable that Chabham would have written a penitential if he had not been connected with the "penitentiary."

Chabham's *Penitential* must have been one of the earliest written after the Lateran Council of 1215, and Chabham took one of the Canons of this Council as the theme of his treatise. Canon XVI of the decrees of the Council begins as follows:

Clerici officia vel commercia saecularia non exerçant, maxime inhonesta. Mimis, jocularibus, et histrionibus non intendant, et tabernas prorsus evitent, nisi forte causa necessitatis in itinere constituti. Ad aleas vel taxillos non ludant, nec hujusmodi ludis intersint.<sup>41</sup>

Chabham likewise not only concerns himself in his *Penitential* with minstrels and players but also treats at great length the abuses of commerce and trade among the clergy, which he censures with a harshness unusual to his age.<sup>42</sup>

The following is the text of Chabham's discussion of minstrels according to the Queen's College (Oxford) manuscript,<sup>43</sup> one of the earliest we have:

Cum igitur meretrices uel hystriones veniunt ad confessionem non est eis danda penitencia nisi ex toto relinquunt talia officia quia aliter saluari non possunt. . . . Set notandum quod hystrionum tria sunt genera Quidam enim transformant et transfigurant corpora sua per turpes saltus uel per turpes gestus. uel denudando corpora sua turpiter. uel induendo turpes laruas et ideo omnes tales damnabiles sunt nisi relinquunt sua officia. Sunt etiam alii hystriones qui nichil operantur set curiose agunt non habentes domicilium set circuerunt curias magnatum et

<sup>40</sup> *Sarum Fasti*, pp. 269, 438.

<sup>41</sup> *Acta Conciliorum*. VII, canon xvi, p. 34.

<sup>42</sup> Hauréau, *Not. et. Ext.* 1876, pp. 278-80.

<sup>43</sup> No. 362. fol. 49. cap. *De officio cuius libet*. Compare with the reprints of the manuscripts in the Bibl. Nat. lat. 3218. fol. 32 verso, and 3529a. fol. 40 in Hauréau, *Not. et Ext.* 1876, 284-5; and also in Gautier, *Épées Françaises*, pp. 22f.; and in Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 262. Compare also the reprint of the Sorbonne manuscript 1552. fol. 91 in Guessard, *Anciens Poètes de la France*. Paris, 1860, V, vi.

iocuntur obprobria et ignominias de absentibus tales eciam dampnabiles sunt quia prohibet apostolus cum talibus cibum sumere et dicuntur tales scurre uagi quia ad nichil aliud utiles sunt nisi ad deuorandum et ad maledicendum. est eciam tercium genus hystrionum qui habent instrumenta musica ad delectandum homines set talium duo sunt genera. quidam enim frequentant publicas potaciones et la[s]ciuas congregaciones et cantant ibi la[s]ciuas cantilenas ut moueant homines ad la[s]ciuiam. et tales dampnabiles sunt sicut alii. Sunt autem alii qui dicuntur ioculatores qui cantant gesta principum et uitas sanctorum et faciunt solacium hominibus uel in egritudinibus suis uel in angustiiis suis et non faciunt inimicas turpitudines sicut faciunt saltatores et saltatrices et alii qui ludunt in ymaginibus inhonestis et faciunt uideri quasi quedam fantasmata uel per incantaciones uel alio modo si autem non faciunt talia set cantant in instrumentis suis gesta principum et alia utilia ut faciant solacia hominibus sicut dictum est bene possunt sustineri tales. sicut ait papa alexander cum quidam ioculator quereretur ab eo utrum posset saluare animam suam in officio suo. quesiiuit enim ab eo. papa. utrum sciret aliquod opus. unde uiuere posset respondit ioculator quod non. permisit igitur papa ut ipse uiueret officio suo. dummodo<sup>44</sup> abstineret a predictis la[s]ciuiis et turpitudinibus. Notandum est eciam preterea quod omnes peccant mortaliter qui dant scurris. uel luctatoribus uel predictis hystrionibus aliquid de suo quia sicut dicit canon [h]ystrionibus dare nichil aliud est quam perdere.

The peculiar value of this passage consists in the fact that Chabham did not content himself with denouncing players in general terms, as earlier writers had done, but that he described in detail and from definite knowledge the minstrels and players in the England of his day. There are three classes of *histriones*: (1) the acrobats, jugglers, and masked performers, (2) the slandering rogues who follow in the retinue of great men, (3) those who frequent taverns and "loose" assemblies and there sing songs which move to wantonness. All three of these classes he condemns. But distinct from these are the *ioculatores*, who sing only of heroes or of saints' lives, to console the sick and the unfortunate. These are not damned by their profession, according to the verdict of Pope Alexander, if they have no other means of livelihood.<sup>45</sup> The really significant thing in this passage is the fact that Chabham allows the performances of secular minstrels at all, for up to this time the church had wholly opposed such entertainers, in theory if not also in practice. This distinction among classes of minstrels definitely points to the growing toleration on the part of the church authorities. Chabham was not only the first to express this tolerance, but

<sup>44</sup> Altered from *dum ipse*.

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of this anecdote see Chambers, *Mediæval Stage*, I, 59n.

also he discriminated so concretely between good and bad classes of minstrels that his classification was quickly adopted by other religious writers. As examples of its influence we find an abridgement of Chabham's classification inserted into the thirteenth century *De Septem Sacramentis*;<sup>46</sup> and also a fifteenth century translation of it into French by Pierre de Gros in *Le Jardin des Nobles*.<sup>47</sup>

Bonaventura in his commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* in 1242, arranges his classification of minstrels in a more abstract and purely logical way, but his classes roughly correspond to Chabham's. Taking his text from Peter Lombard, "*Cohibeat se a ludis et a spectaculis*," he enquires:<sup>48</sup>

quare dicit, ipsum debere se cohibere? . . . Respondeo: Dicendum, quod, sicut dicitur primae ad Corinthios decimo<sup>49</sup> in Glossa, *ludus* est gesticulatio libidinosa, cuiusmodi est in choreis; *spectacula* sunt, sicut dicit Augustinus,<sup>50</sup> sicut cithara et venatio et huiusmodi. Dico igitur, quod *ludus chorearum* non est malus secundum se, sicut patet de sorore Moysi, Exodi decimo quinto;<sup>51</sup> sed fit malus quadruplici de causa, scilicet propter *modum*, quando est modus lascivus; propter *finem*, quando fiat ad provocandam libidinem; propter *tempus*, ut non fiat tempore tristitiae; propter *personam*, ut non fiat a persona religiosa. His remotis, potest fieri. Quoniam igitur peonitens et *persona* est, cui non competit, et quamdiu vere poenitet, est in *tempore tristitiae*: ideo ei non competit. Similiter iudicandum est de *spectaculis*; his enim quatuor de causis posunt male fieri et fiunt; his exclusis, bene possunt fieri.

Bonaventura agrees with Chabham in discussing the subject from the point of view of the players, whereas most writers consider it from the point of view of the salvation of the audience.

<sup>46</sup> Bibl. Nat. lat. 14859. fol. 322. Text in Gautier, loc. cit., II, 24n.

<sup>47</sup> Paulin Paris, *Les MSS. François de la Bibl. du Roi*. Paris, 1838, II, 161f. No. 685, especially fol. 342.

<sup>48</sup> *Opera Omnia*, ed. Bernardini. Florence, 1889, IV. "Sententiarum." lib. IV. dist. xvi. pt. I. dub. xiii. 401.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, note 8: "Vers 7, ubi Exod. 32, 6 allegatur. Sedit populus manducare et bibere, et surrexerunt ludere etc."

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, note 9: "Sermo 9. (alias 96. de Tempore) sive de Decem Chordis c. 9. n. 13. In illis spectaculis [hominum] non id est venator, quod citharista; aliud agit venator, aliud citharista; in spectaculo Dei unum est; tange easdem decem chordas [praecepta], et feras occides, utrumque simul facis." See also St. Augustine, *Opuscula Plurima*. ed. Bertolius. Venice, 1491. De decem chordis, p. cclij. col. 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Sententiarum, ibid.*, note 1: "Vers 20: Sumsit ergo Maria. . . tympanum in manu sua, egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et choris."



But he has not Chabham's concreteness: instead of going into details he merely employs general terms, "ludus est gesticulatio libidinosa." And then he proceeds to quote authorities and opinions which are lacking in Chabham. His abstract categories of *manner*, *result*, *time* and *purpose* totally differ from Chabham's and were probably adopted from classical writers. Bonaventura's conclusions are essentially the same as Chabham's: namely, that playing, especially of music, can be done without sin. He does not, however, explain the exact type of play that would be permissible; and he does not allow minstrels to play in times of sorrow. Chabham, on the other hand, believes there is solace in music. By the side of this growing interest of church officials in minstrels, it is interesting to note the mention of plays in connection with the church. Bonaventura says, "sed fit malus quadruplici de causa, . . . propter *personam*, ut non fiat a persona religiosa." It is hardly likely that Bonaventura, whose commentary on the *Sentences* was written on the Continent and completed by 1242, had seen or heard of Chabham's *Penitential*. This probably explains the fact that Bonaventura shows only the most superficial similarity to Chabham, such as one might naturally expect in view of the general tendency of leniency toward players at that time.

In 1243, Raymond Pennafort, chaplain and grand penitentiary to Pope Gregory IX, following in the footsteps of Bonaventura, wrote his *Summa Penitential* (best known to us as a source for Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*) which had special vogue from 1250 to 1400 because the Pope had already ordered his former work, the *Decretals*, to be taught in the schools. Raymond does not discuss minstrels directly, but he does treat of games and dancing. In the arrangement of his divisions he follows Bonaventura. Priests may be permitted to play games if they do so with honorable people (e. g., not with women); second, that they should play with honorable instruments (e. g., not with dice); third, that they should play at proper times (e. g., not at Christmas); fourth, that they should use honorable matter (e. g., not wine); and that they should not quarrel over their games.<sup>52</sup> Dancing, Raymond opposes entirely:

<sup>52</sup> Raimundo de Pennafort, *Compendio Sacramentorum*. Cologne, 1502, fol. XCIII.

"chorea nunquam vel raro absque peccato fieri potest."<sup>53</sup> No verbal resemblances to Chabham are discernible in Raymond's *Summa*.

It is less easy to decide as to the influence of Chabham's *Penitential* on the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas. The composition of the *Summa* was begun in 1265, so that it would have been entirely possible for Aquinas to have seen Chabham's treatise. The discussion of the matter of amusements in the famous "Secunda secundae pars" of the *Summa*,<sup>54</sup> though not so abstract as that by Bonaventura, affords little of the realistic detail which is characteristic of Chabham. After proving by classical quotation that recreation should be allowed for the purpose of relaxing and rehabilitating the body, Aquinas utters a general warning in regard to its use:

quorum primum, et principale est, quod praedicta delectatio non quaeratur in aliquibus operationibus, vel verbis turpibus, vel nocivis.<sup>55</sup>

Compare this with Chabham's "locuntur obprobria et ignominias de absentibus." He then briefly summarizes the categories as they are given by Bonaventura:

tertio autem attendendum est, sicut et in omnibus aliis humanis actionibus, ut congruat personae, tempori, et loco, et secundum alias circumstantias debite ordinetur.<sup>56</sup>

He concludes

ideo circa ludos potest esse aliqua virtus, . . . quia scilicet bene convertit aliqua dicta, vel facta in solatium; et in quantum per hanc virtutem homo refraenatur ab immoderantia ludorum, sub modestia continetur.<sup>56</sup>

Here, for the first time since Chabham, one finds the idea of play as being a solace, although here "play" is not defined as music or song. In the third article, Aquinas finds further logical justification for play:

quam quidem intentionem excludit ludus, cujus intentio ad delectationem fertur, non ad injuriam alicujus: et in talibus ludus excusat a peccato, vel peccatum diminuit.

Nevertheless—

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. XCVI.

<sup>54</sup> ed. Rome, 1886, vol. III. quaest. CLXVIII. 1088f.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, art. II. 1091.

sicut homicidium, fornicatio, et similia; et talia non excusantur per ludum, quinimmo ex his ludus redditur flagitiosus, et obscenus.<sup>66</sup>

Then, he summarizes as follows:

sicut dictum est (*art. praec.*), ludus est necessarius ad conversationem humanae vitae: ad omnia autem quae sunt utilia conversationi humanae, deputari possunt aliqua officia licita; et ideo etiam officium histrionum, quod ordinatur ad solatium hominibus exhibendum, non est secundum se illicitum, nec sunt in statu peccati dummodo moderate ludo utantur, id est: nec sunt in statu peccati, dummodo moderate ludo utantur, idest non utendo aliquibus illicitis verbis, vel factis ad ludum, et non adhibendo ludum negotiis, et temporibus indebitis; . . unde illi qui moderate eis subveniunt, non peccant, sed juste faciunt, mercedem ministerii eorum eis tribuendo: si cui autem superflue sua in tales consumunt, vel etiam sustentant illos histriones, qui illicitis ludis utuntur, peccant, quasi eos in peccato foventes; unde Augustinus dicit, super Ioan. (*tract. 100.*) quod "donare res suas histrionibus, vitium est immane, non virtus," nisi forte aliquis histrio esset in extrema necessitate, in qua esset ei subveniendum: dicit enim Ambros. in lib. de Offic. "Pasce fame morientem: quisquis enim pascendo hominem servare poteris, si non paveris, occidisti."<sup>67</sup>

Here again the idea of solace is to be compared with Chabham's "faciant solacia hominibus." In Article Four, Aquinas dissents from Peter Lombard's sweeping prohibition: his conclusion is:

quod est contra rationem in rebus humanis, vitiosum est: . . sed quia ludus est utilis propter quietem, et delectationem, delectatio autem, et quies non propter se quaeruntur in humana vita, sed propter operationem.<sup>67</sup>

Aquinas seems to be more influenced by the classical opinions, which on the whole are more lenient toward play, than by all the prohibitions of the Christian Fathers which he quotes as the opposition in the argument. It is hardly to be expected that the great doctors, Bonaventura and Aquinas, would indulge in the same realistic detail as a subdean writing for a purely practical purpose. As authorities in the doctrine of the church, their aim was the more comprehensive and abstract one of establishing general principles which would be universal in their application. Hauréau believes that the tone and style and moral views of Chabham's whole *Penitential* are like those of Aquinas.<sup>68</sup> But so far as our passage alone is concerned, the likenesses of phrase and thought which appear here and there are hardly

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* art. III. 1093.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, art. IV. 1094.

<sup>68</sup> Hauréau, *Not. et. Ext.* 1876, 272 etc.

enough to warrant the conclusion that Chabham's treatise was a definite source for Aquinas. It is altogether likely that by 1265 Aquinas should have met with a copy of such a popular penitential as Chabham's, but in that case a cursory reading of it would be enough to account for the reminiscences of Chabham's thought and phrase which are found in the *Summa*.

The *Summa Theologiae* at once became the great authority for later theologians, with the result that earlier treatises were comparatively neglected. An example of this dependence on Aquinas is the *Speculum Morale*, long attributed to Vincent de Beauvais, but recently shown to be a fourteenth-century work by an unknown author who drew his material directly from the "Secunda secundae pars" of the *Summa*. The author of the *Speculum* brings in *exempla* to enliven his discussion. Thus he relates the story of Musa, which is included in many of the collections of Miracles of Our Lady:

Hec saltatrix est mala consuetudo que excludit a consortio bonorum. sicut dicitur. iiii. dyalogo xviii. de musa puella. cui ostendit beata virgo chorum virginum candidarum. querens si vellet esse cum eis. quae cum responderet quod sic. dixit beata virgo. quae si abstineret a consuetis terrentatibus. risu e: iocis etc. die trecesima coniungeretur eis.<sup>59</sup>

And in discussing the sin of gayety he introduces an anecdote of King Alexander:

De alexandro dicitur quod aliquos mores degeneres et indecentes quos didicerat a quodam hystrione dicto leonide in iuuentute sua. licet displicerent ei quando duceret exercitus factus iam rex nunquam potuit deponere.<sup>60</sup>

The following passage may be compared with the corresponding discussions in the *Summa* and in Chabham:

quare cum turpia verba non erubescit proferre etiam turpia facta vel opera facere non veretur. . . . Nec scurrilitas que ad rem non pertinet. Scurrilitas que a stultis dicitur curialitas est iocularitas in verbis prouocantibus auditores ad risum. Unde scurre sunt quasi symie cum quibus ludit dyabolus. et homines excitat ad risum. Ipsi etiam sunt consolatores falsi. qui suis recreationibus releuant et comfortant homines in dyaboli seruitio laborantes ne deficiant inuia qua properant ad infernum.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> ed. 1473? lib. III., pt. III. dist. vi. This story is taken from St. Gregory *Dial.* IV. 17 (Migne *Patr. Lat.* LXXVII, col. 348).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, dist. vii.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, dist. xii. fol. 179.

The choice of words and explicitness of expression suggest that, although the author in the main was following Aquinas, he may also have been acquainted with Chabham's *Penitentia*<sup>1</sup>.

Finally, the English theologian Robert Holkot (†1349) in his *Commentary on the Book of Wisdom* amplifies and explains the text of Aquinas by many quotations from ancient writers, and also adds to the earlier classes of "ludi" a mention of the Corpus Christi play:

Alius est ludus gaudii spiritualis qualem faciunt cristiani in die corporis cristi et qualem fecit Daud coram archa domini. 2. Reg. 6.<sup>2</sup>

This appears to be the earliest mention of the Corpus Christi play in England, for it is hardly possible that "ludus" can refer merely to the Corpus Christi procession. Even in that case, however, this would be the earliest reference in England to the festival.

From Chabham's classification of minstrels, then, drawn up early in the thirteenth century, dates the inception of a more tolerant attitude on the part of the Church toward secular entertainment. His classification was made use of by numerous writers, both secular and theological, of whom some took over the material intact, while others adapted the conclusions to suit their own ends. It is not impossible that the work of Chabham was used by the greatest of medieval theologians, Thomas Aquinas.

HELEN F. RUBEL

<sup>2</sup> *Super Sapientiam Salomonis*. Lectio 173.

### XIII. AN ENGLISH VERSION OF ST. EDMUND'S *SPECULUM*, ASCRIBED TO RICHARD ROLLE

Among mediæval compendiums of devotion one of the most widely known—in England at least—was the *Speculum Ecclesie*, written about 1240 by Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury. The extent of its popularity is indicated by the fact that it occurs in Latin, French and English versions and that nearly sixty MSS. are still preserved which contain this treatise either as a whole or in part—twenty-nine in Latin, seventeen in French, and the others in English.

The *Speculum Ecclesie* was repeatedly translated into English, in both metrical and prose versions. The following is a list of manuscripts containing English prose texts of the *Speculum*—all of the fifteenth century except as otherwise noted.

- Vernon (Summary Catalog 3938), f. 355 (about 1385)
- Simeon (Brit. Mus. Addit. 22283), f. 30 (about 1385)
- Bodley 416 (Summary Catalog 2315), f. 109 (about 1400)
- Douce 25 (Summary Catalog 21599), f. 1
- E Mus 232 (Summary Catalog 3657), f. 23b
- Thornton (Lincoln Cathedral A. 1. 17), f. 197.
- Brit. Mus. Addit. 10053, f. 3
- Harley 2398, ff. 59 and 153 (two partial translations)
- Harley 4012, f. 101 (fragment)
- Cambridge Univ. Ii. 6. 40, f. 207b
- Cambridge Univ. Ii. 6. 43, ff. 7 and 14 (fragments)
- Cambridge Univ. Ff. 2. 38, f. 33 (fragment)

R. Copeland's English version entitled, "Myrour of the Chyrche made by Saynt Austyn of Abyndon," was printed in 1521 by Wynkyn de Worde. The Thornton version is in Perry's *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (E.E.T.S. Orig. Ser. 26); and both Thornton and Vernon versions are in Horstmann's *Yorkshire Writers*, vol. I. In 1905 F. M. Steele published in London a modernized version.

The name of one of the translators of the *Speculum* is recorded in the *explicit* of MS. E. Mus. 232:

Her is endet þe tretice of Seynt Edmund of Pounteney þat is called þe Myrroure of Holy Chirche, translated by Nicholas Bellew, whose nonn-konnynge have ye excused, Jon Flemmyng.

Cambridge University MS. Ii. 6. 40—the text of which is printed below—is unique in ascribing the treatise to Richard Rolle. This ascription, however, need not be taken too seriously when one considers the number of religious treatises to which tradition attached the name of the hermit of Hampole. Indeed, the words used by the scribe of the Cambridge manuscript in his ascription would seem to imply that he thought of Rolle rather as the original author of the treatise than merely as the translator.

Although the version in Cambridge University Ii. 6. 40 is one of the poorest, it is noteworthy on account of the considerable additions which it includes—especially the gruesome details of the Passion so much dwelt upon in the 14th century religious lyrics. Though this runs to only about one-third the length of the longest versions, almost half of it is made up of additions. Italics in the following text indicate these additions, and series of dots show where the translator has omitted material. The chapter headings within brackets have been supplied from MS. E. Mus. 232.

Her byginnip a devout meditacioun of Ric. Hampol.

. . . *First þou schalt þinke how þis world is passing & nat duryng. Also þinke on þi<sup>1</sup> bygynninge & on þi midle age & how þou hast lyved þi lyfe; & þinke on þine ende and þis schal dryve þe to perfection. . . .<sup>2</sup> as Seynt Barnard techip us what it is to lyve lowly & mekely & honorabli to Gode & þat þou do þine entent to fulfill Godis [f. 208a] wil; þat is to sey, wiþ al þi þouzt of þine hert, wiþ al þi speche, & wiþ al þi dedis; also wiþ al þi fyve wittis, as wiþ seyng, hering, handelynge, smellinge, & tasting—*al þis þou must do to Godis worschip in eche place, as in goyng, sitting, stondyng, liyng; þinkyng & spekyng; etyng & drynkyng.* In al þes ever þinke to do to Godis wil & to his worschipe & nauzt els for no þinge azene Godis wil. . . . The wil of God is þat þou lyve holyli & perfytyly.*

[What þynges maken a man holy and how a man shal lyve to knowlech of hymself in body and soule]

<sup>1</sup> MS, þe

<sup>2</sup> These sentences take the place of Chapter 1 of the "Speculum," the first heading supplied being that of Chapter 3.

... Twey þingis without mo make a man holy; þat is knowynge of God & lovyng of treweþe. But by knowynge of God, þat is soþenes, miȝt þou nat com but by knowynge of þy silfe . . . and to knowinge of þi silfe miȝt þou nat<sup>3</sup> come but by love of þine evencristyne . . . and so to knowynge of þi [f. 208b] silfe þou miȝt come on þis maner: *to have compassioun & mynd of Ihesu Crist, what he suffred for þe*; also þinke bisily & oft what þou art & what þou hast ben & what þou schalt be. First have þi body in mynde & þan þi soul. As to þi body þinke þat þou art fouler þan any donge; *for what is a man's body but a sakeful of stinkyng filþe?* And zif þou take hede how þat we were byget, it is horrible & abhominable þinge to speke. Also þinke how worms schul ete þi bodi. *And when þou hast þouȝet þus of al þe circumstance of þi body, þan þinke on þi soule. . . . What ioy and blisse him is ordend zif he deserve it, & on þat oper syde what sorow & wo him is ordend zif he do yvell* And afterward þinke how long þou hast lyved & how moche þou hast receyved & *on what maner þou come þer* [f. 209a] *to & hou þou dispended hem.* For eche owre þat þou hast more þouȝt on þe world þen of God . . . þou shalt answer boþ of ydle dede & of eche ydell word . . . at þe day of dome. And zif þou schalt be sayvd þer is none here of þine hede þat it ne schal be glorified . . . *wiþ þe body in þe blisse of heven; & þer þe soule is a þousand fold more þen al þis world.* As *Seint Barnard seiþ þat of al þe creatures þat ever God made, þan is þe soule most worþi.* But now take gode hede . . . how litil godnes þou hast of þi silfe: but litil wit or litil miȝt *but zif it come of God.* But many men desire niȝt<sup>4</sup> & day þing þat is naȝt worþ . . . *þat is to set hert on þe world þat þat þing þat a man settiþ his hert most on ful seldym or ever he have it, & þat aveiliþ litil;* & þus often tyme a man is disseyvid. . . . Also þinke hou changeable þou art, for þat þat þou wilt today to-morwe þou wilt nat do it; & þus þou art tormentid of [f. 209b] many þinges. But whanne þou miȝt nat have þat þinge þat þou coveitist þou art so agrevid. Also þinke þou art liȝt to be tempted & brutel to understond<sup>5</sup> & redy to assent *rathe to yvel þen to gode*; & of al þes mischevys oure lord Ihesu Crist wil deliver þe *zif þou wilt sett þine hert stedfastly on him.* And

<sup>3</sup> MS, *at*

<sup>4</sup> MS *nat*

<sup>5</sup> MS Bodley 416, *wiþstonden*



*perfor þinke on Ihesu Crist & put vanites out of þi þouzt & þinke how he made þi soule to his owne liknesse. Also þink how þi body was made of a litil þupewid cley.<sup>a</sup> . . . Also þinke stedfastly what it is to love þine owne flesche & to norische it so tendirly þat sone schal rote & fede þe wormis of þe erþe. And gif þou seie þat þou lovyst þi fader & þi moder for þou art of here flesche and blode bygetun, so be þe wormys wiþin þe. . . . And zit þinke, on þat oper side, how þou hast of hem neiþer body ne soule. . . . But gif þow dwelldist stil þou schuldist be suche as [f.210a] þow were bigetun in filþ & synne. And on þat oper halfe gif þou lovist broþer or sustir or eny oper for þei bene of þi kynne & of þe same flesh & blode, by þe same skyl þou schuldist love . . . þe worms of here flesh or of þine or of þi moder. And gif þou seie þat þou lovest hem for þei have flesh & blode & likenes of man and han a soule as þou hast, þan is he naȝt þi broþer but in as moch as þou & he have oo fader þoruȝe fleschly bigeting . . . And siþ þou lovest so moche þi fleschly ken, how moche more schuldist þou love him þat haþ made þe of nauȝt & bouȝt þe wiþ his precious blode on þe rode trel*

[Of þe Benefetes of Oure Lord God]

Also þinke on þe gret godenesse þat he haþ don to þe & more will gif þou wilt serufe him. As it is seid afore, whan þou wert nauȝt þan he made þe auȝt . . . & whan þou were borne in synne þan he brouȝt þe to cristnyng, & afterward whan þou [f.210b] had synned so foule & so oft zit he suffred þe . . . and eche day whan þou misdost þan he made þe to repent þe, & *whan þou preydist of forȝivenes* he forȝave þe, & whanne þou were in ony erreure þan he amendid þe, & whan þou dredist þe þan he tauȝt þe, and whan þou were anhungred þan he fedde þe, . . . & *whan þou hast ette he comliþ þe or makip þe semly.* And þou sleptist or wakist þan he saviþ þe, & whan þou risist of þi bedde þan he susteyniþ þe, & whan þou fallist þan he reisip þe . . . & whan þou stondest þan he kepiþ þe up, & whan þou gost þan he ledip þe . . . & whan þou partist fro him þoruȝe synne þan þoruȝ his mercy he ledip þe agene to salvacion, & whan þou art yvel at ese þan he comfortip þe. þus many godenes God werkip for þe & many mo þen man may þinke.

[How a man shalle spend his tyme]

<sup>a</sup> MS Bodley 416, of *poudere & stinkinge froþ*

And þerfore whan þou risist of þi bed at morow [f.211a] or<sup>7</sup> at mydnight þinke anone how many men have persched in bodi & in soule þat nigt, sum with fiere . . . som with water . . . sum slayne wiþ þevis & many wiþ oþer soden depe wiþout repentance and housil. . . . Also þinke hou many men fal in dedly synne . . . as in glotonye, licherie, & covetise . . . & many oþer synns þat draw men into dampnacion; & of al þes folies God haþ þe<sup>8</sup> deliverde. . . . And so whan þou takist heed of þe gret godnes þat he haþ don to þe . . . & *how unkynd þou hast bene to him*, þan seie þus to him, "A, my lord God, my Ihesu, *my likynge*, þat me, synful wrecche, in þis nigt hast kept & defendid . . . me heele . . . and sound into þis tyme, *blissid mote þou be for al þat<sup>9</sup> is in þe* & of al oþer godenes þat þou hast done to me. In þi power I put me, þat lyvest & regnest God wiþowtyn end. Amen." . . . Than þou schalt bisily þinke hou þou hast spendid þi tyme [f.211b] fro þe morwen þat þou rist til even . . . & pray God of mercy of al . . . þe gode dedis þat þou hast forslowpid, þe whiche þou migtest have don and<sup>9</sup> hast not. . . . And þerfor . . . or þou go to bedde seie þis preyer to God, "My lord Ihesu Crist, into þi handes . . . I bitake my body & my soul þis nigt & al my kynne & al my frendis . . . & al cristyn men. Kepe us þis nigt, lord Ihesu Crist, þoroze þe besechinge of þi blissid moder Mary & of al seyntis. Save us þis nigt fro . . . al soden depe & fro þe peyns of hell & liztne us wiþ þe holy gost & þine holy grace & make us evermore *to love þe, my lord Ihesu Crist*, & to kepe þi commandementis, & suffre us never to part fro þe." . . . For þe holy man seiþ, "zif þou afiest þe to þi silfe, þou schalt be delivered to þi silfe; & zif þou trustist to God, þou schalt be delivered to God." . . . & by [f.212a] þis maner contemplacion þou shalt<sup>10</sup> lerne to know *þi silfe & to love God & to serve him*, for we schul trow þat he is de best þinge þat may be, þe wisest þing and þe most iust þat any man may þinke on; & so he is ever wiþout bygining & wiþout end. Knowynge al þinge he may not forzet, ne no þing may aschappe him; but evermore he ordinip a þinge þat is gode.

<sup>7</sup> Omitted in MS

<sup>8</sup> MS, *it*

<sup>9</sup> MS, *in*

<sup>10</sup> MS, *skat, schat*

[How a Man Shal Have Contemplacioun  
of God in Every Creature]

... þre þingis ben in God. . . . þe first is miȝt; þat is þe fader of heven. þe secund is knowyng of wisdom; þat is þe son & þe secund persone. þe þird is god wil; þat we clepe þe holy gost. *And al is o god; & of þis holy trinite comiþ al maner creature.* Bi his miȝt al þinge is formed; bi his wisdom al þingis is ordend; bi his grace & his godenes . . . *all vertus in every man ben stabled more or lasse.* By his miȝt þou maist know his gretnes; by his wisdom þou miȝt know his formyng; by his gode will þou miȝt know his vertues & godenes. . . .<sup>11</sup> Here þou miȝt se . . . *how God schewiþ his miȝt diversly, how he haþ geuun to eche creature . . . his kynde, as stonys have beynges . . . & wex not ne here ne fele not . . . and bestys wexen & heryn & felyn. . . . Also men ar & wexen & heren & felyn & þei have discrecioun & understondyn . . . wiþ aungels.* Now þou miȝt se . . . *how God haþ ordend for man passinge al oþer creatures.* For Seynt Astyn seiþ he wold nat have þe place of an aungel ȝif he miȝt have þat place þat is ordend for man. . . . Also þinke how al creaturs wer made only for man, as tame bestis, . . . and made only for oure help; . . . & wild & oþer travellinge bestis, as oxen . . . & shepe to cloþe us & fede us . . . & fisch in þe se & in oþer water & bryndis in þe eȝer. Also . . . veny [f.213a] mose bestis ar made ta us for þre skyls: to chastise us, for þei be to oure amedemente, & to oure techinge; as whan we be hurt or . . . wondid or venynid wiþ suche bestis þan we be chastisid; & sometyme wiþ syknesse or fallinge in desese & in many oþer wise God chastisiþ man & þat is of his gret mercy . . . *for whan we do synne it is wondir he smytiþ us nat done into helle, & þerfore we schuld þinke if ony desese com to us þat it is of Godis chastying & mekely þanke God þerof, for it is for þe best to us; and so we schuld þinke on oure feblenes & how frele we bene & how brotil & how ful of desese, as if we be smytin wiþ a litil desese or ony oþer grevance þat so litil þinge may noy us . . . and if þou þinke þus bisily þou schalt<sup>10</sup> com to knowyng of þisilfe & of þe creaturs of God; & whan þou hast*

<sup>11</sup> This sentence might be considered either as a mistranslation or as an addition; MS Bodley 416 reads, *His myȝt þou myȝt sen bi here gretness & bi here formynges; his wisdom bi here feirnes & bi here ordeynynge; his goodnes bi here vertus & here mulcplynges.*

[f.213b] understandynge þus þan . . . þinke on Crist & of his creatures: how he haþ don gret migt to make such þingis of nauzt . . . & to ordeyne eche to be *in hys owne kynde* & to multiplie eche . . . *in his degre*; & þinke in þine hert, "A, Lord, how unkynd be we"; for we misseusen al þes creaturs . . . and he ordeyniþ hem to multiplie & we distroy hem eche day. And þefore sey to him . . . "*Ihesu Crist, mercy*" & meke þe to God & þanke him for þou art better & feirer þen þei ben, for þou hast knowing of good & yvel; & so haþ no creature but man. And þefore man in al creatures schuld werschipe & blyssynne þe holi trinite of whom al þingis ben governd<sup>13</sup> & in þis maner of contemplacion þou migt know God in his creatures.

[How a man shal see þe wil of God in holy writte]

. . . The secunde degre of contemplacion of letterure . . . I shal telþe as it is writyn. þou schalt<sup>10</sup> bisily þink on þat þou herist in prechingis or if [f.214a] þou herist redynge of holy write, & gif þou herist ony þinge þat migt profyt to þi soule or to hate synne . . . or to dispise þis world, al<sup>12</sup> to love vertus & to draw þe to holy þouztis & to holy preyers & to sture þe to þe blis of heven & to forsake wikednes & to do godenes & to lyve in parfitt charite . . . to God, þe whiche he biddeþ in his lawe & þe conceilis þou may.<sup>14</sup>

#### Contemplacioun afor matyns

Bifor matyns þou schalt þinke . . . on þe tyme & þe oure þat Crist was borne. The tyme was at mydwinter whan it was most cold; þe oure was at mydnight, þe hardest oure þat is . . . *almizti God, fader of heven, sent his owne bilovid sone into þis world to bicomē man for us. He was conceyved without ony knowyng of man þoruze þe vertu of þe holy gost & borne of a clene mayden þat never did synne. He was in his moder wombe nyne moniþis & more & þan he was borne of his moder in a cold, broken hous at Bethleem touns end & leid bifor an ox & an asse in a cribe on a litil hey; & his moder had none oper schetis to wynde him inne but to be a kercheif of her hede—luyt it was<sup>15</sup>—& an old kyrtil, and made þerof cloutis & wonde hir child þerin for cold & leid him on a*

<sup>10</sup> MS *goverd*

<sup>12</sup> Other MSS have *and*

<sup>14</sup> At this point twelve chapters are omitted.

<sup>15</sup> Omitted in MS

*wispe bifor an oxe and an asse. I trow þat here was povert ynowe; & þis povert he had til he was twelfe zere old! Also pinke on þe gret bisines þat his moder had about her swete sonne; & of Iosephe, what ioye he hadde of þat birþe; & of þe . . . grete company of aungels . . . þat were at þat birþe & songen, "Gloria in excelsis deo."* [f.215a.]

#### Contemplacion-bifor pryme

Here þow must pinke how Crist at such tyme of þe nigt was taken wip Iewis & bitraied of his discipule & takn as a trey-tour & bounden as a thefe & demyd as a feloun. . . . And pinke how Iudas kissed him þat he had bitraied & he godely clepid him frend. Also pinke how Crist defendid his dischiplis þat þei schuld nat figt, and how Crist helid *Malchus* ere þat Petir smote off, & how . . . þe false Iews toke Crist & bond him & led him forþe . . . afor Cayfas þe bischope, & how his dischiplis drew away fro him *for drede & leftyn him alone*. And þan come many fals swerers & *made playnt on him to þe bischope*, & þer he was examyned & betyn for he answerd agen here will; & hou Petir forsoke him sone after þre tymes for þe wiked wordis of *þe Iewis*. . . .<sup>16</sup>

#### Contemplacion byfor þe sixte oure<sup>17</sup>

Here þou schalt pinke on þe passion . . . how þe fals Iewis . . . bere witnesse agens Crist . . . þat he had slanderd hem [f.215b] & þat he had seid þat he miȝt distroye þe temple of God & make anoper wiþinne þre dais, and þat he had stirid al þe contre of Galalee ni to Ierusalem. And þei scornyd him in diverse maner & *dispisid him fouler þan a doge*; and þan þei spytyn in his face & hiddyn his izen *wip a cloþe* & smytyn him *on þe croune*; & *so þei pleyed abobet wip him as þei wold have don wip a sole* & bede him tel who smote him last. And Crist spak not oo word, but suffred al þis so mekly *for þe love of man*; & he seid nat ones, "Whi do ȝe so?" . . . And many mo dispitis þei did to him þat were longe to tell.

But now pinke overe þe resurrection of Ihesu Crist, for at þe oure of prime he ros fro deþ to lif, and after þat he had

<sup>16</sup> At the end of this chapter some material is from the chapter following.

<sup>17</sup> This chapter contains the material that other MSS place under the heading, "*Contemplacion bifor Pryme*."

dispoilyd helle . . . he apperid to Mary Magdalene, & sche wend he had bene a gardener; & after he schewid him . . . *to his disciplis in diverse tymes* & toke fro hem her misbileve & þe herd [f.216a] nes of her hertis . . . & gave hem his blissinge & styte up to hevене; & þer he sittip on his fader rízt hand.

#### Contemplacion byfore undern

Att þis oure þou schalt <sup>18</sup> pinke . . . how Crist was dispoillid nakid, & *þe fals Iewis* bonden him to a pilere . . . *of stone as he had been a þefe, & in hast þei made hem scharpe scourgis ful of prikis & þerwip dei bett his blissid body . . . as long as þe lastid til his body ran al on blode.* And þan þei putten on him a *streyt silkyn cloþe & þat clevyd ful sorore to his body whan þe blode was dry.* And þei set a garland on his hede of *long scharpe þornis . . . & wip stonys þei bett it fast down, for þei wold nat pryke her handis.* And þei toke him a rede in his rízt hand. . . & knelid down . . . *in scorne & seidyn to him, "Heile, sir kynge of Iewis."*<sup>19</sup> And whan þei had þus scornid him þei drow of *þat cloþe of silke, & it clevyd so fast to his body þat þei drew of þerwip moche of his skynne & of his flesche also, & whanne þei saw þat blissid body so foule to here sýzt þei blerid on him & spittid in his face as þei wold have done on a lode.*

And now of þe gret mercy of oure lord Ihesu Crist pinke enterly whi þat he wold bícome a man & suffre such hard peyns & dispitous a deþe for us in his manhede whan he mýzt have bogt in oþer maner. But certis al he did to have love of us . . . & þerfor he wold be oure creature & oure saveoure & suffre in his body al oure sorow for to bye oure love.<sup>20</sup>

#### Contemplacion bifor mydday

In þis oure þou bisili pinke how *þe fals Iewis* maden oure lorde Ihesu bere þe crosse on his bake toward þe mounte of Calvary til he was in poynt to have fale down for febilnes. And whan þei seyn þat, þei maden an oþer man bere þe tre; for þei wold not þat Crist had died til he had hangid þeronne. And alway as he

<sup>18</sup> MS schat

<sup>19</sup> MS Rawlinson C 72 has, "*Et genibus flexis cum derisorie saluaverunt dicentes ei 'Ave, rex Iudeorum,'*" which appears in some other Latin MSS but is regularly omitted from Latin, French and English versions.

<sup>20</sup> This last paragraph belongs in the next chapter.

[f.217a] went mekenes and þes went wip him; 3e, so fere forþe as Ysaye þe prophete seiþ þat he went as mekely to hanging ward as doþ a lomb to þe clyping, for he maden oþer bost ne noyse. Also þinke on his moder, what sorow sche had whan sche saw here owne swete sonne goyng<sup>21</sup> toward þe galows, for it was gret pite to se; & whan þei come to Calvary anon þei cast down þe crosse & lad oure lord Ihesu þeron & made markis & holis where his handis & his fete schuld be nailid; & þan þei toke a blond raggid nayle & drofe it þorow his hand wip an hamer to þe rode, and al þe peyne & angwisch þat was in his body drowe þerto; & so whan þei wold have nailed þat oþer hand þerto, it was so schort to þe hole þat þei had made by halfe a fote & more, þanne þei wold not make [f.217b] new holis but toke new ropis & tied on his hand & drew it til it was mete to here marke þat þei had made, and in þat drawing al þe ioyntis of boþe armis al to-broken asondry; & whan þei wold naile þe fete to þe crosse, þan was al his body so shronken togidir for peyne þat þei were to schorte to þe holis þat þei had made, by a large fote & more; & þan þei toke mo ropis & tied to his fete & drew hem don hard & sore til þei were even wip þe holis; & wip þat drawynge þei brosten al þe ioyntis of his lymes & þe skynne also; & þan þei toke anoþer ragid naile & dryven it þoruþe his fete wip an hamer to þe hard tre. Riȝt now abide & se & lift up þi mynd & þinke, "A, lord Ihesu Crist, mercy! Hou þe raggid nails raschid amonge [f.218a] þe hard bonis & synewis! A, lord, gif al þe sorowe . . . of þis world wer in þe body of oo man & þat man miȝt suffre so moche sorow . . . as al men . . . ȝit litil comparisoun were þat to oure lord Ihesu Crist—to þe sorow þat he suffred for us in an oure of a day. . . ." Þerfore Crist seiþ himself by Ieremie þe prophete, "Al ȝe þat passine by þe way, abide & bihold gif þer be any sorowe lich to my sorowe." Nay, for soþ, ne never was. . . . Also bihold his moder, what sorow sche had whan sche saw here swete son suffer al þat peyne; & for þis sorow & wo sche becam blake & blo as sche seiþ of hersilf, "Ne clepe ȝe me no more faire, lesse ne more,<sup>22</sup> but clepiþ me fro hens forþ ward 'woman ful of sorow & wo & colure boþ blake & blo.'" As Seynt Barnard seiþ in a songe of love<sup>23</sup> "Ne merueille ȝe þat

<sup>21</sup> MS *goþe*

<sup>22</sup> Latin MSS omit this expression, which is found in the French as *Ne me apelez bele tant ne quant*.

<sup>23</sup> This quotation from Canticles 1:6 is similarly ascribed to Saint Bernard in MS Bodley 416.

pouge I be broune & pale, for þe sunne haþ mis [f. 218b] coloured me." And perfore men sey in Engliche in þis maner . . .

Now goþ de sonn under wode;

Mary, me rewip þi faire rode.<sup>24</sup>

Now goþ þe sone under þe tre;

Mari, me rewip þi sonne so fre. . . .

#### Contemplacion bifore none

. . . At þis oure þou schalt þinke þat Crist þat is lord of life suffred deþ at suche tyme of þe day for oure love . . . & *whanne þe false Iewis hadyn þus fastyned Cristis body on þe crosse as men down cloþe on a tenconier, þan þei lift up þe crosse for malice of hemsilþe as hiþe as þei miȝten & lete it squat sodenly into a moreleis; & wiþ þat squatynge al þe synows, veyns, & ioyntes of his blissid body to-brosten. Certis [f. 219a] here was peyne anow & also povert; for he hing al nakid on þe crosse, wiþ his bloddy wondis, for love of mans soule, al to-rent & al to-torne. And as he hinge of þe crose he spake .vij. swete wordis. Þe first was, "Fader, forȝive hem þis synne, for þei wit nat what þei do." Þe secund was to þe . . . þefe þat henge on his riȝt side, "Þis day þou schalt<sup>25</sup> be wiþ me in paradise." Þe þird worde was to his moder . . . "Woman, lo, þer þi sonne," & to Iohan, "Lo, þer þi moder." Þe fourþ was, "I þurst," & anone riȝt þe fals Iewis maden him drynke eisil & galle temperid wiþ mir, & put it to his moup upon a spong to do him drinke; & whan he had asayed a litil what it was he wold no more þeroffe. Þe fifþe word was whanne he seid, "My God, my God, whi hast þou forsakyn me!" Þe sixt tyme he seid, "Now is þe prophicie fulfilled." Þe sevenþ tyme he seid, "Fader, into þine handis I bitake my spirit." And whan he had seid al þe wordis he bowid þe hed don & ȝave up þe gost . . . hanging on þe crosse bitweyne twey þevis.*

#### Contemplacion bifore evensonge

At þis oure þou schalt<sup>25</sup> þinke . . . how Ioseph of Armathe askid Cristis body, *as it henge on þe crose*, of Pilate. And þink hou þe knyȝtis [f. 220a] come to þe crosse & *many Iewis wiþ hem & to-brokune þe þies & þe lymes of þe twey þevis . . . also*

<sup>24</sup> MS Additional 10053 gives this line as, *Me rewyt, Marye, þi feyr fode.*

<sup>25</sup> MS *schat*



*biside þe crosse stode a blynde knyzt, & anone þei toke him a spere in his hand & settyn þe poynt to Cristis side & seden to him, "Sir Longis, put up þe spere," & anone rízt come out water & blode, and by vertu of þis holi blode he gat his sýzt. And þan Ioseph toke done þe body of Crist fro þe crosse, for it schuld nat be unberid for here Sabot day was on þe morow. Also . . . þou schalt<sup>26</sup> þínke how Crist 3ave his flesche & his blode in þe forme of brede & wyne to his dischiplis at þis oure of þe day. . . .*

#### Contemplacione bifore complyne

*At þis oure þou schalt þínke hou Ioseph of Armathe & Nychodem token þe body of Crist & put it in a faire schete . . . & wonden him þerinne & leyden him in a sepulcre . . . & þe Lewis settyn here selis þeron & settyn knyztis for to kepen it into þe þird day were passed. . . . And gader al þes meditacions oft into þi mynd & þanke þis gracious lord þat al þis & moche more suffred for þe, þou synful wrech, and alway þou quitist him wíþ unkyndnes. Now praye we to oure gracious lord þat he of his gret mercy 3ive us grace to love him & drede as we feble wrechis & frele auztyn for to do. Amen.<sup>27</sup> [End of f. 220b.]*

HARRY WOLCOTT ROBBINS

<sup>26</sup> MS *schal*

<sup>27</sup> MS omits the other six chapters.

pouze I be broune & pale, for þe sunne haþ mis [f. 218b] coloured me." And þerfore men sey in Engliche in þis maner . . .

Now goþ de sonn under wode;

Mary, me rewip þi faire rode.<sup>24</sup>

Now goþ þe sone under þe tre;

Mari, me rewip þi sonne so fre. . . .

#### Contemplacion bifore none

. . . At þis oure þou schalt þinke þat Crist þat is lord of life suffred deþ at suche tyme of þe day for oure love . . . & whanne þe false Iewis hadyn þus fastyned Cristis body on þe crosse as men doun cloþe on a tenconier, þan þei lift up þe crosse for malice of hemsilf as hiȝe as þei miȝten & lete it squat sodenly into a moreteis; & wiþ þat squatynge al þe synows, veyns, & ioyntes of his blissid body to-brosten. Certis [f. 219a] here was peyne anow & also povert; for he hing al nakid on þe crosse, wiþ his bloddy wondis, for love of mans soule, al to-rent & al to-torne. And as he henge of þe crosse he spake .vij. swete wordis. Þe first was, "Fader, forȝive hem þis synne, for þei wit nat what þei do." Þe secund was to þe . . . þefe þat henge on his riȝt side, "Þis day þou schalt<sup>25</sup> be wiþ me in paradise." Þe þird worde was to his moder . . . "Woman, lo, þer þi sonne," & to Iohan, "Lo, þer þi moder." Þe fourþ was, "I þurst," & anone riȝt þe fals Iewis maden him drynke eisil & galle temperid wiþ mir, & put it to his moup upon a spong to do him drinke; & whan he had asayed a litil what it was he wold no more þeroffe. Þe fifþe word was whanne he seid, "My God, my God, whi hast þou forsakyn me!" Þe sixt tyme he seid, "Now is þe prophicie fulfilled." Þe sevenþ tyme he seid, "Fader, into þine handis I bitake my spirit." And whan he had seid al þe wordis he bowid þe hed don & zave up þe gost . . . hanging on þe crosse bitweyne twey þevis.

#### Contemplacion bifore evensonge

At þis oure þou schalt<sup>26</sup> þinke . . . how Ioseph of Armathe askid Cristis body, as it henge on þe crosse, of Pilate. And þink hou þe knyȝtis [f. 220a] come to þe crosse & many Iewis wiþ hem & to-brokune þe pies & þe lymes of þe twey þevis . . . also

<sup>24</sup> MS Additional 10053 gives this line as, *Me rewyt, Marye, þi feyr rode.*

<sup>25</sup> MS *schal*

*biside þe crosse stode a blynde knyzt, & anone þei toke him a spere in his hand & settyn þe poynt to Cristis side & seden to him, "Sir Longis, put up þe spere," & anone riȝt come out water & blode, and by vertu of þis holi blode he gat his siȝt. And þan Ioseph toke done þe body of Crist fro þe crosse, for it schuld nat be unberid for here Sabot day was on þe morow. Also . . . þou schalt<sup>26</sup> pinke how Crist zave his flesche & his blode in þe forme of brede & wyne to his dischiplis at þis oure of þe day. . . .*

#### Contemplacione bifore complyne

At þis oure þou schalt pinke hou Ioseph of Armathe & Nychodem token þe body of Crist & put it in a faire schete . . . & wonden him þerinne & leyden him in a sepulcre . . . & þe lewis settyn here selis þeron & settyn knyztis for to kepen it into þe þird day were passed. . . . And gader al þes meditacions oft into þi mynd & þanke þis gracious lord þat al þis & moche more suffred for þe, þou synful wrech, and alway þou quitist him wiþ unkyndnes. Now praye we to oure gracious lord þat he of his gret mercy zive us grace to love him & drede as we feble wrechis & frele auȝtyn for to do. Amen.<sup>27</sup> [End of f. 220b.]

HARRY WOLCOTT ROBBINS

<sup>26</sup> MS *schal*

<sup>27</sup> MS omits the other six chapters.

#### XIV. THE RELATION OF OCCLEVE'S *LERNE TO DYE* TO ITS SOURCE

Occleve's *Lerne to Dye* has been spoken of as "a really fine *Ars Sciendi Mori*, the most dignified, and the most poetical, thing that Occleve has left us."<sup>1</sup> It may be worth while to determine how much of this praise should be given to Occleve as translator and amplifier, how much to his original, an eloquent and famous chapter in Henry Suso's *Horologium*.<sup>2</sup>

But first a word or two on the *Horologium*, which is one of the loveliest fruits of German mysticism,<sup>3</sup> and on the earlier tractate in German (*Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit*) of which it is an expansion! In spirit and phrase both derive largely from the Scriptures, and from the Fathers, especially St. Bernard.<sup>4</sup> After prolonged meditation upon his reading in these sacred and semi-sacred works, Suso, who was temperamentally predisposed to mystical ecstasy, experienced an exalted mood which he interpreted as a revelation "von der schönen minne-reichen ewigen Weisheit."<sup>5</sup> To this beautiful and all-loving Eternal Wisdom, personified as a woman, Suso devotes his love

<sup>1</sup> Professor Saintsbury, in *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 207.

<sup>2</sup> The present writer has already pointed out (*M. L. N.*, XXXVIII, 337-39) that the source of the poem is Chap. II, Bk. II, of Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* (1334); has explained the relation of the *Horologium* to Suso's earlier *Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit*; has noted the Middle English prose versions of the same chapter, the six Latin MSS of the chapter in the British Museum Library, and the six early printed editions of the *Horologium* in the same Library; and has indicated from which exemplar of the Latin Occleve's poem probably derives. It is from an equivalent of this exemplar, an undated quarto (Allosti: 1488?; Brit. Mus. Cat. No. IA. 49032), that the Latin quotations in this paper have been taken.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Denifle's ed. of Suso's German works (1880), p. xxi.

<sup>4</sup> See the preface to the *Büchlein*. Suso's contribution to Christian mysticism lay not in the substance of his thought — that he derived from Scripture, from his master, Eckhart, from St. Augustine, St. Anselm, St. Thomas Aquinas, and others—but in the poetic form, romantic and symbolical, in which he cast his thought. Cf. C. Schmidt, "Études sur le mysticisme allemand au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle" (*Mém. de l'Acad. Royale des Sc. Moral. et Polit. de l'Inst. de France*, T. III: *Savants Étrangers*, Paris, 1847, pp. 225-502, esp. 416ff.; Suso, 396-436).

<sup>5</sup> M. Diepenbrock, *H. Suso's, genannt Amandus, Leben und Schriften*, 2 ed., Regensburg, 1837, p. 177; K. Bihlmeyer, *H. Seuse, Deutsche Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1907, p. 200.

and dedicates his dreams. Of her he speaks in the words of *The Wisdom of Solomon*: "Her have I loved, and have sought her out from my youth, and have desired to take her for my spouse, and I became a lover of her beauty." From an ardent imagination, an incessant desire for spiritual illumination, and a constant poring over holy and patristic writ in cloistral seclusion, came the revelations of Suso's *Büchlein*. Thus, as he himself says, "he gained many a bright inspiration of divine truth . . . and between him and the Eternal Wisdom there sprang up a tender intercourse, and this took place not by a bodily intercourse nor by figurative answers; it took place solely by meditation in the light of Holy Writ, whose answers can deceive in nothing."<sup>6</sup> By this insight the author's former spiritual dryness, he tells us, was turned into an inner sweetness.<sup>7</sup> Then he determined to write down his meditations, in the hope that they would bring peace to others who might suffer a like dryness and bitterness in meditating upon Christ's passion. The first writing was in German, "because he had so received his meditations from God." In no spirit of vainglory, but with simple, fervent candour, he imparts his happiness:

The thoughts which stand here are simple, the words simpler still, for they proceed from a simple soul and are meant for simple men who have still their imperfections to cast aside. . . . One thing, however, a man should know, that there is as great a difference between hearing himself the sweet accords of a harp and hearing another speak of them, as there is between the words received in pure grace and that flow out of a living heart, through a living mouth, and those same words when they come to be set down on the dead parchment, especially in the German tongue; for then are they chilled, and they wither like plucked roses: for the sprightliness of their delivery, which, more than anything, moves the heart of man, is then extinguished, and in the dryness of dry hearts are they received. Never was there a string how sweet soever, but it became dumb when stretched on a dry log. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless the written words manage to retain much of the magic of the living heart and the living mouth. They are not chilled. Nor are they the plucked roses Suso feared. Moreover, the later and fuller Latin version, in spite of some rather frigid

<sup>6</sup> Bihlmeyer, p. 197; Diepenbrock, p. 174; English trans., *Little Book of Eternal Wisdom by Blessed Henry Suso*, 2d ed. Lond.: 1910.

<sup>7</sup> Diepenbrock, pp. 173-77.

<sup>8</sup> Diepenbrock, pp. 174-76; English trans., pp. 22-24.

scholasticisms, is a work not inferior to the *Büchlein* in passion, imaginative vigor, and rhythmic grace.

Suso est poëte avant tout. . . . Son imagination féconde, nourrie incessamment par un vif amour pour la beauté de la nature, lui crée pour toute chose des images et des symboles tour à tour gracieux et magnifique. Il décrit son amante, la sagesse éternelle, comme un troubadour décrit la dame de ses pensées; il la représente comme une vierge de haute naissance, resplendissante d'une beauté et d'une jeunesse impérissables, ornée de roses, de lis et de violettes odoriférantes, faisant les délices et l'admiration de la cour céleste. . . . Quand il parle ainsi de son amante mystique, son style prend un essor vraiment lyrique et quelquefois sublime. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Both the *Büchlein* and the *Horologium* are in the form of a dialogue between Eternal Wisdom and a disciple whose experience of this world has filled him with disgust and dejection. In each, the first book comprises meditations on the passion of Christ, exhortations to imitate His sufferings, and reflections on the use of affliction; the second treats of the preparation for death, the celebration of the Eucharist, and the praise of God. In the *Büchlein*, a third division, which is omitted in the Latin work, contains a collection of prayers to God and the Virgin. Occleve's *Lerne to Dye* derives from the *Horologium*, Book II, Chapter II, *De scientia utilissima homini mortali que est scire mori*. Suso's sublimity, even his elevated style, Occleve obviously enough has not "conveyed." But is it to the eloquence of the Latin that Occleve owes the achievement that, in this poem, for once, for some considerable length, he rises above the versifying level?

In answering this question the following points will be considered: the length of the poem in comparison with the original; the amount and character of the matter rejected by the poet; the quantity, distribution, and quality of his additions; and the quality of the English renderings.

The *Lerne to Dye*<sup>10</sup> is a poem of 938 lines in rhyme royal, with

<sup>9</sup> Schmidt, pp. 432-33.

<sup>10</sup> The poem has been found in seven MSS: Bodl. 1504, f. 29a; Bodl. 3441, f. 117a (wanting stanzas 1-3); Bodl. 27627, f. 30a; Harl. 172, f. 73a; Royal 17. D. vi, f. 120b; Durham Univ. Cosin. V. iii. 9, f. 52b; Gollancz (formerly Ashburnham Addit. 133), f. 55a (stanzas 1-96). See Brown, Register, 2:2009. Furnivall printed (E.E.T.S., E.S. 61) the Durham text, collating it with the Gollancz MS (said to have been written by Occleve himself, but Furnivall doubted this; cf. J. H. Kern, *Anglia*, 39, 443, who suggests that the Gollancz

a prose supplement. Lines 1-917 are based upon the *Horologium*; lines 918-31 are original, making the transition to the poet's use of another source, the Ninth Lesson for All Hallows Day in the Sarum Breviary.<sup>11</sup>

It follows, then, that we are concerned here with lines 1-917 only.

The thought of these lines may be condensed as follows. The best of the arts is so to learn to die that a man need not be surprised by death, for he who is not ready for death when it comes, is compassed by the sorrows of hell. Death is horrible, without pity, to that sinner. Spiritually he has won nothing from life. All his ways have been wild and evil. Oh, that youth would amend while it may! But now the hopeless man is in the snare of death, and he fears he has postponed amendment too long. How shamefully will he stand at the Doom, before God and all the saints! Let man keep himself always as though he were to die today, or tomorrow, or this week at the furthest. The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom. Remember death in time!

Though about nine hundred words of the Latin have not been translated, the poem, nevertheless, is far more lengthy than the entire chapter in the *Horologium*. Occleve has actually

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version is a later working-over of the Durham, and that both texts are Occleve's work—but cf. Kern's statement, p. 389; Gollancz says, in his edition of the MS, *E.E.T.S.*, E.S. 73, p. v, that "it is a beautiful specimen of early 15th century writing") and giving some variant readings (stanzas 97ff.) from the Royal MS. Kern, 443-47, has again compared the Durham and Gollancz texts, noting a few variants missed by Furnivall. I have compared Furnivall's text with the 15th century Harl. and Royal exemplars. Though there are many verbal variations in these MSS, they do not affect the substance of Occleve's translation, for they neither materially subtract from what he has added to the Latin nor supply what he has omitted. They consist, rather, for the most part, of slight rearrangements in the order of words, of substitutions of more or less equivalent words or phrases, of the insertion or omission of single words. Stanzas 132-34 and the prose addendum are missing in the Harl. MS. The Royal (first quarter of the 15th cent.) is closer to Furnivall's text than is the Harl. (probably 15th cent.), but in not a few instances the Royal and the Harl. agree in a variant from Furnivall. A collation of the existing MSS doubtless would supply a better text. It would certainly mend some of the metres. Perhaps it would clarify a thought here and there.

<sup>11</sup> This Lesson is the source of the last stanza (lines 932-38) and of most of the prose supplement. See Kurtz, *M. L. N.*, XXXIX, 56-57.

translated about 79 per cent of the chapter, has somewhat freely rendered that portion with 22.8 per cent more words than there are in the Latin, and has added matter of his own that constitutes 40 per cent of the poem. Upwards of 3400 Latin words have thus been expanded, by free translation and original additions, to about 7000 English words, an increase of 105.8 per cent. The poet, then, has slightly more than doubled that portion of the original that he used. In quantity, at least, the poet surpasses the mystic.

#### *Nature of Occleve's Omissions*

Of the quality of the poet's work we may judge first of all by considering the quality of the 21 per cent of Suso's matter that has been rejected.

These materials have been rejected from no one place more than another, and, with one possible exception, there is evident no principle of rejection other than that of metrical convenience. Wherever the exigencies of rhyming and stanza-making can be met by omitting words and passages Occleve is quite willing to forego some of the Latin. Comparatively unimportant words and phrases are continually rejected—almost three times as often as more important or long items. But whereas weighty items are omitted with practically equal frequency at all positions in the stanza,<sup>12</sup> the omission of lighter matter falls off after the first three lines, as may be seen in the following table. The tendency to frequent rejection in the first three places (lines) of the stanza should be compared with the great increase in additions in the other four places, as noted below. Evidently, as he met his prosodical difficulties by inventing more freely, Occleve found it less necessary to telescope his Latin. As additions increased, omissions decreased.

The poet takes no special care to omit iterative, parallelistic, or tautological phrases; indeed, his own contributions are nearly as often of these kinds as are the omissions. He follows the simple rule of omitting unimportant matter that does not fit easily into the logical and metrical limits of the stanza. Limbo swallows the hindmost phrase.

<sup>12</sup> Seven cases in the third lines is the minimum, eleven cases in the first lines the maximum.



TABLE A

| Number of line in Stanza | Omission of Unimportant Words and Phrases |             | Omission of Important Words and Phrases |            | Total Percentage |
|--------------------------|---|-------------|---|------------|------------------|
|                          | Number of Omissions                       | Percentage* | Number of Omissions                     | Percentage |                  |
| 1                        | 32  | 24.4        | 11                                      | 8.3        | 32.7             |
| 2                        | 23  | 17.5        | 9                                       | 6.8        | 24.3             |
| 3                        | 21  | 16.0        | 7                                       | 5.3        | 21.3             |
| 4                        | 14  | 10.6        | 10                                      | 7.6        | 18.2             |
| 5                        | 18  | 13.5        | 8                                       | 6.1        | 19.6             |
| 6                        | 13  | 9.9         | 10                                      | 7.6        | 17.5             |
| 7                        | 15  | 11.4        | 9                                       | 6.8        | 18.2             |

\*Percentages are calculated on a basis of the 131 times that each stanza-line occurs in the poem proper (stanzas 1-131). In counting omissions it has not been found necessary to count one line more than once for a given kind of omission.

Of omissions of fairly forceful or lengthy passages, several typical examples may be selected. Vivid details are usually, but by no means always, retained. The following, for instance, misses the strongest part of its original.

Whan þat a greet toun set is on a lowe,  
*And al is fyred both in lengthe and brede.*<sup>13</sup>

To make an easy rhyme, the hackeneyed *in lengthe and brede* takes the place of "et in igne et fumo scintille pariter sursum ac deorsum feruntur." Again, the dying man, repenting procrastination in reform, cries:

O morwe, morwe, thou haast me begit! (v. 372)

But the Latin inserts after the second *morwe* a strong figure: "quam longam restem fecisti et in baratrum mortis me procrastinando pertraxisti." From a passage on the inevitability of death,

Wendist thou *han been at swich ouantage*  
*þat shee nat durste han poied thee thy wage,*  
 But oonly han thee spared & forborn (vv. 165-67),

<sup>13</sup> Vv. 703-4. Occleve's additions are printed in italics.

has been omitted, after *spared*, "et tabernaculum tuum fictile ingredi non auderet"—a telling metaphor, for the loss of which, perhaps, the second of the three lines, which is Occleve's own, is part compensation. Certainly the poet does occasionally supply a stronger phrase in place of one that is at least fairly impressive. Thus, after

O deeth, *O deeth*, greet is thy crueltee (V. 141),

the Latin, "O impietas et indignatio miseranda," is lost; but two rather dramatic lines are supplied in its stead:

*Thyn office al to sodeynly doost thow.  
Is ther no grace? lakkest thow pitee?*

Such compensations, however, are rare, while frequently, on the other hand, something of the dignified weight and seriousness of the Latin is missed. A sententious and melancholy reflection on the brevity of this life may be sacrificed to an insipid rhyme. Or phrases of passionate iteration, ejaculations of despair, the very cry of a lost soul, may be ruined in an amateurish thumbing of a line.

The haphazard omissions, then, of unimportant words cannot be said very materially either to strengthen or weaken substance or style, and the neglect of more weighty passages is too seldom offset by original substitutions of indisputable strength.

Something remains to be said concerning a particular class of omissions. Into the *Horologium* Suso introduced certain reflections on the religious orders of his time, which had not appeared in the *Büchlein*. For his learned Latin audience these criticisms might well be food for thought; from his naïve audience in the vernacular they might have provoked indiscreet crimination. But these very passages Occleve, with a discretion surely not born of any knowledge of the *Büchlein*, considerably softens by rejecting all direct reference to the clergy. The passages occur in stanzas nine, ten, and eleven. The chief omission is in the first line of the ninth. To

But more harm is, ful many oon shalt thow fynde,  
þat ageyn deeth maken no purueance,

should be added a limiting phrase, translated in a Middle English prose version as "[full many] among some religious

as well as in vain seculars." Other silences soften the denunciations still further. It is interesting to find the little Privy Seal quill-man instinctively shielding the cloth that Dante attacked. Cleric principle of rejection he has, perhaps: principles of poetic rejection are somewhat difficult to divine.

*Distribution of Occleve's Additions*

Shall we detect greater evidence of poetic taste in Occleve's copious additions? Some index of his performance as poet and translator may be found in the way in which he distributes his inventions among the seven lines of the rhyme-royal. As he advances within each stanza he finds it harder and harder to carry the exact thought of the original exactly in its sequence. He repeatedly takes the easier way of forsaking his Latin—frequently by such haphazard omissions as we have just seen—still oftener by additions of half lines, whole lines, and even several lines in sequence. Of course no two readers will precisely agree as to just where the poet has slipped aside to escape the Latin, just where he has made excursions for the bolder purposes of rhetorical emphasis and poetic expansion. But individual differences in judging items such as these tend fairly to balance in the total results. Many additions, moreover, are on the face of them due primarily to metrical difficulties, and others as obviously to would-be virtuosic variation. At any rate, the following tables (B, C) give an approximately true account of how Occleve has distributed his additions among the lines of his stanza.

The additions have been classified thus:

- I. Additions that do not materially contribute to content or emphasis:
  - A. Parts of lines
    1. Not involving rhyme,
    2. Involving rhyme;
  - B. Whole lines.
- II. Additions that materially contribute to content or emphasis.

TABLE B\*

| Number<br>of<br>Line<br>in<br>Stanza | Additions that do not Materially Contribute to Content<br>or Emphasis |      |                    |      |            |                |      |  |
|--------------------------------------|---|------|--------------------|------|------------|----------------|------|--|
|                                      | Parts of Lines  |      |                    |      |            | Whole<br>Lines |      | Total Additions<br>involving Rhyme<br>(parts of lines<br>& whole lines)<br>% |
|                                      | Not involving<br>Rhyme  |      | Involving<br>Rhyme |      | Total<br>% |                |      |  |
|                                      | No.   | %    | No.                | %    |            | No.            | %    |  |
| 1                                    | 25  | 19   | 21                 | 16   | 35         | 3(?)           | 2.3  | 18.3   |
| 2                                    | 24  | 18.3 | 30                 | 22.9 | 41.2       | 5(?)           | 3.8  | 26.7   |
| 3                                    | 9   | 6.8  | 58                 | 44.2 | 51         | 16             | 12.2 | 56.4   |
| 4                                    | 18  | 13.7 | 60                 | 45.8 | 59.5       | 12             | 9.1  | 54.9   |
| 5                                    | 19  | 14.5 | 40                 | 30.5 | 45         | 30             | 22.9 | 53.4   |
| 6                                    | 16  | 12.2 | 29                 | 22.1 | 34.3       | 16             | 12.2 | 34.3   |
| 7                                    | 15  | 11.4 | 27                 | 20.6 | 32         | 41             | 31.2 | 51.8   |
| Number<br>of<br>Column               | 1   |      | 2                  |      | 3          | 4              |      | 5  |

TABLE C

| Number<br>of Line<br>in Stanza | Additions of Whole Lines<br>that Contribute Materially<br>to Content or Emphasis |             | Total of<br>Whole Lines<br>Added |
|--------------------------------|--|-------------|----------------------------------|
|                                | No.  | %           | %                                |
| 1                              | 4  | <i>3</i>    | <i>5.3</i>                       |
| 2                              | 4  | <i>3</i>    | <i>6.8</i>                       |
| 3                              | 7  | <i>5.3</i>  | <i>17.5</i>                      |
| 4                              | 12   | <i>9.1</i>  | <i>18.2</i>                      |
| 5                              | 17   | <i>12.9</i> | <i>35.8</i>                      |
| 6                              | 20   | <i>15.2</i> | <i>27.4</i>                      |
| 7                              | 18   | <i>13.7</i> | <i>44.9</i>                      |
| Number<br>of<br>Column         | 6  |             | 7                                |

\*For the method of calculating percentages, see above, Table A, Note. Percentages are printed in italics. In counting additions in parts of lines not involving rhyme, it has not been found necessary to count any one line more than once, because practically no line has been found to contain more than one addition of this kind. On the other hand, some lines contain both an addition involving rhyme and another not involving rhyme, and they are so counted.

The rationale of these figures, then, is found in the difficulties of translation into rhyme royal, especially, of course, in cutting the foreign materials into proper line-lengths and in securing rhyme-words. To see how Occleve line by line patches his metres and rhymes with words or phrases of his own, the columns of Table B must be read from left to right across the page. The indices of a given column do not necessarily carry within themselves, so to speak, the reason of their variation, because most of them are the result of several interacting problems, such as are represented in the other columns. For instance, a fall in column 1 may be correlated with a rise in column 2, because repeatedly a double problem of rhyme and line-length has been solved by one addition involving rhyme instead of by two changes, one involving rhyme, the other not. To complete the account of the habits the poet develops in patching his verses we should, of course, regard the indices of his omissions (Table A), line by line, side by side with the indices of additions. But to avoid complication the additions will now be considered by themselves, table by table, line by line.

*Table B: Additions that do not Materially Contribute to Content or Emphasis*

*Line 1:* This line, as the first in the stanza, is cut to length with comparative ease, and it tends to set the first, or *a*, rhyme rather arbitrarily. Little difficulty here. As a matter of fact only 35 per cent of the 131 first lines are doctored by part-line additions involving or not involving rhyme, and of the three cases of entirely new lines in this position two are susceptible of being regarded as very free translations rather than inventions. Moreover, the part-line changes that do not involve rhyme almost balance those that do (19 per cent, 16 per cent): there is no significant preponderance of difficulty as between stepping-off the line and getting a practicable rhyme.

*Line 2:* The most noticeable change, the rise of rhyme-bearing part-line additions from 16 per cent in the first line to 22.9 per cent in this, reflects the difficulty of securing a practicable rhyme. A numerical difference of nine cases is involved. The significance of this change may be apprehended by studying the first four items in the second column of Table B: 16 per cent, 22.9 per cent, 44.2 per cent, 45.8 per cent. These figures clearly

TABLE B\*

| Number<br>of<br>Line<br>in<br>Stanza | Additions that do not Materially Contribute to Content<br>or Emphasis |      |                    |      |       |      |                |      |  |
|--------------------------------------|---|------|--------------------|------|-------|------|----------------|------|--|
|                                      | Parts of Lines  |      |                    |      |       |      | Whole<br>Lines |      | Total Additions<br>involving Rhyme<br>(parts of lines<br>& whole lines)<br>% |
|                                      | Not involving<br>Rhyme  |      | Involving<br>Rhyme |      | Total |      |                |      |  |
|                                      | No.   | %    | No.                | %    |       | %    | No.            | %    |  |
| 1                                    | 25  | 19   | 21                 | 16   | 35    | 3(?) | 2.3            | 18.3 |  |
| 2                                    | 24  | 18.3 | 30                 | 22.9 | 41.2  | 5(?) | 3.8            | 26.7 |  |
| 3                                    | 9   | 6.8  | 58                 | 44.2 | 51    | 16   | 12.2           | 56.4 |  |
| 4                                    | 18  | 13.7 | 60                 | 45.8 | 59.5  | 12   | 9.1            | 54.9 |  |
| 5                                    | 19  | 14.5 | 40                 | 30.5 | 45    | 30   | 22.9           | 53.4 |  |
| 6                                    | 16  | 12.2 | 29                 | 22.1 | 34.3  | 16   | 12.2           | 34.3 |  |
| 7                                    | 15  | 11.4 | 27                 | 20.6 | 32    | 41   | 31.2           | 51.8 |  |
| Number<br>of<br>Column               | 1   |      | 2                  |      | 3     | 4    |                | 5    |  |

TABLE C

| Number<br>of Line<br>in Stanza | Additions of Whole Lines<br>that Contribute Materially<br>to Content or Emphasis |      | Total of<br>Whole Lines<br>Added |
|--------------------------------|--|------|----------------------------------|
|                                | No.  | %    | %                                |
| 1                              | 4  | 3    | 5.3                              |
| 2                              | 4  | 3    | 6.8                              |
| 3                              | 7  | 5.3  | 17.5                             |
| 4                              | 12   | 9.1  | 18.2                             |
| 5                              | 17   | 12.9 | 35.8                             |
| 6                              | 20   | 15.2 | 27.4                             |
| 7                              | 18   | 13.7 | 44.9                             |
| Number<br>of<br>Column         | 6  |      | 7                                |

\*For the method of calculating percentages, see above, Table A, Note. Percentages are printed in italics. In counting additions in parts of lines not involving rhyme, it has not been found necessary to count any one line more than once, because practically no line has been found to contain more than one addition of this kind. On the other hand, some lines contain both an addition involving rhyme and another not involving rhyme, and they are so counted.

The rationale of these figures, then, is found in the difficulties of translation into rhyme royal, especially, of course, in cutting the foreign materials into proper line-lengths and in securing rhyme-words. To see how Occleve line by line patches his metres and rhymes with words or phrases of his own, the columns of Table B must be read from left to right across the page. The indices of a given column do not necessarily carry within themselves, so to speak, the reason of their variation, because most of them are the result of several interacting problems, such as are represented in the other columns. For instance, a fall in column 1 may be correlated with a rise in column 2, because repeatedly a double problem of rhyme and line-length has been solved by one addition involving rhyme instead of by two changes, one involving rhyme, the other not. To complete the account of the habits the poet develops in patching his verses we should, of course, regard the indices of his omissions (Table A), line by line, side by side with the indices of additions. But to avoid complication the additions will now be considered by themselves, table by table, line by line.

*Table B: Additions that do not Materially Contribute to Content or Emphasis*

*Line 1:* This line, as the first in the stanza, is cut to length with comparative ease, and it tends to set the first, or *a*, rhyme rather arbitrarily. Little difficulty here. As a matter of fact only 35 per cent of the 131 first lines are doctored by part-line additions involving or not involving rhyme, and of the three cases of entirely new lines in this position two are susceptible of being regarded as very free translations rather than inventions. Moreover, the part-line changes that do not involve rhyme almost balance those that do (19 per cent, 16 per cent): there is no significant preponderance of difficulty as between stepping-off the line and getting a practicable rhyme.

*Line 2:* The most noticeable change, the rise of rhyme-bearing part-line additions from 16 per cent in the first line to 22.9 per cent in this, reflects the difficulty of securing a practicable rhyme. A numerical difference of nine cases is involved. The significance of this change may be apprehended by studying the first four items in the second column of Table B: 16 per cent, 22.9 per cent, 44.2 per cent, 45.8 per cent. These figures clearly

show that the task of getting the original into rhyming lines is aggravated verse by verse until a crux is reached in the fourth line. Now, obviously, the prominence of this problem in lines 3 and 4 is due to the necessity of matching the *a* and *b* rhymes of lines 1 and 2. But why should there be an increase in rhyme-bearing additions in line 2? Presumably because as the labor of translation mounts verse by verse within the stanza, greater recourse is had not only to additions in the successive lines but also to *working backwards* to change the *b* rhyme in line 2. Occleve does not reconceive the second line as a whole; he merely modifies its end-sound to meet an end-sound that has developed in line 4. Moreover, in line 5 there is a third *b* rhyme, which doubtless joins with that of the previous line to exert an especially strong retroactive influence on line 2. In other words, the Table would seem to show that the poet turned back to change the rhyme in line 2 to meet a final sound in lines 4 and 5 *more often* than he turned back for a similar purpose from line 3 to line 1. The difference between the rhyme-bearing indices of lines 1 and 2, (Column 2), an increase of about 43 per cent, may convey a rough idea of how much oftener "working backwards" was resorted to in the second line. Characteristic, however—characteristic of a rhymester's work at any rate—is the far greater recourse to additions in the forward rhyme-places, in lines 3, 4, and 5, than to "working backwards" in lines 1 and 2 (44.2, 45.8, 30.5 per cent, as against 16, 22.9 per cent). Not often, either, in this second position, does Occleve avail himself of the device of adding a line entirely his own, for of the possible 5 cases (3.8 per cent), three are under suspicion. They may have been added for the sake of their matter.

*Line 3:* Here the poet must match the first *a* rhyme. That he has facile recourse to the dodge, as we may call it, of inventing material that turns on the rhyming syllable, is clearly indicated by the extraordinary rise (Column 2) of the index figure to 44.2 per cent. Indeed, to such an egregious extent has Occleve employed this subterfuge that he has seldom had to make other changes to bring the line within the metronomic ten syllables, a fact indicated by the surprising drop in the index in the first column to 6.8 per cent. However, that here the trick of adding an entirely new line is rather liberally adopted, is shown



in the abrupt rise from a possible 3.8 per cent use of this device in the previous line to more than three times that amount (12.2 per cent) in this. The total percentage for rhyme-bearing changes rises from 26.7 per cent in line 2 to 56.4 per cent in line 3, a rise of over 111 per cent.

*Line 4:* The second *b* rhyme must be met, and we are far on in the stanza, at the middle and beyond, and behind lies frequent importation of foreign matter for purely metrical reasons. After the emphatic rise in end-line changes in the last position, it is natural that the initial and mid-line changes should jump forward (to 13.7 per cent), for many an end-line change necessitates a change in the following verse. However, the rise to 13.7 per cent is doubtless in part accounted for by the fact that generally the fourth line is harder to contrive than the third. The rhyme-bearing phrase is invented oftener than in the previous position, rising here to 45.8 per cent; but there is a decrease in the admission of lines wholly made of new cloth (from 12.2 per cent in the former line to 9.1 per cent in this). Small wonder, after the rise in total part-line changes to the record figure of 59.5 per cent! It may also be remarked that end-changes are *accompanied by* mid-line changes more often in the fourth than in the third line (11 cases in line 4, only 2 in line 3), another instance of the tendency to resort to invention more frequently in line 4 than in line 3.

*Line 5:* At first glance one is surprised, perhaps, at the drop in rhyme-involving part-line changes to 30.5 per cent, especially in view of the fact that the part-line changes not affecting rhyme remain at substantially the same figure as in the previous line. What, then, becomes of the hypothesis that the difficulty of translation increases as the rhyme-scheme progresses? Surely, according to it, there would be greater strain in attaining the third *b* rhyme (line 5) than the second (line 4)? Yet we meet this surprising fall from 45.8 to 30.5 per cent! The anomaly is apparent only. Read a little further to the right for the same line. We discover an extraordinary rise, from 9.1 to 22.9 per cent, in the number of whole lines added at this point primarily for metrical reasons. A rise of over 151 per cent! The induction is plain. So much greater, indeed, have been the difficulties in the fifth line, in securing the third *b* rhyme, that the poet has

again and again had recourse to inventing an entirely new line. The third *b* rhyme is the crux of the stanza. It may be noted, in passing, that the real magnitude of these changes is disguised in the percentage for total rhyme-bearing changes in this line (53.4 per cent,—essentially the same as for the fourth line) by the fact that though a wholly invented line counts only as one item, some partly invented lines count as two because they contain both rhyme-bearing and non-rhyme-bearing changes.

*Line 6:* Here we come up with the third rhyme-setting line (rhyme *c*). Naturally there is some relaxation of the strain of rhyming, which is reflected in the drop of the index for rhyme-bearing part-line additions to 22.1 per cent—about equal to that of the second line with all its “backward-worked” changes, but decidedly above that of the first rhyme-setting line (16 per cent) because, after all, this is an advanced point in the strain of keeping prose thought to a stanzaic pattern. The translator cannot always begin the thought over again at this place, even though the rhyme does begin anew. Whole lines come in handy, too, much oftener than in the first position (12.2 per cent against a barely possible 2.3 per cent). Nor should we neglect to note that the poet’s task is modified here by the opportunity, or temptation, to fill the concluding couplet with his own comment. The rhyme-royal couplet has an affinity for iteration and comment, especially if one is translating. The sixth and seventh lines, at any rate, have the greatest percentages of important contributions to matter or emphasis (15.2 per cent, 13.7 per cent; Table C, column 6). The difficulty of fitting the thought of the original into the stanza—of cutting a version into equal lengths depending arbitrarily upon the number of syllables to the line, and yet preserving a certain logical unity—is thus largely avoided.

*Line 7:* The *c* rhyme must be matched, and if the thought of the original has been kept in line 6 it is not always an easy task to keep on with it and also manage a rhyme. Thus, though there is a slight, a very slight, decline in the percentages for part-line additions, there is a huge advance in whole-line additions to a maximum of 31.2 per cent. In at least 41 out of 131 cases Occleve has descended to padding his stanza with a final line invented for the rhyme. In 18 other cases (Column 6) he has

here added lines presumably for the sake of their matter. Fifty-nine cases, then, out of 131, are invented. Only 72 lines out of 131 carry Suso's thought. As a matter of fact, only 32 of the verses in the seventh position are *entirely* made up from Suso—less than 25 per cent. It would seem, then, that Occleve found the last line of the stanza not only a convenient receptacle for original comment, but also a rather difficult place for keeping closely and entirely to his author's thought—decidedly more difficult, over 50 per cent more difficult, than the sixth line.

One of the most uniform sequences in the table is the diminishing series of the first column.<sup>14</sup> Its meaning is simple. The totals of additions made *within* the line (not at the end) for the sake of syllabic measure tend line by line to diminish as the devices for matching rhymes increase in number and length. The reason is obvious: the inventions for rhyme's sake themselves fill out the metre. Where they are least used (lines 1 and 2) the additions for metrical length are most common.

If the curve of effort in composition as indicated by the additions in Table B were plotted, it would be found to rise slowly from line 1 to 2, sharply from 2 to 3, less sharply from 3 to 4, and 4 to 5, to decline from 5 to slightly above 2 for line 6, and to rise rather sharply again for the last line.

*Table C: Additions that Materially Contribute to Content  
or Emphasis*

Of the 917 lines of the poem proper, about 82, or 8.9 per cent, are entirely original contributions that materially add to content or emphasis, and do not have the effect, at least, of having been added primarily for metrical considerations. But 123 original lines, or 13.4 per cent of the poem, do *not* make unmistakable contributions of matter or style, whereas they certainly do give the impression of having been manufactured to meet the need of rhymes. It will be seen, then, that Occleve's whole-line additions, like his part-line inventions, produce the effect far more of eking out feet and rhymes than of uttering irrepressible thought or emotion. Indeed, a more stringent criticism might pronounce that not a few of the 82 more impressive lines are, in fact, only rather clever examples of padding. Not seldom, apparently,

<sup>14</sup> The spurt in declination at the third line has been explained above, in the comments on that verse.

the thought runs out with the fourth or fifth line of the stanza, and the next installment of the Latin cannot conveniently be compressed into the remaining two or three verses. Indeed, Table C, as well as Table B, records a tendency to add whole lines most frequently in the last three positions of the stanza,—the most difficult to fill with sheer translation, the easiest to expand with mere filling.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, if, indeed, the poet were particularly keen at expressing his own ideas, why might he not have devoted rather often to them a whole stanza (which he never does), or, at least, have put them in the first place (which he does in only 4 out of 131 stanzas)?

### *Quality of the Additions*

If the quality of the invented verses is compared with that of the translated lines, two conclusions are forced upon the reader: in the more didactic portions of the poem the best verses are Occleve's; in the more emotional sections the lines translated from the Latin are superior. The explanation is obvious. If a minor poet takes an interest in a piece of prose because parts of it are keenly expressive of a state of his mind, it may easily happen in the course of translation into verse that some of his own ardor will ignite the drier and more didactic reaches of his original, although he may seldom be able to transcend the more fervid portions. Something of this sort, at any rate, appears to have happened here. Occleve himself tells us how greatly the tractate appealed to him,<sup>16</sup> and it is certain that he has slightly enlivened and adorned the three least impressive passages of Suso's prose. The introduction to the chapter in the *Horologium* can hardly be said to be eloquent. Neither can Occleve's translation of it (vv. 1-98). But the poet has added some nine or ten verses of his own that are distinctly superior to most of his translated verses in this section, and some seven or eight invented part-lines also stand out from their context. Not that any of these passages would attract attention in a

<sup>15</sup> In four stanzas lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, constitute a group of lines added for matter; in four stanzas lines 4, 5, 6, 7, appear as such a group; in five appears the group 5, 6, 7; and in four the group 6, 7. On the other hand, the grouping of original lines marked as added primarily for rhyme is quite different: two cases of lines 3, 4, 5; four cases of lines 4, 5; two cases of 5, 6, 7; and eight cases of 6, 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Dialogue with a Friend*, vv. 204-31. *E.E.T.S.*, *E.S.*, 61:117.

poem of great intrinsic worth: that is not the point. What is maintained is that of the best passages in these 98 lines, the majority are solely from Occleve, not from Suso *via* Occleve. For example, the last of the following verses is slightly elevated above the rather singular dryness and abstraction of the rest by its sensuous pathos:

Tho thynges .iiii<sup>re</sup>. good lord, haue y euere  
Desired for to knowe and hem to leere;  
*Vn-to myn herte ther is nothyng leuere;*  
A bettir thyng can y nat wisshen heere;  
But tellith me this, this fayn wolde y heere,  
What may profyte the lore of dyyng,  
Syn deeth noon hauyng is, but a pryuyng?  
*f for shee, man reueth of lyf the swetnesse* (vv. 29-36).

A similar touch has been added in the fifth line of the ninth stanza:

But more harm is, ful many oon shalt thou fynde,  
*pat ageyn deeth maken no purueance;*  
Hem lothen deeth for to haue in hir mynde;  
*pat thocht they holden thocht of encombrance;*  
*Worldly swetnesse sleeth swich remembrance.*

Occleve loves to think and write, if only in denunciation, of worldly sweetness! In the third stanza, too, the one word of sensuous appeal (*fructifie*) concludes an invented line. Further examples might be cited.

On the other hand, even the meagre effect of these few phrases is partly obliterated by several original verses of quite indifferent value and over twenty part-line inventions varying from indifferent to decidedly weak. Especially objectionable is what is in fact Occleve's besetting sin in the poem, eking out a line or mending a rhyme with a weak and entirely superfluous repetition.

Enforme eek me *and vn-to me by-wreye* (v. 11).  
Desired for to knowe and hem to leere (v. 30).  
To wite *and knowe* pat man is mortel (v. 43).  
And hire to take and receyue also (v. 54).  
Beholde now the likenesse *and figure* (v. 85).  
In him self put, the *figure & likenesse* (v. 90).

It must be pointed out, however, that this sin, so far from being peculiar to this poem, is to be found in most of Occleve's work,

both in his rhyme-royals and his octaves, whether translations or originals, and even in his prose.<sup>17</sup> In general, from five to ten per cent of his lines are thus affected. Other poets of the age use the device more rarely. Occleve's frequent resort to it obviously eased, rather ignobly, the burden of versifying and rhyming; the parallelism, too, may have seemed to him a method of emphasis. But it is highly probable that he contracted the habit in his scrivening of legal documents. Alliteration, certainly, is not characteristic of his tautology, and when he pairs words of English and Romance derivation the effect is legal rather than literary.

Another didactic portion is found in vv. 467-552. The disciple asks to be taught how to avoid an unprepared, sudden death, and, dissatisfied with the reply, charges his informer with vain teaching. Here again Occleve's additions are a trifle better than the weak lines translated from a comparatively weak original. The close of the poem proper (vv. 741-917), is also, on the whole, dryly didactic, and again Occleve's material is superior. Indeed, several verses that are intimate and personal in character are a distinct acquisition.

The rest of the poem is made up from the more eloquent and emotional portions of the Latin: three agonized laments of a man (Image) at the point of death, and his fearful description of the pains of hell. In these passages, what is inferior is almost invariably a contribution by the poet; what is strong is in far the greater part translation from an eloquent original. To be sure, here and there the poet's additions are not without some force, especially in certain figurative passages. Most of the figures, constituting as they do the stronger effects of the poem, are taken from Suso,<sup>18</sup> and Occleve very rarely puts in one where Suso has none.<sup>19</sup> But now and then he embroiders a figure from the original or parallels it with one of his own. Thus two figures concerning the sudden coming of death—"Quasi ex insidiis erumpens irruisti super me; comprehendisti et quasi mille funibus ligasti"—have been expanded (vv. 114-19) to:

<sup>17</sup> In the prose supplement to this poem. See Kurtz, *M.L.N.*, XXXIX, 56-57.

<sup>18</sup> So, e. g., in vv. 197-224, 235-37, 246-48, 344-50, 372, 554-58, 568-70, 631-37, 654 ff., 701-4, 911-17. Some of Suso's best figures are from *The Wisdom of Solomon*. From chapter 5, verses 9-14, are derived vv. 199-224.

<sup>19</sup> As in v. 585, which, with its corresponding Latin, is cited below.

O cruel deeth, *thy comyng is sodeyn;*  
*ful vnwaar was y of thy theefly breid;*  
 Thow haast as in awayt vp-on me leyn;  
*Thy comyng vn-to me was vncerteyn;*  
 Thow haast vp-on me stolen and me bownde;  
*Eschape y may nat now my mortel wounde.*

Better is his rendering (vv. 288-94) of "Eya vos omnes qui adestis, qui meam miseriam videtis, qui flore iuuentutis adhuc gaudetis, . . . me miserum respicite":

O, alle yee þat heere been present,  
 Yee þat floure in Youthes lusty gronnesse,  
*And seen how deeth his bowe hath for me bent,*  
 And tyme couenable han to redresse  
 Þat youre vnruely youthes wantonnesse  
*Offendid hath,* considereth my miserie,  
*The stormy seson folwith dayes merie.*

However, the point is that the additions are so numerous that, even though some of them are poetically passable, the deleterious remainder infects the entire poem. Indeed, one soon comes to feel, with but a little reading of these verses, that most of the poet's additions have been fabricated rather than invented. His talent may have been stimulated to what is for it a particularly notable expression, but it has not been able to transcend the original, nor has it been sufficiently stimulated to escape some of the most banal of the versifier's artifices. Weak repetitions continue to be the worst offense, as in vv. 126, 167, 228, 391, 393, 450, 601, 640. Another striking defect is the anticlimactic rhyme-filler. The thirty-fourth stanza, for instance, in spite of its tautologies, has force of phrase and figure, culminating in the "brydil of concupiscence" of the sixth verse. But the colorless seventh line might well be a marginal gloss to epitomize the poetical in the abstract.

In wiche y the harm mighte han seen befor  
 Þat now is in me fall; I yaf no charge  
 Of the good precious tyme; *y haue it lorn;*  
 But as the *worldly* wynd blew in my barge,  
 fforth droof y ther-with *and leet goon at large*  
 Al loos the brydil of concupiscence,  
*And ageyn vertu made y resistance.*

Nor has the poet sufficient taste to save him from perpetrating the incongruous final line of the following:

Allas, I, caytif for *angwissh* & sorwe,  
 My teeres trikelen by *my cheekes* down;  
*No salt watir me needith begge or borwe* (vv. 260-63).

Old saws also do anticlimatic duty in filling out a stanza, wordy expansions and conventional phrases sprawl everywhere, and not seldom the dignity of the Latin is destroyed by some banal invention.<sup>20</sup>

But an exception must be declared. In one sort of addition Occleve is at his best, and that best is truly an acquisition in the poem. In the eloquence of the *Horologium* there is, after all, something of that mystical remoteness from everyday life that often enough has rendered rather frigid for ordinary mortals the glorious dreams of the seers from Plato and Hypatia to Dante and Meister Eckhart. But our simple and direct-minded poet has again and again brought into the lofty sentences of Suso phrases of personal revelation, especially of remorse and fear. These notes have gone far to humanize the poem, to make its mysticism breathe the breath not of Suso's counterfeit Image of Death, but of the simple and timid soul that once walked in the mire from Paul's to Westminster, or, by preference, took a wherry and over-tipped the boatmen so that from their half-ironic obsequiousness he might enjoy a fleeting sense of importance. From his *La Male Règle*, his *Complaint*, *Dialogue*, and the introduction to his *Regiment of Princes*, we get a rather clear, not at all flattering, but very human portrait of this timorous and plaintive poet-scrivener. The shy, self-conscious youth who, ever wishful to be drunk of the world's joy and ease and sweetness, dared no more than drink a silent cup on the outskirts of gay company, or treat, and sometimes even kiss, the girls at Paul's Head Tavern; the pale penman forever sighing over his work; the middle-aged hack consumed with the fear of poverty and loss of all, and driven by fear to religion; the penitent weakly lamenting the weak follies of his youth, and uttering his conscience-stricken plaint that worldly sweetness and love of comfort had slain all remembrance of death and the

<sup>20</sup> Examples of conventional phrases, each from the second half of a line: *nat worth a myle* (523), *haaste and hye* (534), *y wole it now expresse* (583), *in soothfastnesse* (751), *it is no fable* (336), *par aventure* (472), *ther-to yeue y may credence* (518), *ful lowde & hye* (706), *withoulen any lye* (151). There are many others.



life hereafter,—these are the dissolving views of himself that the poet has left us. A naïve soul, timorously inclined to the comforts of the flesh, always dominated by the fear of poverty, and toward the end by the fear of death—that is the Occleve we come to know from his poems.

In the tract from the *Horologium* this faint soul sought knowledge and comfort of death, amelioration of his fear, hope of eternal sweetness and joy. And to the robust sentences of Suso he adds the quaver of his own remorse, and so makes out of his translation an art of self-revelation, after all. He is especially stirred to invent these penitential glosses whenever the Image bewails a misspent youth (see vv. 185-89, 243-45, 275-80, 437-41, etc.). About 62 lines (only 6.7 per cent of the poem) are thus devoted to remorse. But these 62 verses constitute over 75 per cent of the whole-lines added, I believe, for the sake of their matter. They are by far the most worthy part of the poet's original work. Nor can one forbear to quote, as a further and somewhat pathetically humorous sample, a most Occlevean expansion of Suso's "Tolle, tolle nunc a me lectisterniorum molliciem":

Now wole y voide *fethirbeddes* softe,  
*The pilwes nesshe* and *esy materas*  
*On which my careyne hath tymes ofte*  
*Waekid<sup>21</sup> and leyn; now stande I in swich cas*  
*pat me thynkiith al greet folie it was* (vv. 778-82).

Upon homely comforts the wan clerk had put such great stress—small wonder!

#### *Quality of the English Renderings*

In general, except for frequent omissions and a few errors, Occleve follows the Latin rather closely but not at all slavishly. Not seldom he reproduces ideas rather than phrases. A typical rendering is as follows:

*Singuli que sua sunt querunt et me ultricibus flammis desolatum derelinquunt.*

Men seeken thynges pat to hem self longe,  
 And me leuen in the flaumbes vengeable (vv. 512-13).

<sup>21</sup> *Walkid*, Furnivall.

That is his normal, pedestrian gait. But often an expanded periphrasis better suits the exigencies of the line. *Processerunt*, said of those who have gone on before, is turned into a phrase, "han leid been in hir graue" (v. 892). *Conclusum est*, like several other words, is rendered by an entire line: "ffor in no wyse changed it be may" (v. 643). The familiar *Heu me miserum* is once (v. 260) forcefully expanded to "Allas, I, caytif for angwissh & sorwe." *In proximo est tribulatio mea ut de hoc mundo recedam*, becomes two verses (391-92), with rather lively additions:

My torment and my wo me haaste and hye,  
Hens for to twynne as blyue shal y dye.

The periphrasis (vv. 405-6) for *negotiis non necessariis me implicauit et necessaria dimisi* enfeebles the balance of the Latin:

I left that good was & necessarie  
Vn-to my soule, and dide the contrarie.

*Docere me sapientiam voluisti* is given a little less directly (v. 747) as: "Thou seidest sapience y sholde lerne." Examples could easily be multiplied, but they would show little more than do the above, viz., that some of these periphrases have a vigor of their own, but that not a few lose the terse compression of the Latin without any compensating charm. Occleve does adorn somewhat some of the things he touches, but he by no means adorns everything that his careless hand labors.

Some happy versions, nevertheless, he indubitably has, and his translation as a whole is distinctly superior to the Middle English prose version (Douce MS 114) published by Horstmann.<sup>22</sup> The simple clause, *qui morte preuentus*, is converted into a fairly vivid line (92):

Whom deeth so ny ransakid had, & soght;

and *iocundo* becomes a "herte wont vn-to gladnesse" (v. 109). *Deuote* takes on a poetic air as "with hertes deuout sadnesse" (v. 395). Vivid, too, is (v. 198):

Or what am y bet for riche richesse hepyng

<sup>22</sup> *Anglia*, X, 357-65; cf. Kurtz, *M. L. N.*, XXXVIII, 337, Note 2. It is interesting to observe that this prose version omits many of the strongest figures in Suso.

beside *quid divitiarum iactantia contulit mihi*. In such versions there is at least a modicum of vision, as also in (v. 261)

My teeres trikelen by my cheekes down,

for *nunc stillat pre dolore oculus meus*. Richer, too, is (v. 281)

Why sette y so myn herte in Vanitee?

than *quare studui vanitati*. Figurative is the substitution of (v. 304)

The wrecchidnesses in which y am clipt

for *miseriam quam patior*; or (v. 585),

The body bathynge in worldly swetnesse,

for *corporis cura superflua*; or (vv. 607-8),

. . . . . & thynke  
That of peril thogh art ful ny the brynke,

for *et pensa ea que tibi in proximo super ventura sunt*.

But Occleve can condense at need as well as expand, and some of his abbreviated passages are not altogether lacking in skill. The heavy *cuncta quoque noxia a salute eterna te retrahentia ac impediencia proicias*, is lightened to (vv. 482-83)

. . . . . and all vices leue  
pat thee mighten the blisse of heuene reue.

Again, *ne iusticiam meam ultra quam necesse est pertimescens, excidas a spe tua*, is reduced to (v. 833),

Lest more than neede is adrad thow be.

On the whole, however, it must be admitted that Occleve is more expert at omitting than at condensing.

Decidedly weak substitutions for the Latin are not so many or offensive as Occleve's genius might lead us to expect. "Thow dye shalt" (v. 131) may not be so vivid as *filius mortis es tu*. Perhaps *Dum . . . robustus es et emendare vitam tuam poteris* goes haltingly as (vv. 825-26),

Whiles thow yong art & haast strengthe & force  
Thy lyf for to correcte.

And these instances might easily be paralleled. But the more obviously halting verses, the weakest places, derive more from patching with rhyme-making shoddy than from weak renderings of the Latin.

But it is time to summarize conclusions and to attempt, in their light, a brief appraisal of the respective contributions of the Swabian mystic and the English clerk to this *Ars Sciendi Mori* that Professor Saintsbury very properly has praised.

In this poem, then, which is slightly more than double the length of the Latin prose it translates (allowing for the omission of 21 per cent of Suso's chapter), Occleve has been guided in his rejections and additions, for the most part, rather haphazardly, by the difficulties of filling his lines, matching his rhymes, and cutting his stanzas; and the further he progresses in a stanza the greater, in general, is his recourse to the device of forsaking his original and padding with new matter. In respect of quality, the omission of unimportant matter cannot be said very materially either to strengthen or weaken substance or style, but the neglect of important passages is by no means always compensated by substitutions of indisputable vigor. The quality of the additions is fair in the more didactic parts, where the best verses are Occleve's invention; but in the more emotional parts the translated lines are superior,—with one exception: wherever Occleve has elaborated on remorse for the heedlessness of youth he has added very much to the intimacy and interest of the work. Only 6.7 per cent of the poem (62 out of 917 lines) is invention of this sort,—personal lament and self-revelation. But whatever of strength the poet has added here or there is more than counterbalanced by an ever-recurring banal repetition,—his favorite scrivener's method of eking his lines and shifting for rhyme. Finally, of Occleve's actual rendering of the Latin, as distinguished from omissions and additions, some are fairly happy, and the weakest places are chargeable to patching with rhyme-making phrases, rather than to weak versions; yet, on the whole, the effect of strength or skill is to be traced more to Suso's Latin than to Occleve's rendering.

The appraisal may be put still more briefly. In this poem, "the most dignified and the most poetical, thing that Occleve has left us," what is weak is almost invariably an addition or

rendering of the poet's, but not all of the poet's changes are weak, and a few are slightly stronger or more personal than the Latin; what is strong in the poem, however, is in far the greater part a not inadequate, though not notably skillful, rendering of Suso's eloquence.

That is not very much to say for a poem twice as long as the prose from which it is taken. In quality, if not in quantity, Suso's contribution is the greater.

BENJAMIN P. KURTZ

## XV. BEAR GARDENS AND BEAR-BAITING DURING THE COMMONWEALTH

The attack of the Puritans and of the city authorities upon the amusements of London under Charles I and the Interregnum was directed primarily against plays and playhouses. The sport of bear-baiting—one of the favorite entertainments of the Londoners—was allowed to continue almost without interruption throughout the Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup>

Just before the Civil War, the attitude of the English toward the sport was much the same as that of the Spanish today toward the *corrida*. The nobility and the mob were its chief supporters. The better class of citizens frowned upon it. Two opinions of the Bear Garden, written in the decade 1630-1640, illustrate the divergent points of view.

The first is a digest of a letter in Latin from "Honest William" (a name given to the writer by Francis Lord Cottington) to the same Lord, in 1639:

Was much delighted to hear that his lordship had recently visited the bear garden, commonly called Paris Garden, which last was certainly a misnomer, for notwithstanding all that Frenchmen might say, there was not such a charming place in all Paris. Our ancestors called it the Garden of Paradise, so great is the variety of its charms, as witnessed by the learned (Sir) Robert Cotton in his *Antiquities*, and before him by John Stow in his *Survey of London*. Enumerates amongst its attractions the scent of the shrubs and flowers, the music and the bear-baiting. There you may hear the shouting of men, the barking of dogs, the growling of the bears, and the bellowing of the bulls, mixed in a wild but natural harmony. This appears to the writer a picture of the world, for "All the world is but a bear-baiting." There are some men who do not endure to see the bears, but they are generally rustics, and of little judgment, who do not know how to regard this business, nor do they approve of recreation.<sup>2</sup>

Against this enthusiastic report, we have D. Lupton's account in 1632 under the heading "Paris Garden":

This may better bee termed a foule Denne then a faire Garden. It's pittie so good a piece of ground is no better imployed: Heere are cruell Beasts in it, and as badly vs'd; heere are foule beasts come to it, and as bad or worse keepe it, they are fitter for a Wildernesse then a City: idle base persons (most com-

<sup>1</sup> J. Q. Adams (*Shakespearean Playhouses*, pp. 336, 337) erroneously assumes that the sport was put down from 1642 until the Restoration.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1639, p. 420.

monly) that want imployment, or else will not be otherwise imploy'd, frequent [*sic*] this place; and that money which was got basely here, to maintaine as bad as themselves, or spent lewdly; here come few that either regard their credit, or losse of time: the swaggering Roarer, the cunning Cheater, the rotten Bawd, the swearing Drunkard, and the bloody Butcher haue their Rendeuouz here, and are of chiefe place and respect. There as as many ciuil religious men here, as thei're Saints in Hell. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Before coming, however, to a consideration of the fortunes of the "royal sport" from 1642 to 1660, it is desirable to cast a hasty glance over the history of the Hope or Second Bear Garden on the Bankside.

It was built in 1613 as a playhouse with a double purpose: "for players to play in, and for the game of bears and bulls to be baited in."<sup>4</sup> But the combination was not happy. On the one hand, the noses of even hardy Jacobean playgoers were outraged by the proximity of the beasts; and on the other hand, some of the devotees of the royal sport resented the intrusion of the play-actors:

When Ize came there, Ize was in a Rage,  
Ize rail'd on him that kept the Bears,  
Instead of a Stake, was suffer'd a Stage,  
And in *Hunks* his House a Crew of Players.<sup>5</sup>

The players sought other quarters; and the house was used after 1617 almost entirely for animal baitings, challenge matches between champion beasts, prize bouts of fencing, and the like. The name "Hope" was gradually replaced by the older and handier "Bear Garden," or the looser "Paris Garden."

In the year 1638, according to John Taylor, the Water Poet, the Bear Garden was flourishing. In his *Bull; Beare, and Horse*,<sup>6</sup> dedicated to "Mr. *Thomas Godfrey*, Keeper of the Game for Beares, Bulls, and Dogges," he says:

There's three courageous *Bulls*, as ever plaid  
Twenty good Beares, as er'e to stake was taid.  
And seventy Mastives . . . . .

And that we have obtain'd againe the Game,  
Our *Paris-Garden* Flag proclaimes the same.

<sup>3</sup> *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed*, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1714, II, 96. Harry Hunks was a famous bear in Shakspeare's time.

<sup>6</sup> Spenser Society, 1876.

Our *Beares*, and *Bulls*, and *Dogs* in former state,  
 The streets of *London* do perambulate,  
 And honest sport, and lawfull merriment  
 Shall thrice a weeke be shew'd, to give content.

In 1642, in consequence of making a riot and threatening to cut the throats of those who refused to sign a petition of his, Tom Godfrey was sent, for an indefinite term, to Newgate. At the same time the House of Commons enjoined and required "the Masters of the *Beare Garden* and all other Persons who have Interest there" to forbid "the Game of Bear-baiting in these Times of Great Distractions."

This order, while not couched in the solemn language of the ordinance against stage-plays, was of a like nature, and, if possible, was less well enforced. Bear baitings continued as usual, and the players who were hindered from acting complained bitterly that the Bear Garden was permitted to stand "in statu quo prius," referring to it as "that Nurse of barbarisme and beastlinesse, . . . where upon their usuall dayes those Demy-Monsters are baited by bandogs."<sup>7</sup>

The complaint had no effect in diminishing the sport. But the large and often dangerous crowds which assembled on the Bankside caused the authorities much uneasiness. In November, 1643, Parliament ordered the Southwark sub-committee to put down the game of bear-baiting; directing, further, "that they do permit there, hereafter, no Concourse of People to the Bear Garden; and that they apprehend such loose and suspicious Persons as come thither."<sup>8</sup>

Some attention was paid, perhaps, to this order. At any rate, whether because of the closing of the Garden, or because of his confinement in Newgate, Godfrey was evidently in straits by April 17, 1644. On that date, the Commons referred a petition of his to the sub-committee in Southwark "for his Relief."<sup>9</sup>

The Bear Garden, however, was not long closed. In 1645 it must have been open, for in July of that year a Royalist newsbook accuses the Parliament of even stooping to lure young men to the Bear Garden under guise of showing a new kind of bear-baiting, and then impressing them into the Army:

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There seems to be no lack of new evidence to show that the Bear Garden was one of the most uninterrupted and satisfactory amusements of London during the Interregnum. We find continual reference to it in the newsbooks. *Mercurius Britanicus*,<sup>22</sup> for instance, threatens to have Hercules lead a certain adversary, whom he likens to a dog, "Captive to the Beare-Garden, and there shall learn to baite bulls and beares, and shall be cheyned up from baiting Christians any more." In *A Hue and Crie after Cromwell*,<sup>23</sup> Oliver is an unruly bull; his pursuers are resolved—

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<sup>24</sup> Brit. Mus. E 593.17. For a real Thursday performance, compare the Bear Garden bill, preserved among the Alleyn papers, which is reprinted by Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, 133.

Other extracts from the Royalist newsbooks add more evidence on this head. *Mercurius Democritus*<sup>25</sup> announces that a certain she-bear—

will now beat all the doggs that come to the *Bare-Garden*; . . . Mr. *Faith-fool Scout*, hath sent his *Jenny* to her [i. e. the bear] with a Present of a brace of *Wood-cocks* and a *Petition*, to see if she can procure him the favour to print her *Ladyships Bills* for the *Bare-garden*.

And on June 16, 1652, *Democritus*<sup>26</sup> tells a very circumstantial story:

I hoopt and hollowed half a year for a Water-man to set me over the water, at last came a woman Waterman, who set me clean over the water up to the knees in durt, so I went up the bank, and looking over the Park-pales into the *Bear-Garden*, I spy'd a fellow in a long fools coat a hors-back upon a Bull; . . . I heard a great noise of stop Thief, stop, where at last I perceived it to be *Pragmaticus*, which was apprehended by the Bear-wards for creeping in at the windows and robbing the blind Bear of her dinner . . . he was . . . committed a close prisoner . . . where he is to write weekly Bills for the *Bear-garden*.

From all this it is manifest that the Bear Garden was still open. But, although the Butchers' Company still contributed the offal and waste meat for the bears' food,<sup>27</sup> and although Thursday was still bear-baiting day on the Bankside, there is no denying that the sport did not flourish as it had in the days before the war. According to John Taylor, there were in 1638 about twenty bears, and four bulls. In the pinching times following the war, however, it was found impossible to maintain so many; some were killed, and were not replaced. *Democritus*,<sup>28</sup> in his Baron Munchausen manner, tells an extravagant tale, with perhaps a grain of truth:

The *Blind-Bear* being at the stake last Thursday-night, gaped so wide, that no lesse then six *Mastiffs* ran all down her throat one after another . . . the *Bearwards* deny to tye up the *Blinde Beare*, or keep her fasting, in hopes (now many of the Beares be kill'd) before Easter Term next she will bring forth a new litter of *Bear-Whelps*.

Some of the most famous bears, however, were still alive: among them, this Blind Bess, and the great Ned of Canterbury.

<sup>25</sup> April 13-21, 1652 (Brit. Mus. E 660.3).

<sup>26</sup> June 8-16, 1652 (Brit. Mus. E 667.17).

<sup>27</sup> *Mercurius Democritus*, April 7-14, 1652 (Brit. Mus. E 659.25). Cf. Ordish, *Early London Theatres*, p. 241.

<sup>28</sup> November 3-10, 1652 (Brit. Mus. E 681.3).



*Mercurius Fumigosus*<sup>29</sup> prints a bit of satire on Sir Balthazar Gerbier's Academy, in which he mentions Ned:

. . . an *Italian High German-Portuguese* . . . reads *Anatomie Lectures* . . . to *Tom Godfrey's Beares*; the Beares are so Docible (especially *Ned of Canterbury*) that 'tis thought . . . they will sing Ballads by *Bartholomeu-tyde*.

## II.

We must pause before witnessing the downfall of the Bear Garden (for the Hope, as well as the House of Commons, had its Pride's Purge) to consider a phenomenon which has not, to my knowledge, ever been noticed: namely, "private" bear-baiting in London. It has always been supposed that at this period there was but one Bear Garden—the Hope on the Bank-side. In the course of my research, however, I have brought to light facts which show that there was another, a private bear-baiting, in St. John's Street, Clerkenwell.

Its beginning is to be found in a grant to Sir Sanders Duncombe. This gentleman, reputed to be a great traveler and curio-hunter, is the man who introduced sedan-chairs<sup>30</sup> into England. Charles I, in 1634, granted him a monopoly for fourteen years of manufacturing and "putting forth to hire" these chairs "for carrying . . . our loving Subjects . . . in and about . . . *London and Westminster*."<sup>31</sup> In 1635, John Evelyn's mother died after the doctors had given her up, although "Sir Sanders Duncombe tried his celebrated and famous powder"<sup>32</sup> on her.

On October 11, 1639, Sir Sanders Duncombe received a patent for "the sole practisinge and makinge profit of the combatunge and fightinge of wild and domestick beasts within the Realm of England for fowertene yeres."<sup>33</sup> It is doubtful whether this patent gave Duncombe any rights in the Bankside Bear Garden. The game there was supposed to be a royal monopoly, and, as we know, had been maintained as such by former sovereigns. Indeed, in 1638, John Taylor says:<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Nov. 8-15, 1654 (*Brit. Mus. E 817.4*), Ned of Canterbury is at top of the list of bears in Taylor's *Bull, Beare, and Horse*, 1638.

<sup>30</sup> Evelyn says that Duncombe got them from Naples. *Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. Bray, I, 192.

<sup>31</sup> Rymer, *Foedera* (1732), XIX, 572.

<sup>32</sup> *Diary, Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> *Notes and Queries*, Eleventh Series, II, 152.

<sup>34</sup> *Bull, Beare, and Horse*, p. 59.

The Game hath been maintain'd, and will, we hope,  
 Be so againe (now favour gives it scope)  
 For Kings, for Princes, for Ambassadors. . . .

Furthermore, I have found nothing which connects Sir Sanders with the Hope. On the other hand, I have found direct evidence of a bear garden of his, built almost immediately after his patent was issued in 1639. The evidence was contained in a sensational account<sup>85</sup> of how one of his bears slew his gardener:

Strange and horrible Newes Which happened betwixt St. Iohns street, and Islington on Thursday morning, being the eight and twentieth day of this instant moneth of October. Being a terrible murther committed by one of Sir Sander Duncombes Beares on the body of his Gardner, that usually came to feed them, where thousands of people were eye-witnesses. Printed at London for T. Smith 1642.

This worthy Knight delighting in the sport, had built an house some 2. yeares since betwixt the Red Bull and Islington, but not quite finished in the full manner of a beare-garden, had purchased beares to have them bayted for his recreation, but the building, beeing but weak, and the winde being rough and high, blew it downe flat and layd it with the earth, which he never built again, nor never will, but his two beares he hath kept there two yeares since these combustious times, thinking when they were ouer to make some further use, and there caused this man daily to feed and look unto these beares, which he has done these 2 yeares till this day, without least touch of danger, but fatall day be ordained to be his last! Comming to the place where the beares were kept, which is a great spacious yard payled round betwixt Islington and the Red Bull, to feede them in the morning, betwixt 9 and ten of the clocke, the great bear had broken out of his den. . . .

The story goes on to tell how the bear killed the man, and then how the populace, for revenge, killed the bear.

Such a terrible accident as this may well have dampened Duncombe's zeal for bear-baiting and animal shows, although it must have done much to advertise his place. At any rate, we have no record of his activities until after the "combustious times." When conditions were better, after the war, he built a bear garden of some kind, and gave performances.

*The Faithful Scout*<sup>86</sup>, April 9-16, 1652, prints a satirical announcement of "a Duel on Wednesday next in Sr Alexander Duncams Bear-Garden near Islington." About this time, too, the knight began to fit his place up as a zoological garden with strange and remarkable beasts; but, before he had been collect-

<sup>85</sup> Brit. Mus. E 124.24.

<sup>86</sup> Brit. Mus. E 794.23.

ing very long, he died. *Mercurius Democritus*<sup>37</sup> affords us some curious details:

At the *Half-moon* neer the *halfway-House* going to *Islington*, is to be seen the rarest Creature ever eye beheld; It is bodied, horned, and hoofed like a *Bull*, with a large pair of *wings* growing out at each *shoulder*. . . . He is newly sent over out of *Arabia* by a Merchant that hath been a long Traveller, and Directed to Sir *Sander Duncom*, who at the Merchants *going over*, was *storing* that ground with *rarityes* of all *living Creatures*; and he being dead, it was sent to be kept at the place before mentioned, where for the satisfaction of those that desire they may see it every day in the week, my self and many others having already been spectators of the same.

Technically, Sir Sander's patent expired shortly after its owner, in 1653; but the privilege once obtained was undoubtedly handed on to his heirs and assigns. We find that this private bear garden of his near the Red Bull playhouse was used at certain times as the headquarters of bear-baiting in London when for any reason the Hope was closed. For instance, a Parliament newsbook<sup>38</sup> (December 29, 1654–January 5, 1655) contains the notice: "Yesterday a man was killed by a Bull at the Bear Garden." This revolting accident, or a later one, moved the authorities to close the Hope for a time; and the devotees of the sport went over to Duncombe's private bear garden in Clerkenwell. *Mercurius Fumigosus*<sup>39</sup> recounts that—

A great Bull-bayting being lately in *St. Johns street*, there hapned a strange but true Accident, for the Bull breaking from the stake, bitt a Souldier quite thorow the legg, which putteth the *Butchers* in great fear, that their *Doggs* will this Summer all die of the *Scurvy* for want of Exercise, if *Private Bull-bayting* should be put down as the *publick Bear-garden* was, because *Ned of Canterbury* had flung a Man quite from the stake into the *upper Gallery*, and broake the shoulder of the huckle-bone of his left Buttock;

*A sad Prediction, and enough to make  
Us leave both Bull and Beare, and bayt the stake.*

In spite of this doleful forboding, however, the Hope soon got leave to open again, as appears by a note in *Fumigosus*<sup>40</sup> (August 29–September 5, 1655) concerning tallow, "which they doe want at the *Beare-Garden*, to annoint the *Bulls Nose*, that was *pinched last Play day*."

<sup>37</sup> Nov. 2-9, 1653 (Brit. Mus. E 718.3).

<sup>38</sup> *Certain Passages of Every Dayes Intelligence* (Brit. Mus. E 237.17).

<sup>39</sup> May 9-16, 1655 (Brit. Mus. E 838.18).

<sup>40</sup> Brit. Mus. E 852.29.

The most shocking accident of all was the killing of a child by a bear at the Hope in September, 1655. The child had come with others to see the bears as nowadays at the Zoo; and after the others had come out, it was discovered that the child had been locked in with the beasts. On returning, the Bearward found that a bear had caught the child and killed it. Let the State newsbook tell the rest of the story:

The Bear for killing the Child fell to the Lord of the Soil, and was by the Bearward redeemed for fifty shillings; and the Bearwards told the Mother of the Child that they could not help it, (though some think it to bee a design of that wicked house to get money) and they told the Mother that the Bear should bee bated to death, and she should have half the mony, & accordingly there were bills stuck up and down about the City of it, and a considerable summe of mony gathered to see the Bear bated to death; some say above 60 pound, and now all is done, they offer the woman three pound not to prosecute them; some other have been lately hurt at the Bear-garden, which is a sinfull deboyst profane meeting.<sup>41</sup>

The baitings at the Hope came to a temporary and inglorious end on February 9, 1656:

Seuen of Mr. Godfries Beares, by the command of Thomas Pride, then hie Sheriefe of Surry, were then shot to death, On Saturday the 9 day of February 1655 (i. e. 1656), by a Company of Souldiers.<sup>42</sup>

*The Diary of Henry Townshend*<sup>43</sup> gives a slightly different account of the massacre:

Feb. (1656). Col. Pride, now Sir Thomas Pride, by reason of some difference between him and the Keeper Godfrey of the Bears in the Bear Garden in Southwark, as a justice of the peace there caused all the bears to be fast tied up by the noses and then valiantly brought some files of musketeers, drew up and gave fire and killed six or more bears in the place (only leaving on white innocent cub), and also all courts (i. e. cocks) of the game. It is said all the mastifs are for to be shipt for Jamaica.

In a little more than a month after this fatal event, the Hope

<sup>41</sup> *Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs*, September 20-27, 1655 (Brit. Mus. E 854.2).

<sup>42</sup> *The Academy*, XXII, 315. Cf. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, 337.

<sup>43</sup> Edited by J. W. W. Bund, I (1920), 31. Cf. *The last Speech and dying Words of Thomas (Lord, alias Colonel) Pride; being touched in Conscience for his inhuman Murder of the Bears in the Bear-garden, when he was High-Sheriff of Surrey. Taken in Short-hand, by T. S. late Clerk to his Lordship's Brew-house*. 1680 (Harleian Miscellany, 1809, III, 136). Both mentioned by H. E. Rollins, *Studies in Philology* (1923), pp. 60, 61.

was converted into tenements "by Thomas Walker, a Peticote Maker in Cannon Streete."<sup>44</sup>

As may be supposed, after the closing of the Hope, bear-baiting in London was continued at the private bear garden in St. John's Street. This fact is shown beyond a doubt in a most touching and hitherto unnoticed epitaph, by the *Man in the Moon*,<sup>45</sup> on Blind Bess. The date is November 26, 1660:

*Here lyes old Bess, the ransome of Prides fury,  
Who was condemn'd [sic] without a Judg or Jury.  
A valiant Champion was she, many prize  
'Gainst Butchers Dogs she won, till that her eyes  
She lost in service, Godfrey then lament,  
'Twas she that got thy food, and paid thy Rent.  
And Butchers all keep you that fatal day  
When Pride and Hewson took her life away;  
Your very Dogs shall not forget her name  
That many years together kept the Game.  
You that the sport now keep in St. Johns-street,  
Will never such a Bear or Garden meet  
As Godfreys was, for such as did resort  
To see her, will extol the place and sport.  
Then Butchers mourn, for you have lost a prize  
Of her that here entomb'd in Hony lyes.*

Immediately upon the Restoration of Charles II, the game reverted to its old status as a royal sport; but it remained for some time in its new quarters in St. John's Street. An interesting petition,<sup>46</sup> made on November 28, 1662, illustrates the standing of the Bear Garden by royal grant:

Petition of George Murray, His Majesty's coachman, to the King, for the keeping of such outlandish beasts as shall be presented to His Majesty by the Russian Ambassador. With reference thereon to Thos. Killegrew, as to whether the request may be granted without prejudice to the apes and bears of the bear garden and their masters.

Manifestly there was some doubt whether the royal sport had always been granted as a monopoly, and whether the Duncombe grant, which gave a monopoly for fourteen years from 1639, were still valid.

<sup>44</sup> *The Academy, ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Printed for John Johnson, 1660 (Brit. Mus. E 1050.4).

<sup>46</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1661-1662, 574.*

It may be that Tom Godfrey went to practice his old profession at the Clerkenwell bear garden, for in 1662 his burial is entered<sup>47</sup> in the register of St. James's:

Oct. 19, 1662. Thomas Godfrey, who formerly kept the Beare garden ouer the bankside, buried in the Church.

In the third year of the Restoration, however, Charles II decided to reopen the venerable Hope Playhouse; and accordingly the establishment in Sir Sanders Duncombe's bear garden in St. John's Street was ordered to be moved to its old home. On July 27, 1663, Thomas Davies petitioned:<sup>48</sup>

for repayment of part of the expense incurred in removal of the game of bears, bulls, &c., to the ancient place on the backside (i. e. bankside), as ordered in Council, and in erecting a theatre at his own expense for better seeing the diversion.

J. LESLIE HOTSON

<sup>47</sup> *A True Register . . . of St. James, Clerkenwell*, ed. Robert Hovenden, IV, 347 (Harl. Soc., 1891). Discovered by H. E. Rollins. Cf. *Studies in Philology* (1923), p. 61.

<sup>48</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1663-1664*, 217. For the later history of the Hope, see J. Q. Adams's *Shakespearean Playhouses*, 337-41. The first document he quotes after the Restoration is a letter from the Earl of Manchester, September 29, 1664. This letter says that the game is "now removed to the usual place on the Bankside"; but, until now, no one has discovered *from where* it was removed.

## XVI. BALZAC'S INTERIOR DESCRIPTIONS AS AN ELEMENT IN CHARACTERIZATION

Much has been said about Balzac's interior descriptions and their intrinsic value in his character portraits, of his "oyster-and-its-shell" theory, as it is called,<sup>1</sup> but very little exact analysis has been given them. Monsieur H. Clouzot's interesting article, *L'Ameublement dans la Comédie Humaine d'Honoré de Balzac*,<sup>2</sup> is the only one which treats the subject at any length. Even here the author does not show how Balzac worked to obtain his effects, nor does he succeed in proving that a particular setting is as nearly indispensable to a complete rendering of the characterization as Balzac hoped and as his admirers have supposed.<sup>3</sup>

The claim is but an extension to actually inhabited rooms of Taine's theory of the inseparability of character and *milieu*: that is, the lodgings of any given person offer the index and interpretation of his character. Balzac clearly states this as his belief. In the *avant propos* of *La Comédie Humaine* he writes, "L'animal a peu de mobilier, il n'a ni arts, ni sciences, tandis que l'homme, par une loi qui est à rechercher, tend à représenter ses mœurs, sa pensée, et sa vie dans tout ce qu'il appropie à ses besoins."<sup>4</sup> The well known opening paragraphs of *La Recherche de l'Absolu* insist upon the same point of view: "La plupart des observateurs peuvent reconstruire les nations ou les individus dans toute la vérité de leurs habitudes, d'après les restes de leurs monuments publics." The same idea is expressed in *La Bourgeoisie*: "Nos sentiments ne sont-ils pas pour ainsi dire, écrits sur les choses qui nous entourent?"<sup>5</sup> Better examples, perhaps, appear in the descriptions of the Grandet house, and of "*la maison Vauquer*." Of the former Balzac writes, "Il est impossible de comprendre la valeur de cette expres-

<sup>1</sup> *Gobseck*, p. 278. (All references are to the Calmann-Lévy edition.)

<sup>2</sup> *Revue de la Semaine*, 2 déc., 1921, no. 48, pp. 25-52.

<sup>3</sup> Clouzot declares: "Un peu plus et vous reconstitueriez l'habitant rien qu'à la vue de sa demeure, et c'est en effet ce que cherche l'auteur." Cf. Taine: "L'homme intérieur laisse son empreinte dans sa vie extérieure, dans sa maison, dans ses meubles." (*Nouveaux essais de critique et d'histoire*, Balzac, p. 69).

<sup>4</sup> *Les Œuvres Complètes*, V. I, 3.

<sup>5</sup> P. 166. Cf. *Gobseck*, p. 278, "Sa maison et lui se ressemblaient." Cf. also, *Blatrix*, p. 15.

sion provinciale sans donner la biographie de Monsieur Grandet."<sup>6</sup> After giving this biography he adds, "Il est maintenant facile de comprendre toute la valeur de ce mot, la maison à Grandet, cette maison pâle, froide, silencieuse, située en haut de la ville, et abritée par les ruines des remparts."<sup>7</sup> In portraying Madame Vauquer the author declares that "toute sa personne explique la pension, comme la pension implique sa personne,"<sup>8</sup> and with this conviction he attempts to interpret the characters that compose the whole household. Balzac obviously is not arguing that in case the physical property around us is the result of our own choosing, our personalities must be definitely expressed therein. He would have us believe that this power which houses and furniture possess to reflect the character of those who live with them is the outgrowth rather of familiarity and acquaintanceship. The man and his surroundings appear to have lived together so intimately that their personalities have become mingled in some vague and indeterminate way. This relationship constitutes "la loi à rechercher" that he speaks of, and is akin to the mysterious and occult forces that hover about us and more or less fashion our destinies.

Since individuals, according to Balzac, have value only as they form a part of society; and since for him humanity resolves itself into types,<sup>9</sup> the best method of studying these character settings would seem to be a comparative one based on a scrutiny of conspicuous types. If each individual lacks in completeness apart from some well-defined setting, so would it seem to follow that each type, too, must have a setting that peculiarly characterizes it. Like types should display common characteristics in their lodgings, though retaining at the same time differential elements. All misers and money lenders should, in general, live in the same kind of rooms, and the same should be true of mistresses, or of old maids. This, however, is not the case, for Grandet's house in no unique way resembles Gobseck's rooms, or those of Gignonnet,<sup>10</sup> or those of Claparon,<sup>11</sup> except for an obvious

<sup>6</sup> *Eugénie Grandet*, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> *Le père Goriot*, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> See *Avant propos*, p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> *César Birotteau*, p. 251.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.



barren chill that permeates them all, and for the display of fine furniture, which had been bought at auction. Madame Marnette's rooms "sentaient la jolie femme, et, disons-le, presque la femme entretenue."<sup>13</sup> The same, no doubt, could be said of the establishments of Josépha<sup>13</sup> and of Coralie<sup>14</sup> without their having any distinguishing resemblances other than the extravagance lavished there by the respective lovers. Though the old maid, Mademoiselle Gamard, "était bien encadrée par des grotesques inventions d'un papier verni représentant des paysages turcs qui ornaient les murs de la salle à manger,"<sup>15</sup> this kind of mural decoration is not found in the rooms of the other famous spinster, Cousin Bette.<sup>16</sup> We find it, on the other hand, in the apartments of Ragon,<sup>17</sup> the hated bourgeois, and in "*la maison Vauquer*," and much the same sort of art reveals itself in the upholstery of the Grandet house. So, if the type has no setting essential to it, we are led to conclude that the individual likewise may not be so definitely determined as Balzac would have us believe.

In spite of the fact that each type does not have its own characteristic setting, there is, on the other hand, a very marked uniformity of treatment and of material running through nearly all of Balzac's interior details. Clouzot states that of over one hundred interiors no two are alike. This is true, and yet they are all astonishingly *balzaciens*, and could readily be recognized as such. His philosophy of furnishings suggests that of Poe, who says, "The color of the curtains and their fringe appear everywhere in profusion and determine the character of the room."<sup>18</sup> In fact, there are comparatively few of Balzac's rooms concerning the description of which this would not be true. It was by the green curtains yellowed by the sun that César Birotteau identified at once the office of Claparon. Curtains

<sup>13</sup> *La Cousine Bette*, p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>15</sup> *Un Grand Homme de Province*, p. 344.

<sup>16</sup> *Le Curé de Tours*, p. 245.

<sup>17</sup> *La Cousine Bette*, p. 34. A common feature, however, in the habitats of the two old maids consists in "le logement particulier où il n'était permis à personne de pénétrer."

<sup>18</sup> *César Birotteau*, p. 214. Cf. also the Séchard abode (*Les deux Poètes*, p. 9).

<sup>19</sup> E. A. Poe, *The Philosophy of Furniture*, (1840), Stone and Kimball ed., IX, 180.

characterize the "*salon jaune*" of Mademoiselle Gamard; they are the immediate background of Madame Claës;<sup>19</sup> they are an essential part of the sordidness of Dr. Poulain's rooms.<sup>20</sup> More than anything else they give the tone to all the apartments where they exist. After the hangings, Balzac dwells upon the wall paper and floor coverings. The tapestries and wall paper are either new, or are faded and yellowed by smoke; the carpets and rugs still keep their color and softness, or are worn and reveal signs of cotton threads, according to the financial prosperity of the occupant of the rooms. The frames of the pictures, and more particularly, of the mirrors over the mantle, either add lustre to the setting, or their tarnished gilt suggests the fading glory of the past. In the arrangement of furniture, however,—except in the case of ornamental objects—Balzac is usually no more definite, even in the richer households, than he is in the museum of Elie Magus with its famous collection of paintings, or in Pons' celebrated apartment with its sixty-seven works of art. Our attention is invariably directed toward the fireplace, and the mantelpiece with its *girandoles*, candlesticks, and Sèvres vases; also to the ever present clock, which but too frequently betrays the author's fondness for "un cartel en écaille incrustée de cuivre."<sup>21</sup> The chairs are not placed in any particular part of the room. Sometimes there is, to be sure, a center table, and not infrequently, gaming tables stand near the wall. Seldom does Balzac add a bookcase or a musical instrument except as a part of professional furnishings.<sup>22</sup> In main, then, these various interiors seem to include much the same elements in hangings and decorations, and also in articles of furniture, which, for the most part, differ only because they are made out of different materials, or vary in design according to Balzac's preferences in cabinet makers and decorators. Most of all,

<sup>19</sup> *La Recherche de l'Absolu*, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> *Le Cousin Pons*, p. 174.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Château du Gaisnic (*Béatrix*, p. 10); the house of Dr. Benassin (*Le Médecin de Campagne*, p. 62); the Grandet house (*Eugénie Grandet*, p. 24); the home of Ursule Mirouet (*Ursule Mirouet*, p. 111); the apartment of Florine (*Une Fille d'Eve*, p. 271); the Vauquer pension (*Le Père Goriot*, p. 7); Pons' apartment (*Le Cousin Pons*, p. 56).

<sup>22</sup> A notable exception is the piano in the room of Mlle. Birotteau (*César Birotteau*, p. 46). Cf. *Le Cousin Pons*, p. 277, where Schmucke plays for the dying Pons. Cf. also note 26.

however, this variance is due to the differences in profession and financial status of the owners.

Balzac, moreover, is inferior to Flaubert in his ability to render objects in a room peculiarly distinctive of the occupant. Flaubert chose his material so accurately that everything mentioned bears directly upon those aspects of his character's life and personality that the reader has already encountered in the progress of the story.<sup>23</sup> He places in Félicité's room<sup>24</sup> only those things that have been vitally associated with the events that determined her life's tale, and those that reveal her mental and emotional characteristics. To understand their significance and historical relationship is to know Félicité. Only occasionally does Balzac fully grasp this principle and use it effectively. A good example is the presence in the room of d'Arthez<sup>25</sup> of wax candles instead of tallow ones, for the odor of the latter was distasteful to his highly refined senses. But even this element had to be explained, for we do not know the young man well enough to appreciate the fact for ourselves. A better example, possibly, is the bookcase in Abbé Chapeloud's apartment,<sup>26</sup> which was chosen on account of its suitable size rather than because it could be had cheaply. This detail admirably reveals the priest's sense of proportion and fitness, which was a phase of his caution and moderation that proved to be the key to his power. This point in Balzac's technique comes out best, however, in his treatment and use of portraits. Portraits had always had a fascination for him and, no doubt, for this reason, figure so largely in his descriptions. The first object mentioned in the miserable apartment of Madame Bridau is the portrait of her husband hanging with that of the Emperor over the fireplace.<sup>27</sup> Such was the husband's place in the heart of this devoted widow. Similarly, by the arrangement of the portraits in the apartment once occupied by the Duchess of Chanlieu, her granddaughter found revealed that lady's character: "Le portrait de ma grand'mère, prise à

<sup>23</sup> Cf. what Balzac says about constructing the frame first and then painting in the portrait (*Beatrice*, p. 15).

<sup>24</sup> *Un Cœur Simple*.

<sup>25</sup> *Un Grand Homme de Province*, p. 225.

<sup>26</sup> *Le Curé de Tours*, p. 209.

<sup>27</sup> *Un Ménage de Garçon*, p. 7.

sion provinciale sans donner la biographie de Monsieur Grandet."<sup>6</sup> After giving this biography he adds, "Il est maintenant facile de comprendre toute la valeur de ce mot, la maison à Grandet, cette maison pâle, froide, silencieuse, située en haut de la ville, et abritée par les ruines des remparts."<sup>7</sup> In portraying Madame Vauquer the author declares that "toute sa personne explique la pension, comme la pension implique sa personne,"<sup>8</sup> and with this conviction he attempts to interpret the characters that compose the whole household. Balzac obviously is not arguing that in case the physical property around us is the result of our own choosing, our personalities must be definitely expressed therein. He would have us believe that this power which houses and furniture possess to reflect the character of those who live with them is the outgrowth rather of familiarity and acquaintanceship. The man and his surroundings appear to have lived together so intimately that their personalities have become mingled in some vague and indeterminate way. This relationship constitutes "la loi à rechercher" that he speaks of, and is akin to the mysterious and occult forces that hover about us and more or less fashion our destinies.

Since individuals, according to Balzac, have value only as they form a part of society; and since for him humanity resolves itself into types,<sup>9</sup> the best method of studying these character settings would seem to be a comparative one based on a scrutiny of conspicuous types. If each individual lacks in completeness apart from some well-defined setting, so would it seem to follow that each type, too, must have a setting that peculiarly characterizes it. Like types should display common characteristics in their lodgings, though retaining at the same time differential elements. All misers and money lenders should, in general, live in the same kind of rooms, and the same should be true of mistresses, or of old maids. This, however, is not the case, for Grandet's house in no unique way resembles Gobseck's rooms, or those of Gignot,<sup>10</sup> or those of Claparon,<sup>11</sup> except for an obvious

<sup>6</sup> *Eugénie Grandet*, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> *Le père Goriot*, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> See *Avant propos*, p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> *César Birotteau*, p. 251.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

barren chill that permeates them all, and for the display of fine furniture, which had been bought at auction. Madame Marneffe's rooms "sentaient la jolie femme, et, disons-le, presque la femme entretenue."<sup>12</sup> The same, no doubt, could be said of the establishments of Josépha<sup>13</sup> and of Coralie<sup>14</sup> without their having any distinguishing resemblances other than the extravagance lavished there by the respective lovers. Though the old maid, Mademoiselle Gamard, "était bien encadrée par des grotesques inventions d'un papier verni représentant des paysages turcs qui ornaient les murs de la salle à manger,"<sup>15</sup> this kind of mural decoration is not found in the rooms of the other famous spinster, Cousin Bette.<sup>16</sup> We find it, on the other hand, in the apartments of Ragon,<sup>17</sup> the hated bourgeois, and in "*la maison Vauquer*," and much the same sort of art reveals itself in the upholstery of the Grandet house. So, if the type has no setting essential to it, we are led to conclude that the individual likewise may not be so definitely determined as Balzac would have us believe.

In spite of the fact that each type does not have its own characteristic setting, there is, on the other hand, a very marked uniformity of treatment and of material running through nearly all of Balzac's interior details. Clouzot states that of over one hundred interiors no two are alike. This is true, and yet they are all astonishingly *balzaciens*, and could readily be recognized as such. His philosophy of furnishings suggests that of Poe, who says, "The color of the curtains and their fringe appear everywhere in profusion and determine the character of the room."<sup>18</sup> In fact, there are comparatively few of Balzac's rooms concerning the description of which this would not be true. It was by the green curtains yellowed by the sun that César Birotteau identified at once the office of Claparon. Curtains

<sup>12</sup> *La Cousine Bette*, p. 53.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>14</sup> *Un Grand Homme de Province*, p. 344.

<sup>15</sup> *Le Curé de Tours*, p. 245.

<sup>16</sup> *La Cousine Bette*, p. 34. A common feature, however, in the habitats of the two old maids consists in "le logement particulier où il n'était permis à personne de pénétrer."

<sup>17</sup> *César Birotteau*, p. 214. Cf. also the Séchard abode (*Les deux Poètes*, p. 9).

<sup>18</sup> E. A. Poe, *The Philosophy of Furniture*, (1840), Stone and Kimball ed., IX, 180.

vingt-cinq ans, est dans un cadre ovale, en face de celui du roi. Le prince n'y était point. J'aime cet oubli franc, sans hypocrisie, qui peint d'un trait ce délicieux caractère."<sup>28</sup> Even here the granddaughter must interpret for the reader, a thing unnecessary in Flaubert or Maupassant where there is a more closely knit relationship between events, objects and character.<sup>29</sup> Neither does Balzac succeed in vivifying soul conditions by means of exterior descriptions. Flaubert would have us comprehend the emotional state of a person by summoning to our imaginations scenes intended to incite within us a feeling akin to that of the person in question. Consider, for instance, the rendering of Saint Julien's sadness of heart as typified by the dismal view from out the windows of his hut: "D'un côté, s'étendaient à perte de vue des plaines stériles ayant sur leur surface de pâles étangs, ça et là: le grand fleuve devant lui, roulait ses flots verdâtres."<sup>30</sup>

Balzac's method is mainly subjective. He represents the reaction of a visitor as he stands at the threshold observing an interior, and this reaction aims to make us see that interior as a reflection of the personality dwelling therein. He declares that "au premier coup d'œil jeté sur un intérieur, on sait qui y règne de l'amour ou du désespoir."<sup>31</sup> Far too often the observer is Balzac himself, and we know only the significance that he himself attributes to the things he sees. Many times, however, it is some other person who enjoys all the author's acumen for interpreting common place detail. Baron Hulot took in everything at a glance in Cousin Bette's rooms, from

<sup>28</sup> *Mémoires de deux jeunes marités*, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> The apartment of Mme. Leseigneur (*La Bourse*, p. 150) may be cited as a striking exception. There we find the unifying traits of which Professor Dargan speaks (*Modern Philology*, XVII, 114), even to the name of Leseigneur. In spite of the apparent poverty of the two ladies, their rooms revealed their aspirations and the respect they held for the career and rank of M. Leseigneur. There were pictures of "les Batailles d'Alexandre par Le Brun," and another of "un militaire." The chairs showed "des cicatrices aussi nombreuses que celles des vieux sergents de la garde impériale." Over the fireplace hung "une longue-vue magnifiquement ornée, suspendue au-dessus de la petite glace verdâtre." The bulk of the furniture, however, was of the usual run: a clock, candlesticks, Sèvres china and a card table.

<sup>30</sup> *St. Julien L'Hospitalier*. Cf. also in *Un Cœur Simple* the description of the country road as Félicité trudged along carrying her dead parrot.

<sup>31</sup> *La Cousine Bette*, p. 153.

the stove down to the cooking utensils, and his stomach fairly turned as he said to himself, "Voilà donc la vertu!"<sup>32</sup> To Lucien Rubempré looking in upon the room of Lousteau "cette chambre, à la fois sale et triste, annonçait une vie sans repos et sans dignité."<sup>33</sup> Madame Hulot's rooms, rue de l'Université, gave Crevel a feeling of contempt for this home.<sup>34</sup> Thus no opportunity is left the reader for a spontaneous and independent reaction of his own as to what the atmosphere of a definite habitat may imply. Its atmosphere has not had its source in what he himself has been able to observe about the character and the immediate environment. These descriptions, after all, tend more to set off than to interpret the person. They are frames for portraits, or, at most, backgrounds painted with the skillful strokes of a master artist, rather than psychological and historical settings. Their success would seem to lie in harmonious and artistic effect, and not in any scientific revelation and analysis of human character.<sup>35</sup>

It must be borne in mind, in studying the whole matter, that not only had Balzac once been a student of painting, but he later became a celebrated antiquarian and an enthusiastic lover of art. Sainte-Beuve tells us that he knew all the bric-a-brac shops in Europe, and that people began to furnish their homes à la Balzac, not only in France, but abroad.<sup>36</sup> He was an authority on the styles of the various periods and was very fond of displaying his knowledge. In the matter of furniture he considered the style of the Empire lacking in taste, and at

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88. This would seem to say more about Hulot than Bette.

<sup>33</sup> *Un Grand Homme de Province*, p. 269.

<sup>34</sup> *La Cousine Bette*, p. 6. Cf. also Finot's office as viewed by Lucien (*Un Grand Homme de Province*, p. 247); Mme. Leseigneur's apartment as described by young Schinner (*Loc. cit.*); Pons' reaction toward the Camusot home (*Le Cousin Pons*, p. 28); Gobseck's rooms as seen by Derville (*Gobseck*, p. 277).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the following where Balzac thinks that setting reveals character, personality and customs: Mlle. Cormon's home (*La Vieille Fille*, pp. 243 ff); the apartment of Abbé Chapeloud (*Le Curé de Tours*, p. 209) which was "si bien en rapport avec la gravité des mœurs ecclésiastiques"; M. Marneff's bedroom which contained articles as worn and faded as himself (*La Cousine Bette*, p. 52). In *Gobseck*, p. 285, we learn that "la figure de la comtesse Restaud ressemblait à cette chambre parsemée des débris d'une fête." The salon at d'Eagrignon Balzac thought was especially adapted to be a proper setting for dowagers (*Le Cabinet des antiques*, p. 14).

<sup>36</sup> *Couserries du lundi*, II, 448, 454, 455.

times even grotesque. As a lover of "antiques" he preferred examples of Louis XIV and Louis XV, and more particularly those of the style "Pompadour." In interior decoration he was guided by the *tapissiers* of the reign of Louis Philippe who devoted much attention to hangings and to furnishing rooms, and even entire apartments, in two, or at most three, tone colors.<sup>37</sup> It can hardly be doubted, then, that Balzac, while striving for a very definite effect or a striking contrast, conceived his interiors from a purely artistic point of view.

Moreover, the author's personality completely dominates these descriptions. They are replete with observations intended to prejudice the reader, such as, "cette richesse de café," "le luxe des sots," and "le mauvais goût d'un agent de change." The modernized parlor of the late Madame Séchard "offrait d'épouvantables boiseries peintes en bleu de perruquier."<sup>38</sup> Of Dr. Poulain's rooms Balzac remarks, "Obercampf avait reçu des compliments de l'Empereur pour ces atroces produits de l'industrie cotonnière en 1809."<sup>39</sup> The apartment of the Marneffs "offrait les trompeuses apparences de ce faux luxe qui règne dans tant d'intérieurs. La salle à manger, mal soignée par une seule servante, présentait l'aspect nauséabond des salles à manger d'hôtel de province, tout y était encrassé, mal entretenu."<sup>40</sup> He writes of the cold salon of Madame Granson: "La rigoureuse modestie de la pauvreté se faisait sentir dans tous les accessoires de ce ménage où respiraient d'ailleurs les mœurs probes et sévères de la province."<sup>41</sup> Satirizing delicately the decoration in the Cormon house he proclaims: "Qui ne sent déjà combien la vie était calme et routinière dans ce vieil édifice?"<sup>42</sup> In his admiration for Madame de Mortsauf he asserts that: "Aucun appartement, parmi ceux que j'ai vus depuis, ne m'a causé des impressions aussi fertiles, aussi touffues que celles dont j'étais saisi, dans le salon de Cloche-gourde, calme et recueilli comme la vie de la comtesse, et où

<sup>37</sup> Clouzot, *op. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> *Les Deux Poètes*, *loc. cit.*, note 17.

<sup>39</sup> *Le Cousin Pons*, *loc. cit.*, note 20.

<sup>40</sup> *La Cousine Bette*, p. 52.

<sup>41</sup> *La Vieille Fille*, p. 36.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.



l'on devinait la régularité conventuelle de ses occupations."<sup>43</sup> The opening paragraph of *Eugénie Grandet* at once prejudices us against the house as gloomy and sinister. The phrase, "quelque ressemblance avec le porche d'une geôle,"<sup>44</sup> fairly tells us that it is to be the prison of Eugénie's soul. The atmosphere is complete even without any discussion of the furnishings which, after all, are not so very different from those of interiors elsewhere pictured in *La Comédie Humaine*. If the famous description of "*la Maison Vauquer*" were rewritten, freed of all prejudicial phrases and adjectives, the effect would be missed, and there would remain only a collection of things that Balzac greatly disliked, with the exception, of course, of "le cartel en écaille incrustée de cuivre." This *pension* would resemble any other cheap boarding house in a similar quarter of Paris. Let us leave out all such determining words as *triste*, *misère*, *malheur*, *nauséabondes*, and the condemning passages, "cette première pièce exhale une odeur sans nom dans la langue"; "Elle sent le renfermé, le moisi, le rance"; "Elle donne froid, elle est humide au nez"; "Malgré ces plates horreurs, si vous le compariez à la salle à manger, vous trouveriez ce salon élégant et parfumé comme doit l'être un boudoir"; "Des gravures exécrables qui ôtent l'appétit"; "Là, règne la misère sans poésie, une misère économe, concentrée, râpée." As a result of these omissions, we realize, at once, that "la pendule en marbre bleuâtre du plus mauvais goût," the pile of blue edged plates, the case for the napkins, the table with the greasy oilcloth, the dilapidated furniture, and the contrasting clock, do not in any complete sense sum up this quite individual Madame Vauquer, and far less do they reveal the many interesting persons then living under her roof.<sup>45</sup> All that is done ✓ by Balzac's subtle powers of suggestion, and the furniture but contributed objects around which plays his imagination.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Le Lys dans la vallée*, p. 35.

<sup>44</sup> P. 22.

<sup>45</sup> *Le Père Goriot*, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. also the description of Mme. Leseigneur's apartment: "Pour un observateur il y avait je ne sais quoi de désolant dans le spectacle de cette misère fardée comme une vieille femme qui veut faire mentir son visage" (*La Bourse*, p. 152). Note also Lousteau's room where, "Là, cette misère était sinistre" (*Un Grand Homme de Province*, p. 208). Compare also Gigonnet's lodgings in which we find monastic austerity, and an atmosphere like that of a cellar (*César Birotteau*, loc. cit., note 10).

In his handling of color Balzac displays the most delicate aspect of his technique. He says in the opening pages of *Le Père Goriot*, "La rue Neuve-Sainte-Geneviève surtout est comme un cadre de bronze, le seul qui convienne à ce récit, auquel on ne saurait trop préparer l'intelligence par des couleurs brunes, par des idées graves."<sup>47</sup> The same idea appears in *La Recherche de l'Absolu*: "Le confort anglais offre des teintes sèches, des tons durs, tandis que en Flandre, le vieil intérieur des ménages réjouit l'œil par des couleurs moelleuses, par une bonhomie vraie."<sup>48</sup> So there would seem to be a subtle relationship between a certain color and a definite manner of living. Practically all of Balzac's interiors are composed according to some color scheme whereby he intends, no doubt, further to harmonize setting and character portrayal. He uses the hangings, especially the curtains, as we have already observed, as a basis to establish this color tone; with the hangings harmonize the floor and the upholstery, the relief appearing in the woodwork, in the furniture, and in the gilt of the frames and other ornaments, such as vases and bric-a-brac. He creates a harmony throughout an entire apartment, the leading tone in one room being the relieving tint in the next. Of such harmony, the best example is found in the luxurious new apartments of César Birotteau.<sup>49</sup> But the same idea is carried out in humbler lodgings such as those of Madame Leseigneur. Sometimes he adds a discordant note or heightens a disagreeable effect by introducing a vividly colored object, like the blue clock and the green stove in "*La Maison Vauquer*," or the vivid blue woodwork in the Séchard home. In general, he employs flat colors with but few shades except where shading is due to the action of sun or smoke. He shows a fondness for red, gilt, blue, and white. Often he harmonizes the clothing and the natural coloring of his characters with those of the setting. Madame de Mortsauf, with her rose colored gown, black belt and boots, is

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Flaubert's claim that he wrote novels in definite tone colors in *Le Journal des Goncourt*, I (17 mars, 1861).

<sup>48</sup> P. 4.

<sup>49</sup> Pp. 148ff. Cf. also the Château de Clochegourde (*Le Lys dans la Vallée*, p. 35); the house of Rogron (*Pierrette*, p. 45); the apartment of Mme. Moreau (*Le Début dans la vie*, p. 225); Dr. Poulain's rooms (*Le Cousin Pons*, p. 192).

exquisitely modeled against the gray panelling of her salon.<sup>50</sup> The same is true of the Countess Restaud whose white *peignoir* and black hair blend delightfully into the blue and white accented with red, of her bedroom.<sup>51</sup> The men gathered in the salon at d'Esgrignon have the gray and faded tones of the tapestry in the room.<sup>52</sup> Yellow, Balzac seems to dislike. In *Le Père Goriot* he speaks of "cette couleur jaune qui donne un caractère ignoble à presque toutes les maisons de Paris."<sup>53</sup> Persons he dislikes he places in a yellow setting, as in the case of Mademoiselle Gamard in her "*salon jaune*," and Dr. Poulain in his room with its yellow sofa and yellow calico curtains.<sup>54</sup> The unscrupulous and filthy lawyer, Frasier, had rooms "jauni par la fumée."<sup>55</sup> The paint in the Grandet house was yellowed by time. Though a thing less easily determined, it would seem as if Balzac preferred to give those he loved a blue and white setting, as, for instance, the Topinard children,<sup>56</sup> and David and Eve.<sup>57</sup> Green appears best suited to misers and money lenders, for there is always a touch of it in their descriptions. Madame Cibot found Frasier seated on a "rond en maroquin vert," and he looked at her with a glance "encore plus vert que les yeux verdâtres de son future conseil."<sup>58</sup> Popinot's courage froze at the sight of Gigonnet's green boxes.<sup>59</sup> It was by Claparon's green curtains that Birotteau was enabled to locate his office. Molineux's rooms were in white and green.<sup>60</sup> Chaboisseau wore "une redigote verdâtre,"<sup>61</sup> and Samanon's skin was

<sup>50</sup> *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, *loc. cit.*, note 49.

<sup>51</sup> *Gobseck*, p. 101.

<sup>52</sup> *Cabinet des Antiques*, p. 14. Cf. also Mme. Claës in her heavily panelled dark "*parloir*" with her black hair and eyes, and olive complexion, dressed in white percale, sitting in the light shining through the red curtains (*La Recherche de l'Absolu*, *loc. cit.*, note 19).

<sup>53</sup> P. 5.

<sup>54</sup> *Le Cousin Pons*, *loc. cit.*, note 20.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338.

<sup>57</sup> *Les Deux Poètes*, p. 168. Cf., however, the blue and white bedroom of Mme. Camusot (*Cabinet des antiques*, p. 152).

<sup>58</sup> *Le Cousin Pons*, p. 190.

<sup>59</sup> *César Birotteau*, p. 251.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>61</sup> *Un Grand Homme de Province*, II, 79.

"tachée de nombreuses plaques vertes ou jaunes."<sup>62</sup> Gobseck had a green cloth on his table, and his smoky lamp with its green base seemed to cast a greenish light that rendered the face of the miser paler still.<sup>63</sup> What colors Balzac would associate with his other types of humanity it is hard to conjecture; and although the subject is an attractive one which invites further speculation, we should conclude, I think, that his primary interest is that of an artist.

Another element in Balzac's descriptions, and one easier to determine, is his method of projecting a character by means of contrast. Lousteau's rooms are dirty and untidy, but he himself is dressed with scrupulous care. Chaboisseau's classical taste in domestic decoration contrasts strangely with the customs of this old money lender. The same is true of Grandet, whose habits were "si peu en harmonie avec cette luxueuse décoration."<sup>64</sup> On beholding the refined luxury of Coralie's rooms, rue de Vendôme, Lucien thought, "Partout vivaient les images d'innocence. Comment imaginer là une actrice et les mœurs du théâtre!"<sup>65</sup> There was great contrast between this lovely apartment in white and pink and the one kept at her own expense, rue de la Lune, which was in green and red with furniture upholstered in blue.<sup>66</sup> Although this element of contrast is very effective in throwing into relief personal characteristics, it scarcely confirms Balzac's theory that our furniture is the reflection of ourselves. Neither has it the same psychological interest as the other two aspects of his style. It reveals but another phase of the author's Romanticism.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>63</sup> *Gobseck*, p. 280. In describing the Grandet house Balzac limited the color green to a "voûte verdâtre" and "une glace verdâtre" (*Eugénie Grandet* pp. 23, 24).

<sup>64</sup> *Eugénie Grandet*, p. 25.

<sup>65</sup> *Un Grand Homme de Province*, p. 344. Cf. also the personal habits of Dr. Rouget and his son contrasted with their beautiful home: "Entre les deux croisées il existait une riche console venue d'un château et sur le marbre de laquelle s'élevait un immense pot de la Chine ou le docteur mettait son tabac." "On crachait sur un foyer d'une exquise délicatesse dont les moulures dorées étaient jaspées de vert de gris" (*Un Ménage de Garçon*, p. 147). See, too, "la maison Claës" so superbly dignified which brings out in relief its owner, an untidy, shabby man, with long unkempt hair (*La Recherche de l'Absolu*, p. 20).

<sup>66</sup> *Un Grand Homme de Province*, II, 87.

If the foregoing interpretation of Balzac's threefold method is accurate: if he dominates his descriptions by his prejudices; if he allows his fancy to play with color schemes and other aspects of the human habitation; and if he here gratifies his fondness for contrast, like so many of his contemporaries; then he must have chosen these elaborate delineations of *milieu* as a medium of self expression. We see their author stand out from these backgrounds far more clearly than the characters he would so fully and vividly create.<sup>67</sup> We see his personality and his likes and dislikes, as nowhere else in his composition. If one of the chief characteristics of Romanticism is an outpouring of one's soul, then Balzac, in these interiors has shown himself once more a Romanticist, finding in them a refuge from the economic realism of the other aspects of his vast work.

RAY P. BOWEN

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Taine: "le commun des lecteurs demeure respectueusement la bouche bée, implorant tous bas le secours d'une vignette ou d'un portrait" (*op. cit.*, p. 68).

## XVII. WILLIAM WORDSWORTH AND GERMAN LITERATURE

But who shall parcel out  
His intellect by geometric rules,  
Split like a province into round and square?  
Who knows the individual hour in which  
His habits were first sown, even as a seed?  
Who that shall point as with a wand and say  
"That portion of the river of my mind  
Came from that fountain?" (*The Prelude*, II, 203ff).

To what extent, it may profitably be asked, did German literature exert an influence, direct or indirect, upon the life and writings of Wordsworth?

It is not the intention of the present writer to maintain that an extraordinary influence was exerted from this source, for despite the fact that more references and allusions to German writers occur in Wordsworth than one would at first suppose, the general opinion as to his freedom from this and other foreign influences is, in the main, sound.

Indeed, Wordsworth's independence in this respect distinguishes him sharply from the group among whom he worked and in the era in which he lived. Scott translates from the German; Coleridge is saturated with German transcendentalism and borrows freely from the German poets; De Quincey prides himself on being the representative of Immanuel Kant in England; Carlyle in his style is hypnotized by the architecture of the German sentence and the structure of the German word, and in the course of his massive and numerous volumes becomes the special pleader for all that is German; Shelley renders scenes from *Faust*, and Lord Byron dedicates a play to the author of that drama. There is but one exception besides Wordsworth—Keats. Wordsworth stands aloof, like Milton, dwelling apart; and although some of his poems were written in Germany, although his work was undoubtedly influenced by at least two German writers, and his philosophy, possibly, by the current German schools, he may, in the respect we are considering, be said to be a remarkable phenomenon in his day and age.

In the attempt to describe the literary relations of Wordsworth and Germany, I shall first consider the possible sources of Wordsworth's acquaintance with German literature, and then the actual references and allusions to German writers in his letters, in his works, and in contemporary memoirs. Thereafter I shall consider the nine German authors who, by various commentators, have been said to have influenced one or another of his poems.

## I

In a letter to James Losh, March 11, 1798, Wordsworth writes: "We have come to a resolution—Coleridge, Mrs. Coleridge, my sister, and myself—of going into Germany, where we purpose to spend the two ensuing years in order to acquire the German language, and to furnish ourselves with a tolerable stock of information in natural science. Our plan is to settle, if possible, in a village near a University, in a pleasant, and, if we can, a mountainous country."<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth at this time was twenty-eight years old. He had already written considerable poetry and his drama, *The Borderers*. To a certain extent, as we shall see shortly, he was already as well acquainted with German literature, through the medium of translations, as he was ever likely to become. In this project of visiting Germany we can trace clearly the influence of Coleridge. But, unlike most of the latter's plans, this was, in part at least, actually carried out. In the autumn of 1798 the party of three—for Mrs. Coleridge remained in England—set out for Hamburg. Of the voyage across and of the stay of the trio in Hamburg we have a full account in the journals of Dorothy Wordsworth and in the so-called *Satyrane's Letters*, later published by Coleridge in the *Biographia Literaria*.

In Hamburg the most important event of their stay was a visit to the poet Klopstock, then one of the great literary figures of Germany, author of the famous epic, *The Messiah*, of many odes, and of several dramas. Of their visit to him, Wordsworth writes to Thos. Poole on October 3, 1798: "I have seen Klopstock the poet. There is nothing remarkable either in his conversation or appearance, except his extreme

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, III, 258-59.

gayety."<sup>2</sup> In her journals Dorothy Wordsworth says of Klopstock: "Poor old man! I could not look upon him, the benefactor of his country, the father of German poetry, without emotion."<sup>3</sup> In the third of *Satyrane's Letters*, Coleridge describes this call in detail. "It was with an impression of awe on my spirits," he writes, that he approached the poet's house. When Klopstock entered, Coleridge was "much disappointed in his countenance," and was disagreeably impressed by the fact that the poet "wore very large half-boots, which his legs filled, so painfully were they swollen."

He displayed, however, a courtesy and kindliness that much affected them. To Coleridge he spoke a few sentences of broken English,<sup>4</sup> and fluently in French to Wordsworth, who, as Coleridge had noted in his second letter, spoke that language "with unusual propriety." Klopstock's enunciation, remarks Coleridge, "was not in the least affected by the entire want of his upper teeth." The conversation turned first on topics of political interest—the war in France and Nelson's movements. When Coleridge inquired in Latin concerning the history of German poetry and the elder German poets, Klopstock, to his great astonishment, confessed "that he knew very little on the subject." Klopstock deplored the wretchedness of the English translations of his *Messiah*. He was pleased to hear from Wordsworth that Coleridge intended to translate some of his *Odes*, and he remarked to the latter in English: "I wish you would render into English some select passages of the *Messiah*, and revenge me of your countrymen!" Klopstock maintained the superior powers which the German language, as compared with English, possessed of concentrating meaning and of translating Greek and Latin line for line. Coleridge sums up the impressions of the visit thus: "I looked at him with much emotion—I considered him as the venerable father of German poetry; as a good man; as a Christian; as seventy-four years old, with legs enormously swollen; yet active, lively, cheerful, and kind and communicative. My eyes felt as if a tear were swelling into them."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Journals*, I, 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Works*, III, 542.



After this interview Coleridge removed to Ratzeburg, near Hamburg, the Wordsworths tarrying a few days in that city before themselves setting out for Goslar, where they intended to spend the winter. In the same letter of Satyrane's occurs later a transcript of notes made by Wordsworth himself, during interviews taking place after Coleridge's departure. Wordsworth had placed in Klopstock's hands some specimens of a blank verse translation of the *Messiah* which had just appeared in the *Analytical Review*. Klopstock, after describing to Wordsworth in great detail the genesis of this poem, entered upon a discussion of hexameters and of some English poets. Voss's translation of the *Iliad* he thought "had done violence to the idiom of the Germans and had sacrificed it to the Greek." Lessing, he said, "was the first of their dramatic writers." Wordsworth's reply and the subsequent conversation may be quoted from his own report of it:

I complained of *Nathan* as tedious. He said there was not enough action in it; but that Lessing was the most chaste of their writers. He spoke favorably of Goethe; but said that his *Sorrows of Werther* was his best work, better than any of his dramas; he preferred the first written to the rest of Goethe's dramas. Schiller's *Robbers* he found so extravagant, that he could not read it. I spoke of the scene of the setting sun. He did not know it. He said Schiller could not live. He thought *Don Carlos* the best of his dramas; but said the plot was inextricable. It was evident he knew little of Schiller's works: indeed, he said, he could not read them. Bürger, he said, was a true poet, and would live; that Schiller, on the contrary, must soon be forgotten; that he gave himself up to the imitation of Shakespeare, who often was extravagant, but that Schiller was ten thousand times more so. He spoke very slightly of Kotzebue, as an immoral author in the first place, and next, as deficient in power. . . . He said Wieland was a charming author, and a sovereign of his own language; that in this respect, Goethe could not be compared to him, nor indeed could anybody else. . . . I told him the *Oberon* had just been translated into English. He asked me if I was not delighted with the story. I answered, that I thought the story began to flag about the seventh or eighth book; and observed, that it was unworthy of a man of genius to make the interest of a long poem turn entirely upon animal gratification. He seemed at first disposed to excuse this by saying that there are different subjects for poetry, and that poets are not willing to be restricted in their choice. I answered, that I thought the PASSION of love as well suited to the purposes of poetry as any other passion; but that it was a cheap way of pleasing to fix the attention of the reader through a long poem on the mere *appetite*. Well! but, said he, you see that such poems please everybody. I answered, that it was the province of a great poet to raise people up to his own level, not to descend to theirs. He agreed and confessed, that on no account whatsoever would he have written a work like *Oberon*. He spoke in

raptures of Wieland's style, and pointed out the passage where Retzin is delivered of her child as exquisitely beautiful. I said that I did not perceive any very striking passages; but that I made allowances for the imperfections of a translation."<sup>5</sup>

At a third visit to the poet, Wordsworth asked Klopstock what he thought of Kant. "He said," reports Wordsworth, "that his reputation was much on the decline in Germany," an opinion which Coleridge strenuously disputes in this very letter and no doubt discussed with Wordsworth himself at great length. "He seemed pleased to hear," continues Wordsworth, "that as yet Kant's doctrines had not met with many admirers in Egnland." Coleridge adds to these notes a statement that he himself had read only four books of *The Messiah*; and he says that when the good pastor in Ratzeburg told him that Klopstock was the German Milton, he muttered to himself—"A very German Milton indeed!" This, in all probability, was also the opinion of Wordsworth.

It is evident from these conversations with Klopstock, that though Wordsworth had a good general idea of German literature before he visited Germany, it was derived entirely from translations. On leaving Hamburg, Wordsworth and his sister went to Goslar, a little city in the Hartz, chosen apparently because living was said to be cheap there.<sup>6</sup> Before leaving Hamburg, it may be noted, Wordsworth purchased a copy of Bürger's poems and another of Percy's *Reliques*.<sup>7</sup> The choice in both cases is not without significance.

Wordsworth gained practically no command of the language while at Goslar. He begins a poem written there with these words:

A plague on your languages, German and Norse!  
Let me have the song of the kettle!

And Wordsworth apparently learned more from the kettle than from his honest neighbors. Coleridge, in a letter to his wife, January 14, 1799, from Ratzeburg explains why, and Dorothy's letters confirm his statements. He writes: "I hear

<sup>5</sup> *Works* of Coleridge, III, 548.

<sup>6</sup> Professor Harper has found Wordsworth's sojourn recorded under the name "William Waetsford, ein Engländer" (cf. Harper's *Wordsworth*, I, 366 n.).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dorothy Wordsworth, *Journals*, I, 27.

as often from Wordsworth as a letter can go backward and forward in a country where fifty miles in a day or a night is expeditious traveling! He seems to have employed more time in writing English than in studying German. No wonder! for he might as well have been in England as at Goslar, in the situation which he chose and with his unseeking manners. He has now left it, and is on his way to Nordhausen. His taking his sister with him was a wrong step; it is next but impossible for any but married women, or in the suite of married women, to be introduced to any company in Germany. . . . Still, however, male acquaintance he might have had, and had I been at Goslar I would have had them, but W., God love him! seems to have lost his spirits and almost his inclination for it."<sup>8</sup> It may be noted that Coleridge at the same time, by universal conversation with everyone with whom he came in contact, had acquired an undoubtedly great command over German of every character.

In his later writings Wordsworth makes only one important reference to his stay at Goslar. This is in the *Prelude* (VIII, 209-219):

. . . . . A glimpse of such sweet life  
I saw when, from the melancholy walls  
Of Goslar, once imperial, I renewed  
My daily walk along that wide champaign,  
That, reaching to her gates, spreads east and west,  
And northwards, from beneath the mountainous verge  
Of the Heræynian forest. Yet, hail to you  
Moors, mountains, headlands, and ye hollow vales, .  
Ye long deep channels for the Atlantic's voice,  
Powers of my native region! Ye that seize  
The heart with firmer grasp!

What did Wordsworth do at Goslar, we may ask? He was engaged in two occupations, it seems, rather assiduously; and one apparently was the reading of Bürger. Coleridge, writing to William Taylor on January 25, 1800, transcribes for him passages from some letters which passed between him and Wordsworth in Germany respecting the merits of Bürger:<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Letters of Coleridge*, p. 273.

<sup>9</sup> Robberds, *Taylor of Norwich*, I, 319f.

We have read *Leonora* [says Wordsworth] and a few little things of Bürger; but upon the whole we were disappointed, particularly in *Leonora*, which we thought in several passages inferior to the English translation [that of Taylor]. „Wie donnerten die Brücken,”—how inferior to

The bridges thunder as they pass,  
But earthly sound was none!

In his reply to Wordsworth's letter, Coleridge, as he tells Taylor, admitted the poetical beauty of Taylor's translation, but extolled the rapidity and oneness of the original; and he criticised Taylor's choice of meter. In answering Coleridge's letter Wordsworth launched into a more detailed discussion of Bürger:

As to Bürger, I am yet far from that admiration of him which he has excited in you; but I am by nature slow to admire; and I am not yet sufficiently master of the language to understand him perfectly. . . . I accede to your opinion that Bürger is always the poet; he is never the mobbist, one of those dim drivelers with whom our island has teemed for so many years. Bürger is one of those authors I like to have in my hand, but when I have laid down the book I do not think about him. I remember a hurry of pleasure, but I have few distinct forms that people my mind, nor any recollection of delicate or minute feelings which he has either communicated to me, or taught me to recognize. I do not perceive the presence of character in his personages. I see everywhere the character of Bürger himself; and even this, I agree with you, is no mean merit. But yet I wish him sometimes at least to make men forget himself in his creations. It seems to me that in poems descriptive of human nature, however short they may be, character is absolutely necessary, etc., incidents are among the lowest allurements of poetry. Take from Bürger's poems the incidents, which are seldom or never of his own invention, and still much will remain; there will remain a manner of relating which is always spirited and lively, and stamped and peculiarized with genius. Still I do not find there higher beauties which can entitle him to the name of a *great* poet. I have read *Susan's Dream*, and I agree with you that it is the most perfect and Shakespearean of his poems, etc., Bürger is the poet of the animal spirits. I love his „*Tra ra la*” dearly; but less of the horn and more of the flute—and far, far more of the pencil.

“Our controversy was continued,” says Coleridge; “and at least it ended in metaphysical disquisitions on the nature of character.”

But it was to his other occupation that Wordsworth was most devoted—the writing of English verse. It was in Germany, at Goslar, in the Hartz, that Wordsworth wrote his “Lucy” poems. On the day he quit Goslar, moreover, he wrote the opening lines of the *Prelude*, having planned the poem while in that town.

So, strangely enough, although it seems quite true, as Margraf<sup>10</sup> says, that Wordsworth's stay in Germany, aside from his interest in Bürger, had "nur sehr geringen Gewinn,"—only the slightest returns, yet it was in Germany that there was attained what Myers<sup>11</sup> speaks of as "the very bloom of Wordsworth's poetic career." The character of the trip to Germany may be summed up in Herford's words: "For Coleridge the German tour was a pilgrimage; for the Wordsworths it was simply a change of latitude";<sup>12</sup> or as Leslie Stephen puts it: "The residence in Germany had no traceable effect upon Wordsworth's mind."<sup>13</sup> Here, finally, is the analysis as to the value of their trip of Wordsworth himself, who in a letter to Joseph Cottle on his return says: "We have spent our time pleasantly enough, but we are right glad to find ourselves in England, for we have learnt to know its value."<sup>14</sup>

On Wordsworth's return to England he resumed the even flow of his existence at Grasmere. There is little indication that he kept up even the slight acquaintance with German he had gained at Goslar. In Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journals* from January 1 to July 8, 1802, the poet's sister mentions the fact that she is studying German, and occasionally the references are in the plural. But it is not certain in every case that the poet is meant. The entries, however, soon cease, and at all times indicate a rather elementary knowledge of the language, although Lessing is mentioned. In 1820, during the tour on the continent, there is occasional opportunity to talk German, of which Dorothy Wordsworth sometimes takes advantage, but I can find no clear indication that Wordsworth himself ever attempted to use the language at this time. As we shall see, moreover, such German influence as may have been exerted on the poet was mainly, except in the case of Bürger, through the medium of English translations. I think there is little doubt that Wordsworth's command of German was very poor.

<sup>10</sup> *Einfluss der deutschen Literatur*, p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> *Wordsworth*, p. 33.

<sup>12</sup> *Age of Wordsworth*, p. 153.

<sup>13</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v., p. 117.

<sup>14</sup> Cottle, *Early Recollections*, II, 25.

## II

If Wordsworth knew but little of German literature in a direct way, we are led to inquire to what extent he could have informed himself concerning it through translations. The answer to this question has already been given in part, in considering Wordsworth's interview with Klopstock, but to answer it fully, it is necessary to add a few details concerning the history of translation from German into English during the period immediately preceding Wordsworth's birth and in his lifetime.<sup>15</sup>

Until the last decades of the eighteenth century German was learned by Britishers solely for utilitarian purposes; i. e., by merchants and by naval officers. From about 1750 onwards, however, translations of belletristic works began to appear.<sup>16</sup>

The first German poet to make any lasting impression on the English public was the Swiss poet, landscape artist, and etcher, Salomon Gessner, who may be described as a quite inglorious Milton. His popularity may be ascribed to the patronage given his work by the Hanoverian dynasty, as Brandl suggests, or simply to the prevailing sentimentality in literary taste, to which his saccharine productions catered. The first translation of his *Abels Tod* appeared in 1761,<sup>17</sup> and by the next year had reached its fifth edition. Up to 1799 as many as twenty editions, in various renderings, had seen the light; and as late as 1853 a new translation was made. The *Idyls* were scarcely less popular. In 1802 Coleridge sent his own translation of *The First Navigator*, one of these idyls, to Sotheby. One reviewer<sup>18</sup> places Gessner in the same rank as Homer, Cervantes, and Ossian. A German traveler in 1782 remarks that Gessner is more popular in Great Britain than in his native land.<sup>19</sup> It was on Gessner, together with the Bible and Bunyan, that Sir Walter Scott was nurtured at his mother's knee; and it is the *Death of Abel* that the schoolboy is reading in Hood's *Dream of Eugene Aram*. It may be noted in passing that the

<sup>15</sup> Fuller details are available in Bayard Quincy Morgan's exhaustive *Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Herzfeld, *William Taylor von Norwich*, pp. 3f.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Bertha Reed [Coffman], *The Influence of Gessner upon English Literature*, pp. 4f.

<sup>18</sup> *Monthly Review*, 1776.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Herzfeld, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

Gessner cult did not rage altogether without a protest. V. Know says in 1777 that "he would no more be obliged to read the works of Gessner repeatedly, than to make a frequent meal on the honeycomb."<sup>20</sup>

The first of Lessing's works to appear in English was his *Fables*, translated in 1773, by John Richardson of York. Suepfle<sup>21</sup> speaks of a translation of the *Laocoön* in 1767. In 1786 *Minna von Barnhelm* was presented as *The Disbanded Officer* on the London stage and 1788 in York.<sup>22</sup> This was a much altered version; it ran nine nights. In 1799 another version, *The School for Honor*, was produced, but unsuccessfully. In 1806 for the first time a version was printed with the original title by Thomas Holcroft in the *Theatrical Recorder*. Two versions of *Nathan the Wise* appeared, one a poor prose version (1781), in which all the difficulties of the original were overcome by a very simple process—omission of entire passages;<sup>23</sup> and one excellent version by Taylor in 1791. In 1794 *Emilia Galotti* was presented at the Drury Lane Theater for three nights, unsuccessfully even though Mrs. Siddons appeared in the cast.<sup>24</sup> A second version, by Benj. Thompson, was printed in 1800, and in 1806 Fanny Holcroft published a translation in the *Theatrical Recorder*. According to Lowndes<sup>25</sup> twelve translations of Lessing appeared altogether from 1791 to 1825.

Wieland was one of the most popular of German authors in England. This was due, in part, perhaps, to his affinity with Lawrence Sterne; in part, to the Gallic lightness of his tone.<sup>26</sup> Much more attention, however, than was excited by any work yet mentioned was aroused by Goethe's *The Sorrows of Werther*, which was first translated in 1779 from a French version. In the following decade two other translations appeared, and between 1784 and 1792 no less than nine continuations or adaptations of the novel saw the light. In 1785 it was drama-

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 307.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Singer, *Einige englische Urteile über die Dramen deutscher Klassiker*, pp. 4f.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Herzfeld, p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Singer, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> *Bibliographical Manual*, s. v.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Herzfeld, p. 7.

tized by Frederick Reynolds at Bath, the version appearing at London in 1786.<sup>27</sup> When Reynolds read his tragedy to Lord Effingham, the latter bluntly called him a "German fool." In 1786 Thomson turned parts of the romance into elegies and sonnets. Goethe's *Iphigenia in Tauris* was very well translated by Taylor of Norwich in 1793 in a private print. In 1797 Lewis and Scott each turned *Der Erbkönig* into English, and in the two or three following years both rendered others of Goethe's ballads. *Clavigo* was translated as *Clavidgo* in 1798, and *Götz von Berlichingen* in 1799 by Scott, and as *Gortz von Berlingen* by Miss Rose D'Aguilar or Lawrence.<sup>28</sup> Various lyrics of Goethe were rendered into English by J. Beresford in 1800 with what Brandl<sup>29</sup> calls "Schlichtheit and Treue." An anonymously published translation of *Stella* was published in 1798—another version by Benj. Thompson appeared three years later. In the *Anti-Jacobin* of June 4 and 11, 1798, appeared *The Rovers*, written in part by George Canning and intended as a parody on various German plays, Goethe's *Stella* in particular. *Hermann and Dorothea* was translated in 1801, *Wilhelm Meister* by Carlyle in 1824, *Faust* thirteen times between 1821 and 1843, *Torquato Tasso* in 1827, *The Theory of Colors* in 1840, and, in addition, several prose items from 1821 to 1848.<sup>30</sup>

Schiller's *Die Räuber* was, of course, the first play of that author to appear in English. As a matter of fact, no less than three versions of this play were issued within a brief period, one of them going into four editions; a pirated version also appeared at Dublin. Among these versions was that of Tytler in 1792, to which I shall refer later. In 1800 appeared Coleridge's transmutation of *Wallenstein*. In 1803 *Kabale und Liebe* was presented at a benefit performance in the Drury Lane Theater as *The Harper's Daughter*. This was "Monk" Lewis' version of 1797, known then as *The Minister*. In 1795 an anonymous translation had also appeared, and in 1799 a version by "Columbine" of Norwich. In 1795 appeared *The Ghost Seer*, and new versions in 1800 and 1841. *Fiesco* was translated in 1798,

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Brandl, *Goethe Jahrbuch*, III, 28f., and Singer, p. 15.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Singer, p. 13, and Brandl, p. 45.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Lowndes, *Op. cit.*, s. v. Goethe.



in 1832, and twice in 1841. *Don Carlos* was rendered six times between 1798 and 1844. New translations of one or the other of the three parts of *Wallenstein* appeared in 1805, 1827, and 1830. *Mary Stuart* was translated four times between 1801 and 1841. *William Tell* appeared in eight versions between 1825 and 1847. Five other of Schiller's dramas appeared in translations, amounting together approximately to fifteen renderings, from 1825 to 1846. His poems, in more or less complete form, appeared in twenty-four versions from 1821 to 1848, the *Song of the Bell* being selected most often for translation. His *Correspondence with Goethe* was published in 1845, and his *Life* by Carlyle appeared in 1825, second edition, 1845. It will be seen from the rapid survey just given that Schiller was very popular in England in the period we are considering—up to about 1848. He was, in fact, the most popular of all German authors in England, as he was also in Germany.

After Schiller and Gessner, the most popular German author in England was the witty and clever stage-technician, Kotzebue. Sellier (*Kotzebue in England*) mentions over twenty versions of Kotzebue that were produced on the English stage from 1798 to 1830. Some of the most celebrated actors in England assumed rôles in these plays—the Kembles, Mrs. Siddons, Kean, and Macready, for example (*loc. cit.*, 89); and the stage versions were made by such well-known playwrights as Cumberland, Mrs. Inchbald, and Sheridan himself. To the average Englishman, German literature meant Kotzebue and his school. Nor was it on the stage alone that Kotzebue thrived.

Besides Kotzebue's novels and those of Goethe, many German tales, romances, fairy stories, etc., appeared in translation, the most famous of them being, of course, Carlyle's *German Romances*, in four volumes (1827). The brothers Grimm, who published the first volume of their fairy-tales in 1812 and the second in 1814, were rendered into English by Edgar Taylor in 1823, and the translation won the commendation of Sir Walter Scott.

Herzfeld, in his essay on Taylor,<sup>31</sup> presents the following summary of translations of German works into English up to the last decade of the 18th century: "A few masterpieces of

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

German literature as well as some works of little importance had, indeed, appeared in English garb, but not a single one of the translations was equal to the original in artistic value, and only a few could satisfy even moderate expectations. Either the translators did not understand German at all and made use of some previous French version, or, if they really had a command of German, the results of their endeavors left very much to be desired from the standpoint of form. In no case, therefore, could a satisfactory result be attained."

Nevertheless, these early translations may be said to have assembled the faggots for a general conflagration. The spark that set fire to the pile was William Taylor's poetic rendering of Bürger's *Lenore* in 1790. Taylor was later to become the chief advocate of German literature and thought in England, the enthusiastic precursor and, in part, the master of Carlyle. The translation of *Lenore* did not appear in print until 1796, when it was published in the *Monthly Magazine* for March, but in 1791 Dr. Aiken founded a ballad upon it.<sup>22</sup> Scott borrowed two lines from the translation by Taylor verbatim for his *William and Helen*, and the incident itself turned his attention to Bürger and to German literature.<sup>23</sup> So Southey calls the same translation of Taylor's "one of the eras in my intellectual history."<sup>24</sup>

This was but the beginning: and it may be said with assurance that from this moment Bürger's *Lenore* becomes one of the keynotes of the English romantic movement. Every poet, major or minor, however little else he may know of German literature, knows Bürger's *Lenore*, and is, in his way, affected by the stirring rhythm and weird figures of the poem.

Much that Taylor wrote on German literature, both in the way of translation and comment, was, in 1828-30, gathered in the *Historic Survey of German Literature*. In this work Carlyle sardonically claimed that he had discovered the "approximate amount" of 1500 errors. Nevertheless, this work contains some of the best translations of German poetry that our language possesses, and it is the final effort of a writer who did

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Robberds, I, 92.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93f.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 453.

more to introduce the literature of England's neighbor to public notice than any other man before or since, Carlyle, perhaps, excepted.

### III

Before considering how much of such translations Wordsworth knew, a further preliminary problem remains to be settled: Just how much German did the immediate circle of the poet know? Among this circle may be reckoned the following: Dorothy Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, DeQuincey, and Henry Crabb Robinson. I shall consider each of these in turn.

The reports as to Dorothy's knowledge of German are conflicting. In her *Journals* we find numerous entries from which it is clear that she is studying German. In her *Journal written at Grasmere*, for example, from Jan. 1 to July 8, 1802,<sup>35</sup> she remarks repeatedly that she is studying German and reading German literature, particularly Lessing. Sometimes, as I have noted, the references are in the plural; e. g., "We did a little of Lessing."<sup>36</sup> Sometimes, in fact, it is definitely stated that the brother worked together with his sister; e. g., "I read German, and a little before dinner William also read."<sup>37</sup> Is this the *Laokoön*? The entries, however, soon cease, despite the assertion on Feb. 16, that she is "set on reading German." It must be remembered that this is after the visit to Germany, and the poet and his sister are still studying German grammar. In 1820, however, we find Dorothy Wordsworth able to talk at least simple German to the people among whom her party is traveling. At Frankfort, for example, she speaks to the caretaker of the cathedral tower,<sup>38</sup> and at Domo D'Ossolo<sup>39</sup> she addresses a peasant girl, and is "agreeably surprised at being answered in German, (probably a barbarous dialect), but we contrived to understand one another." Most of the time, however, their friend Robinson, "with his inexhaustible stock

<sup>35</sup> The fifth in Knight's collection, *Journals*, I, 51f.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>37</sup> March 3, *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>38</sup> *Journals*, II, 188.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

of kindness and his German tongue"<sup>40</sup> acts apparently as interpreter. From her letter to DeQuincey on April 5, 1809,<sup>41</sup> it seems that she read Klopstock and his wife's letters in translation and not in the original. DeQuincey, we may say in conclusion, scoffed at Dorothy Wordsworth's supposed German attainments. He says in his *Literary Reminiscences*:<sup>42</sup>

Of French she might have barely enough to read a plain modern page of narrative; Italian, I question whether any. German, just enough to insult the German literati, by showing how little she had found them or their writings necessary to her heart. The *Louise* of Voss, the *Hermann und Dorothea* of Goethe she had begun to translate, as young ladies do *Telemaque*: but, like them, had chiefly cultivated the first two pages: with the third she had a slender acquaintance, and with the fourth she meditated an intimacy at some future day.

Coleridge's knowledge of German was, of course, immensely greater. There seems little doubt, both from his own statements and from the testimony of others competent to judge, that he understood German very well. While at Ratzeburg in 1798 Coleridge took care to acquire not only the language of German philosophers and of the literati, but likewise of the street gamin, of the comic almanac, and of the peasantry. He thus actually learned to speak idiomatic and forceful German, the enunciation marked, of course, by that same nasal snuffiness that corrupted his English speech. That he read German almost as fluently as English, one can scarcely doubt.

His reading in German, as in English, was omniverous. The mere titles of the poems he translated, as they appear in his collected poems, is sufficient proof of this. He seems to have had a series of successive enthusiasms. His earliest love was Schiller, and the story of his first reading of the *Robbers*, in Tytler's translation, is well known. He writes to Southey in November, 1794:<sup>43</sup>

'Tis past one o'clock in the morning. I sat down at one o'clock to read the *Robbers* of Schiller. I had read, chill and trembling, when I came to the part where the Moor fixes a pistol over the robbers who are asleep. I could read no more. My God, Southey, who is this Schiller, this convulser of the heart? Did he write his tragedy amid the yelling of fiends? I should not like to be able

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>41</sup> *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, I, 419.

<sup>42</sup> *Works*, II, 297.

<sup>43</sup> *Letters of Coleridge*, pp. 96-7.

to describe such characters. I tremble like as aspen leaf. Upon my soul, I write to you because I am frightened. I had better go to bed. Why have we ever called Milton sublime?

It must have been about this time that Coleridge composed his famous sonnet when, in a "wild ecstasy," he apostrophizes the author of the *Robbers* as—

. . . . bard tremendous in sublimity.

Later he translated *Wallenstein* in fine blank verse, if with omissions, additions, and frequent blunders and misunderstandings. By a special arrangement with Schiller he published his version in the very year of its appearance in Germany. In 1798 at Nether Stowey, Coleridge and Wordsworth, among other projects, determined to write a prose-poem which should form a sequel to Gessner's *Death of Abel*, and Coleridge actually composed part of the epic.

In Germany, Coleridge's panegyrics were lavished largely on Lessing, whose complete works he proposed to translate and for a biography of whom he gathered a great mass of materials.<sup>44</sup> At the same time he spent a great deal of energy in mastering Kant, often astonishing native Germans by his command of the involved system and terminology of the Königsberg sage. With Fichte and Schelling he was likewise well acquainted, though in later years he querulously maintained that such similarities as existed between his system of ideas and theirs were purely accidental and due solely to the fact that all three had laid their foundations in Kantian transcendentalism. He became equally indignant over the similar parallelisms that were drawn between his lectures on Shakespeare and those of Schlegel, but there is little doubt that he knew the works of the German critic and drew from them.

How much Wordsworth owed to Coleridge in this respect as in others is, of course, an open question. Coleridge's stream of ideas was, no doubt, highly stimulating to Wordsworth, and to it must be attributed part, at least, of the vigor of Wordsworth's early work. That Coleridge talked often and fluently to his friend on German literature and German philosophy is absolutely certain. That he infected him in part seems quite probable. "But to my private self," says Carlyle in his *Reminis-*

<sup>44</sup> Brandl, Coleridge, pp. 253f.

*cenes*,<sup>45</sup> "his [i.e., Wordsworth's] divine reflections and unfathomabilities seemed stunted, scanty, palish, and uncertain; perhaps in part a feeble reflex (derived at second hand through Coleridge) of the immense German fund or such." A similar opinion is expressed by Masson: "Whatever speculative insight was obtained by Coleridge during his whole life was evidently communicated, if not in the form of conception, to the less analytic poet."<sup>46</sup> Later, I shall consider some definite instances showing this personal influence of Coleridge on Wordsworth for the transmission of German ideas.

DeQuincey's potential transmission of German ideas is much harder to gauge. Probably the Opium-eater talked with divine copiousness and irresponsibility on this as on every other topic in the wide universe, and talked with considerable knowledge if with many prejudices. He does not definitely state, so far as I can discover, that he ever discussed German literature or German philosophy with Wordsworth, but it is at least possible that he did so. His opinions of Germany and how they may have influenced Wordsworth, I shall discuss later. One can say at most, that if Wordsworth wanted any information on German romancers or philosophers, he may have turned to DeQuincey for his facts, and in that case he would have received them mingled with much romancing and much philosophizing far from German; and it is very likely indeed that before concluding his discourse DeQuincey would have wandered off in a lengthy divagation on secret codes among medieval monks or on the writings of the Greek refugees in Italy in the Renaissance or on the heraldry of the Caesars. At least the aura of DeQuincey, so to speak, like that of Coleridge, was strongly tinged with the ultra-violet of Teutonism.

Southey, for many years an intimate associate of Wordsworth, came into contact with German ideas largely through his voluminous correspondence with Taylor of Norwich, a correspondence which began July 24, 1798 and continued till the death of Taylor, in 1836. Southey writes to Taylor on Sept. 2, 1805:<sup>47</sup> "When I have learned German, I will read

<sup>45</sup> P. 529.

<sup>46</sup> *Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats*, pp. 23-4.

<sup>47</sup> *Robberds, Op. cit.*, II, 96.

everything in that language relative to Portugal myself"; and he makes reference elsewhere to his desires in this direction. Evidently Southey at this time knew no German, and, so far as I can judge, he never learned much of the language. The correspondence of the two men, however, is full of allusions and references to German literature. Thus in the letters of 1798 (covering a period of about six months), we find the following names: Goethe, Gessner's *Eclogues*, Voss's *Louise*, Klopstock's *Odes*, Kotzebue, Schiller's *Don Carlos*, Voss's *Musenalmannach*, Voss's *Eclogues*, and Kant. In some cases translations by Taylor accompany the letters.<sup>48</sup> In a letter of Feb. 24, 1799,<sup>49</sup> Southey, after expressing disappointment that so little had been said in the *Monthly Review* about Voss's *Louisa*, cries: "You have made me hunger and thirst after German poetry."

There are frequent references to Wordsworth in the letters. Southey says, for example, in July, 1864,<sup>50</sup> when inviting Taylor to visit him, "Here is Wordsworth to be seen, one of the wildest of all wild beasts, who is very desirous of seeing you." This statement is repeated Nov. 23, 1804. Whether Wordsworth saw Taylor's letters to Southey and the accompanying verses is, of course, mere guesswork. My own opinion is that he saw many of them. The letters of both Southey and Taylor were of the kind meant to be "shown about."

Henry Crabb Robinson was a young Englishman who studied in Germany a number of years, became acquainted with many of the chief writers of Germany, including Goethe, and to the end of his life continued to be an ardent but sane advocate of German philosophy and literature. From his exhaustive diary it appears that his two chief idols were Goethe and Wordsworth—a curious choice, inasmuch as the German poet was loathed by the English poet, as we shall see later. It was, indeed, the great sorrow of Robinson's life that he could not convert Wordsworth to a liking for Goethe. Meanwhile, it is certain that Robinson talked about German literature to Wordsworth, and did much to give him at least an accurate factual command of German literature and philosophy.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 213-40.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 255.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 516.

These are the chief persons in the Wordsworth circle who had any knowledge of German literature. We must now consider the actual references to this literature which appear in the works of Wordsworth or in the memoirs of the time that refer to the poet.

## IV

The evidence in Wordsworth's own work that he knew German literature is scanty and uncertain. In the entire volume of his poetical works not one German writer is actually mentioned, although one is alluded to. In describing the Preacher in the *Prelude*—

a dainty bachelor,  
Fresh from a toilette of two hours—

he tells us that he drew "ornaments and flowers" from many sources, but particularly from him

who penned, the other day,  
The *Death of Abel*—(*Prelude*, VII, 564f.)

that is, from Salomon Gessner. In the case of a few poems Wordsworth notes, in a brief prose preface, that he has used a German model, either for his material or his verse. These poems will be discussed in the next section. The prefatory note to the sonnet of 1842 beginning—

A Poet! he hath put his heart to school!

state that "when he was more than 70 years old, he was impelled by the disgusting frequency with which the word *artificial*, imported with other impertinences from the German, is employed by the writers of the present day," to compose the poem in question. Just what Wordsworth meant I do not know, but the sentiment regarding the Germans is interesting. Wordsworth visited the Rhine a number of times, but although he writes poems on German scenes, as *In the Cathedral at Cologne* and *In a Carriage upon the Banks of the Rhine*, there is none with any typically German tinge. What seems to have especially interested Wordsworth was the economic and political condition of the country, the contrast of the poverty of the people and the loveliness of the land, the shocking dis-



orders of the petty German governments. Thus during the Napoleonic wars, he watched with ardor Germany's efforts to throw off the French yoke, and in his sonnet, *A Prophecy February, 1807*, he cries—

High deeds, oh Germans, are to come from you!

and it is his belief that—

the mighty Germany,  
She of the Danube and the Northern sea—

will arise a nation true to herself. But later, in 1809, in the sonnet beginning—

Alas! what boots the long laborious quest  
of moral prudence,

he comments on the futility of intellectual labors:

If sapient Germany must lie deprest  
Beneath the brutal sword.

So, too, in the *Excursion* (Book VIII, 798f.) he mentions—

Those fatal fields,  
On which the sons of mighty Germany  
Were taught a base submission.

Later we shall find similar expressions in Wordsworth's prose works. As we have already seen, Wordsworth was acquainted, more or less thoroughly in translation, with the following authors: Klopstock, Schiller, Wieland, Lessing, Bürger, Goethe, Kotzebue, Voss, and Kant. In his prose works Wordsworth refers to some of these; others are quite unnoted, either in his own writings or in his conversations with contemporaries.

In his *Essay Supplementary to the Preface of the Poems of 1815*, Wordsworth says:

At this day, the French Critics have abated nothing of their aversion to this darling of our Nation [Shakespeare]. "the English, with their bouffon de Shakespeare" is as familiar an expression among them as in the time of Voltaire. Baron Grimm is the only French writer who seems to have perceived his infinite superiority to the first names of the French Theater; an advantage which the Parisian critic owed to his German blood and German education. . . . The Germans only, of foreign nations, are approaching towards a knowledge and feeling of what he is. In some respects they have acquired a superiority over

the fellow-countrymen of the Poet: for among us it is a current, I might say, an established opinion, that Shakespeare is justly praised when he is pronounced to be "a wild irregular genius, in whom great faults are compensated by great beauties."

The opinion here stated is interesting for various reasons. It is very evidently a reflex of the opinion of Coleridge, expressed in the *Biographia Literaria*, that it was Lessing who first proved, even to Shakespeare's own countrymen, "the true nature of his apparent irregularities." Nevertheless, in the controversy which arose when critics pointed out how great was the debt Coleridge in his lectures on Shakespeare owed to Schlegel, Coleridge, says Haney,<sup>51</sup>

was so embittered by the imputation that he rescinded a Tribute which he had previously paid to German criticism and involved himself in a flat contradiction. He even sneered at Wordsworth for having "affirmed in *print* that a German critic *first* taught us to think correctly concerning Shakespeare."

Bürger is mentioned several times in the prose writings of Wordsworth, and generally in a favorable tone. In his *Essay Supplementary*, previously cited, occur two such references. In one, Wordsworth, after observing that Bishop Percy in his own character as a poet did not dare to follow the model of the ballads, remarks:

I mention this remarkable fact with regret, esteeming the genius of Dr. Percy in this kind of writing superior to that of any other man by whom in modern times it has been cultivated. That even Bürger (to whom Klopstock gave, in my hearing, a commendation which he denied to Goethe and Schiller, pronouncing him to be a genuine poet, and one of the few among the Germans whose works would last) has not the fine sensibility of Percy, might be shown from several passages, in which he has deserted his original only to go astray.

#### A little later again he remarks:

The compilation [Percy's *Reliques*] was, however, ill-suited to the then existing taste of city society; and Dr. Johnson, 'mid the little senate to which he gave laws, was not sparing in his exertions to make it an object of contempt. The critic triumphed, the legendary imitators were deservedly disregarded, and, as undeservedly, their ill-imitated models sank, in this country, into temporary neglect; while Bürger, and other able writers of Germany, were translating or imitating these *Reliques*, and composing, with aid of inspiration thence derived, poems which are the delight of the German nation.

<sup>51</sup> *German Influence on Coleridge*, p. 33.

One notes the constant conjunction of Percy and Bürger, and recalls the fact that Wordsworth purchased the works of both at Hamburg before setting out for Goslar.

I may assemble some incidental references. In his *Essay on Epitaphs* (2), he quotes in the original an inscription which a friend of his "met with in a churchyard in Germany." In the *Supplementary Essay* he regrets that in translating Milton's "small poems," "a man of the acknowledged genius of Voss, the German poet, could suffer their spirit to evaporate." In his Preface of 1800 to the *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth remarks: "The invaluable works of our elder writers, I had almost said the works of Shakespeare and Milton, are driven into neglect by frantic novels, sickly and stupid German tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories in verse." The reference is undoubtedly to Kotzebue, who then, as we have seen, was in the heyday of his popularity. To German political conditions he refers more than once. Thus he declares in *The Convention of Cintra*:

. . . it will be a happy day for Europe, when the natives of Italy and the natives of Germany (whose duty is, in like manner, indicated to them) shall each dissolve the pernicious barriers which divide them, and form themselves into a mighty people.<sup>42</sup>

A little later he says:

The vast country of Germany, in spite of the rusty but too strong fetters of corrupt princedoms and degenerate nobility—Germany—with its citizens, its peasants, and its philosophers—will not be quiet under the weight of injuries heaped upon it.<sup>43</sup>

Wordsworth's letters say very little on the topic we are considering. In the contemporary memoirs, however, occur a considerable number of discussions of German authors, especially of Goethe, in connection with Wordsworth. Let me begin by quoting Carlyle, who, in his *Reminiscences*,<sup>44</sup> describes with his customary frank brutality his meetings with Wordsworth:

<sup>42</sup> *Prose Works*, pp. 110, 252.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

<sup>44</sup> P. 529.

One such time I do remember. . . . Wordsworth sat silent, almost next to me, while Sterling took to asserting the claims of Kotzebue as a dramatist ("recommended even by Goethe," as he likewise urged); whom I with pleasure did endeavor to explode from that mad notion, and thought (as I still recollect), 'This will perhaps please Wordsworth too,' who, however, gave not the least sign of thought or any other feeling.

I have already quoted from the same source Carlyle's belief that Wordsworth derived his "unfathomabilities" largely from Coleridge.

A vivid account of a meeting with Wordsworth and Coleridge at Brussels in 1828 is given by Thos. G. Grattan,<sup>56</sup> who remained with them three days. He describes in a lively manner their appearance and conversation, his eulogy being devoted chiefly to Coleridge. Among the subjects discussed by the latter, in the presence of Wordsworth, was the German language and its literature. Coleridge extolled the copiousness and power of German. He said of Schiller that he had reached the acme of his genius in *Wallenstein*. His previous works had been too wild, his latter too formal. He called Frederick Schlegel a coxcomb, but quoted his opinion that Coleridge's translation of *Wallenstein* was better than the original. Grattan notes that in "all his discourse there was a strong flavor of Kantian transcendentalism and mysticism." In a conversation with Wordsworth on Scott's novels, Grattan tried to prove the merit of these by pointing out their great popularity with various nations, even in translation.<sup>56</sup> "To this Wordsworth replied that 'it proved, if anything, the direct contrary—because the *Sorrows of Werther*, Ossian's *Poems*, and several other such worthless works, were universally translated and read.' Coleridge nodded his head at this, but whether assentingly or in sleep I cannot positively say, but I fear it was the former."

Grattan makes the interesting assertion, which I have been unable to verify, that Wordsworth's son William was a student at the University of Heidelberg.<sup>57</sup> I may quote in connection with this fact, however, a reminiscence of Ellis Varnall,<sup>58</sup> who visited Wordsworth in 1849. Wordsworth said to him that

<sup>56</sup> *Beaten Paths*, II, 107f.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>58</sup> *Wordsworth and the Coleridges*, p. 38.

"Prince Albert's German education, his training at Bonn, was in itself a disqualification," for the position of Chancellor of Cambridge. But this feeling on the part of Wordsworth was due largely to the fact that Prince Albert "was supposed to entertain opinions opposed to classical study as pursued at the English Universities. This he deprecated strongly: he spoke with great animation of the study of the classics."

Three other references to opinions expressed by Wordsworth may be recorded here. In the *Reminiscences* quoted by Smith,<sup>59</sup> it is noted on July 11, 1844: "Mr. Wordsworth went on to say that in his opinion Coleridge had been spoilt as a poet by going to Germany. The bent of his mind, which was at all times very much to metaphysical theology, had there been fixed in that direction. "If it had not been so," said Wordsworth, "he would have been the greatest, the most abiding poet of his age." Crabb Robinson says:<sup>60</sup> "His [Voss's] *Louisa* is certainly a masterpiece, though I cannot but think Wordsworth mistaken in prizing it more highly than *Hermann und Dorothea*." Coleridge, in the following passage in his Preface to the *Wanderings of Cain*, establishes the fact that Wordsworth must have known Gessner's *Death of Abel*.<sup>61</sup>

The title and subject [for a proposed sequel] were suggested by myself, who likewise drew out the scheme and contents for each of the three books or cantos, of which the work was to consist. . . . My partner [Wordsworth] undertook the first canto: I the second: and whichever had done first, was to set about the third. Almost thirty years have passed by; yet at this moment I cannot, without something more than a smile, moot the question which of the two things was the more impracticable, for a mind so eminently original to compose another man's thoughts and fancies, or for a taste so austere pure and simple to imitate the *Death of Abel*? Methinks I see his grand and noble countenance as at the moment when having dispatched my own portion of the task at full finger-speed, I hastened to him with my manuscript—that look of humorous despondency fixed on his almost blank sheet of paper, and then its silent mock-piteous admission of failure struggling with the sense of the exceeding ridiculousness of the whole scheme—which broke up in a laugh: and the *Ancient Mariner* was written instead.

We now come to a series of opinions expressed by Wordsworth on the subject of Goethe—a subject on which the

<sup>59</sup> *Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, p. 250.

<sup>60</sup> *Diary*, I, 169-70.

<sup>61</sup> As Miss Reed has already pointed out (*Influence of Gessner*, p. 71).

English poet was both fluent and vehement. He says, for example, to his nephew the Bishop of Lincoln:<sup>62</sup>

I have tried to read Goethe, I never could succeed. Mr. — refers me to his *Iphigenia*, but I there recognize none of the health and vigor which the heroes and heroines of antiquity possess in the writings of Homer. The lines of Lucretius describing the immolation of Iphigenia are worth the whole of Goethe's long poem. Again, there is a profligacy, an inhuman sensuality, in his works which is utterly revolting. I am not intimately acquainted with them generally. But I take up my ground in the first canto [sic] of *Wilhelm Meister*: and, as the attorney-general of human nature, I there indict him for wantonly outraging the sympathies of humanity. Theologians tell us of the degraded nature of man; and they tell us what is true. Yet man is essentially a moral agent, and there is that immortal and inextinguishable yearning for something pure and spiritual which will plead against these poetical sensualities as long as man remains what he is.

At another time, August 26, 1841, he expressed his opinion of Goethe to Lady Richardson, who thus reports him:

He thinks the German poet is greatly overrated, both in this country and his own. He said, "He does not seem to me to be a great poet in either of the classes of the poets. At the head of the first class I would place Homer and Shakespeare, whose universal minds are able to reach every variety of thought and feeling without bringing their own individuality before the reader. They infuse, they breathe life into every object they approach, but you can never find *themselves*. At the head of the second class, those whom you can trace individually in all they write, I would place Spenser and Milton. In all that Spenser writes you can trace the gentle, affectionate spirit of the man; in all that Milton writes you find the exalted, sustained being that he was. Now in all that Goethe writes, who claims to be of the first class, the *universal*, you find the man himself, the artificial man, where he should not be found; so that I consider him a very artificial writer, aiming to be universal, and yet constantly exposing his individuality, which his character was not of a kind to dignify. He had not sufficiently clear moral perceptions to make him anything but an artificial writer."<sup>63</sup>

Emerson, during his first English tour, called on Wordsworth, and records his contempt for *Wilhelm Meister*:

He proceeded to abuse Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* heartily. It was full of all manner of fornication. It was like the crossing of flies in the air. He had never gone farther than the first part; so disgusted was he that he threw the book across the room. I deprecated this wrath, and said what I could for the better parts of the book, and he courteously promised to look at it again.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Christopher Wordsworth, *Memoirs*, II, 478.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted Smith, *Op. cit.*, pp. 248-49.

<sup>64</sup> *English Traits*, p. 21.

So Matthew Arnold says of Wordsworth: "I remember his saying that 'Goethe's poetry was not inevitable enough.'"<sup>65</sup>

Crabb Robinson, throughout all the years of his acquaintance with Wordsworth, tried to convince him of the worth of the German poet, but without success. To Robinson this was almost the tragedy of his existence. In August, 1829, discussing his visit to Goethe, he says: "He [Goethe] was not aware that I had not the courage to name the poet to whom I was and am most attached—Wordsworth; for I know there were too many dissonances of character between them;"<sup>66</sup> though in another passage<sup>67</sup> Robinson traces several resemblances between Wordsworth and Goethe. Wordsworth was not averse from discussing with Robinson his antipathy to Goethe; and he even urged Robinson to give an account of Goethe as well as to write down his anecdotes of Wieland.<sup>68</sup> It is a curiously ironical circumstance that when Robinson repeated certain sonnets of Wordsworth to Tieck in 1824, the latter should have exclaimed, "This is an English Goethe!" as Robinson took care to let Wordsworth know.<sup>69</sup>

From what sources did Wordsworth get his opinion of Goethe? In part, of course, it was based on original reading in Goethe's *Werther* and perhaps other works—Margraf even thinks it possible that he may have read *Faust*; but in larger part it was an opinion derived from his friends. Take Coleridge first. Of a conversation with him Robinson says:<sup>70</sup> "He conceded to Goethe univesal talent, but felt a want of moral life to be the defect of his poetry." And again in 1812:<sup>71</sup> "I took occasion to apply to Goethe the praise given to Burns for the passage quoted, and this led to my warm praise of the German. Coleridge denied merit to *Torquato Tasso*, and talked of the impossibility of being a good poet without being a good man, adding at the same time the immoral tendency of Goethe's works. To this I demurred." At this conversation, be it noted, Wordsworth was present.

<sup>65</sup> *Essays in Criticism*, II, 155.

<sup>66</sup> *Diary*, II, 439.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 223f.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 84, Jan. 1826.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 10, 458.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 305.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 388-89.

Both Southey and Caroline Bowles maintained a lukewarm attitude toward the German poet. Thus the latter, in a letter to her friend and, later, husband, on July 19, 1833 says:<sup>72</sup>

I can perfectly comprehend your sentiments in regard to Goethe. It is your heart and your nobler nature which revolt against the earthly and sensual character of his. Goethe may have been an inspired writer, but his inspiration was not from above; and who has ever risen the purer, the better, or the happier from the purest and best of his writings? Admiration, disappointment, and disgust has been, I think, the sequence of feeling with which I have read them.

Do you not think Schiller, as a tragic writer, far superior to Goethe and Körner in some of his lyrical pieces?

This is in answer to a letter of Southey,<sup>73</sup> in which he says:

Mrs. Austin has sent me her *Characteristics of Goethe*. . . . The book was brought here by Henry Robinson, a great friend of Wordsworth's, and something more than an acquaintance of mine. . . . There is perhaps no other writer with whom I find myself so often both in sympathy and in dyspathy as with Goethe. Our understandings often come to the same result, our feelings often coincide, our fancies sometimes meet; and yet the antipathies are not less frequent, and are, on the whole, the stronger.

Then, too, William Taylor of Norwich, the correspondent of Southey and admirer, *ipso facto*, almost of all things Teutonic, was himself no more hearty a eulogist of Goethe. He dismissed with what his biographer calls "remarkable brevity" the works and achievements of the German poet in his *Historic Survey*.<sup>74</sup> Robberds attributes this to an early slight administered by Goethe to Taylor, but whatever be the cause, here was another in the intellectual circle of Wordsworth who did but scanty courtesy to the fame of the great German. Even Charles Lamb says, in a letter to William Harrison Ainsworth, on Dec. 9, 1823:<sup>75</sup>

I thoroughly agree with you as to *The German Faust*, as far as I can do justice to it from an English translation. 'Tis a disagreeable canting tale of seduction, which has nothing to do with the spirit of Faustus—Curiosity. Was the dark secret to be explored to end in the seducing of a weak girl, which might have been accomplished by earthly agency? When Marlowe gives *his* Faustus a mistress, he flies him at Helen, flower of Greece, to be sure, and not at Miss Betsy, or Miss Sally Thoughtless.

<sup>72</sup> *Correspondence Southey-Bowles*, p. 276.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Robberds, II, 532.

<sup>75</sup> *Letters*, II, 94.



But the most rabid of all was DeQuincey. What his opinion of Goethe was in 1824, when he reviewed the translation of *Wilhelm Meister* for the *London Magazine*, may be gathered from the following mild specimen:

Not the baseness of Egyptian superstition, not Titania under enchantment, not Caliban in drunkenness, ever shaped to themselves an idol more weak or hollow than modern Germany has set up for its worship in the person of Goethe.

This judgment was modified somewhat in the next few years, and yet when DeQuincey contributed his article on Goethe to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1827-42) he could still say:

It is a fact that, in the opinion of some amongst the acknowledged leaders of our literature for the past twenty-five years, the *Werther* was superior to all which followed it, and for mere power was the paramount work of Goethe. For ourselves, we must acknowledge our assent upon the whole to this verdict; and at the same time we will avow our belief that the reputation of Goethe must decline for the next generation or two, until it reaches its just level. . . . In Germany his works are little read; and in this country not at all.<sup>76</sup>

That this aversion to Goethe was even hereditary may be seen from the following note of Sara Coleridge to the second of *Satyrane's Letters*,<sup>77</sup> written in 1847. Speaking of Kotzebue's plays, she says:

Goethe's poison is subtler, better disguised, than that of such writers as Kotzebue; but it is the strong-minded Goethes of the age that mould the transiently powerful Kotzebues; and it seems likely enough that the author of *The Stranger* received many of his French Revolution principles from the author of *Werther*.

It is little to be wondered at, therefore, that with these opinions in the air around him, Wordsworth should have had but little respect for the great genius whose character was in many respects so like his own. Meusch, in his article *Goethe and Wordsworth*,<sup>78</sup> points out some interesting parallels of thought between the two great poets. Both, for example, were intensely conservative in their maturity, and both were bitterly censured by their younger contemporaries for what the latter regarded as apostasy and defection. In both men is evident a classic self-

<sup>76</sup> *Works*, I, 223, n.; IV, 420-21.

<sup>77</sup> *Works* of Coleridge, III, 534.

<sup>78</sup> *English Goethe Society Pub.*, VII, 87f.

restraint and feeling for order. Both wrote fully and in detail, and may be said to have expressed themselves completely on the topics they chose to discuss. Such being the case, it is all the stranger than Goethe should apparently have known nothing of Wordsworth, and that Wordsworth should have conceived so violent an antipathy to Goethe. Wordsworth's low estimate of Goethe may in part, I think, be ascribed to pure ignorance of the later works of Goethe and in part to the pernicious influence of DeQuincey, who made it one of his erratic foibles constantly to depreciate Goethe in the manner of his sentiments quoted above. The similar views held by Wordsworth and the Opium-eater on *Wilhelm Meister*, for example, are, I think, very significant.

A mention of Wordsworth appears curiously in an account which Alford<sup>79</sup> gives of a letter sent by Carlyle to Goethe on June 10, 1831. "He [Carlyle] is speaking," says Alford, "of a little present that is being prepared for Goethe on his next birthday by a little poetical Tugendbund of Philo-Germans. . . . The little present was a signet seal inscribed with the words *Ohne Hast, Ohne Rast*, accompanied by an address from fifteen English friends, who, as they express it, or rather, perhaps, as Carlyle expresses it, 'feeling towards the poet Goethe as the spiritually taught towards their spiritual teacher, are desirous to express that sentiment openly and in common.' " Among these fifteen names appears that of Wordsworth. Alford adds: "One imagines that the feeling of Southey [also one of the fifteen] and Wordsworth as to the 'spiritual teacher' may have been comparatively transient."

## V

We now come to the most important section of this essay, the problem of how much actual influence was exerted on Wordsworth by the German authors I have mentioned. I may state frankly at the outset that my results are largely negative. This section will be, in fact, an examination of a number of assertions, particularly by German commentators, that this or that German work is the model for one or another of Wordsworth's poems. The mere fact, of course, that a man has read a poem or even a

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Alford, "Goethe's Earliest Critics in English," *English Goethe Society Pub.*, VII, 22f.

book does not prove that it has exerted any direct influence on him. It is a truism often forgotten by the German commentators, that much of what we read, in these days of many volumes, leaves no more impression on our memory than if it had been written upon water. Nor, indeed, can one resort to any theory of the subconscious mind, in which many students today find a solution for all psychological problems. Were a man to remember, even faintly, all that he had read, he would die, not, indeed, of a plethora of thought, such as Wordsworth attributed to Shakespeare, but rather of the anarchic strife of mutually repugnant notions, violently struggling to survive.

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So, no doubt, many of the poets of this time, Wordsworth included, read more or less widely in the newly blossomed German literature; but were wise enough—at least Wordsworth apparently was—not to attempt to assimilate it all. "Some books are to be tasted," and having been tasted to be laid aside, with no more than a passing remembrance of their flavor. Wordsworth in his wisdom knew that German literature was not the food he needed, nor, indeed, any books, but rather the thoughts induced by the hills and heaths of Cumberland. So in most cases the verdict in the trial of some German classic *vs.* Wordsworth will be "Not guilty" or at worst, "Not proven!"

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" Robberds, I, 214.

restraint and feeling for order. Both wrote fully and in detail, and may be said to have expressed themselves completely on the topics they chose to discuss. Such being the case, it is all the stranger than Goethe should apparently have known nothing of Wordsworth, and that Wordsworth should have conceived so violent an antipathy to Goethe. Wordsworth's low estimate of Goethe may in part, I think, be ascribed to pure ignorance of the later works of Goethe and in part to the pernicious influence of DeQuincey, who made it one of his erratic foibles constantly to depreciate Goethe in the manner of his sentiments quoted above. The similar views held by Wordsworth and the Opium-eater on *Wilhelm Meister*, for example, are, I think, very significant.

A mention of Wordsworth appears curiously in an account which Alford<sup>79</sup> gives of a letter sent by Carlyle to Goethe on June 10, 1831. "He [Carlyle] is speaking," says Alford, "of a little present that is being prepared for Goethe on his next birthday by a little poetical Tugendbund of Philo-Germans. . . . The little present was a signet seal inscribed with the words *Ohne Hast, Ohne Rast*, accompanied by an address from fifteen English friends, who, as they express it, or rather, perhaps, as Carlyle expresses it, 'feeling towards the poet Goethe as the spiritually taught towards their spiritual teacher, are desirous to express that sentiment openly and in common.' " Among these fifteen names appears that of Wordsworth. Alford adds: "One imagines that the feeling of Southey [also one of the fifteen] and Wordsworth as to the 'spiritual teacher' may have been comparatively transient."

## V

We now come to the most important section of this essay, the problem of how much actual influence was exerted on Wordsworth by the German authors I have mentioned. I may state frankly at the outset that my results are largely negative. This section will be, in fact, an examination of a number of assertions, particularly by German commentators, that this or that German work is the model for one or another of Wordsworth's poems. The mere fact, of course, that a man has read a poem or even a

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book does not prove that it has exerted any direct influence on him. It is a truism often forgotten by the German commentators, that much of what we read, in these days of many volumes, leaves no more impression on our memory than if it had been written upon water. Nor, indeed, can one resort to any theory of the subconscious mind, in which many students today find a solution for all psychological problems. Were a man to remember, even faintly, all that he had read, he would die, not, indeed, of a plethora of thought, such as Wordsworth attributed to Shakespeare, but rather of the anarchic strife of mutually repugnant notions, violently struggling to survive.

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<sup>50</sup> Robberds, I, 214.

As with the Swiss poet, the hero of the piece is a murderer for good motives; in other words, to bring wife and children some plunder from foreign ports. He is pursued by the fury of the elements—the very rocks roll down behind him. He meets the widow of a murdered man, just as Cain meets the widow of Abel, and sees the misery caused by a crime similar to his own. And again, like Cain, he meets his own family, and also perceives the burden which his guilt has laid on his wife, and how faithfully, in spite of all, she clings to him. All this awakens the voice of conscience in him, so that he invokes judgment and vengeance on himself.<sup>81</sup>

With this opinion Margraf also coincides, as does Fräulein Gothein, although both are inclined to trace, rather, the influence of Schiller's *Robbers*. Ziegler,<sup>82</sup> on the contrary, concludes that there is small force in these parallels. He insists that the coincidences are merely those of nature in general, and that the two works are distinct in such significant fashion, that any borrowing seems improbable. Wordsworth himself says that he based part of his story on actual occurrences. In tone the two poems are as far apart as the poles; Gessner's is pietistic, highly sentimental; Wordsworth's is full of "natural piety," but reserved and dignified.

The differences in plot are as marked as the similarities. *Guilt and Sorrow* has one main plot, the nature of which is explained by two subplots, one of which occupies more space than the principal story. In Gessner the plot is single. Moreover, the sailor criminal in Wordsworth murders a stranger, whose identity is left very vague, and not his brother; he meets the widow, not as Brandl says, of a murdered man, but of a man dead in a pestilence, and there is no connection between this woman and the man the sailor has slain; he meets his own wife only just before her death and by accident, and the sight of her is not the cause of his conversion, as Brandl asserts, but follows a long period of repentance and suffering. In Wordsworth the sailor, as he actually appears, is kind and humane; in Gessner Cain is bitterly jealous and cruel. In Gessner Cain and his wife face the world together, in a passage imitative of a famous description in *Paradise Lost*; in Wordsworth, as I have noted, the wife dies just as her husband appears. To me the resemblances seem little more than accidental.

<sup>81</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 194.

<sup>82</sup> *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Einflusses der neueren deutschen Literatur auf die Englische*, p. 28, n.

Miss Reed proceeds to point out some general resemblances between Wordsworth and Gessner. She shows that both the English poet and the German were fond of children, showed sympathy for animals, understood the miseries of rural existence, prefer country scenes, deprecate the struggle for wealth, express their hatred for war, and so on. Miss Reed is here attributing to the influence of Gessner qualities in Wordsworth that he may equally well have derived from a dozen other sources, especially at that period.

Despite the unflattering opinion which Wordsworth held of Goethe, attempts have been made to trace the influence of the latter upon the English poet. Among those who have attempted this, curiously enough, is Lowell, who in his essay on Wordsworth<sup>83</sup> contends that "there is certainly a marked resemblance both in form and sentiment between some of his earlier lyrics and those of Goethe," although he admits that "on the whole, it may be fairly concluded that the help of Germany in the development of his [Wordsworth's] genius may be reckoned as very small." Otto Heller<sup>84</sup> also calls attention to certain parallels of thought in the First Part of *Faust* and Book IV of the *Excursion*. But he adds:

I do not attach much importance to the question. For the analogies cited above, and for many others, I find a satisfactory explanation in the fact that all natural poetry in the time of the Lake School was pantheistic, frankly so in many cases, though in others under atheistic cloak. . . . In view of this, it is small wonder that Goethe's and Wordsworth's thoughts should frequently flow in the same channel.

Margraf agrees with Heller on this point, though he notes the same parallels. The influence of Goethe's *Götz* has also been traced on *The Borderers*. It does not appear to me necessary to pursue any further this rather unlikely influence.

A peculiarly difficult phase of our general problem is the attempt to decide whether German philosophy, especially the doctrines of Kant and of his two chief followers Fichte and Schelling, exerted any influence upon the opinions of Wordsworth. If it was present, the influence might have reached him directly in the writings of these philosophers, though this seems improbable; or indirectly, through interpretation by Coleridge.

<sup>83</sup> *Among My Books*, pp. 223f.

<sup>84</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIV, 263f.

As I have pointed out above, Coleridge went to Germany a determined disciple of Kant, and while at Ratzeburg and Göttingen astonished many Germans by his intimate familiarity with Kantian doctrines. During the period of his stay the influence of Fichte was gathering to a climax, as Adamson points out,<sup>86</sup> but that of Schelling was contending with it for the mastery.<sup>86</sup> When he returned home Coleridge undoubtedly talked endlessly of the men I have mentioned; and Wordsworth, with his profound respect for the intellect of his friend, just as undoubtedly, listened patiently. Wordsworth, in fact, has borne testimony as to some of the metaphysical notions with which Coleridge attempted to inoculate him. He says in the *Prelude*, a poem, as we should remember, addressed especially to Coleridge,

Thou, my Friend, art one  
More deeply read in thy own thoughts; to thee  
Science appears but what in truth she is,  
Not as our glory and our absolute boast,  
But as a succedaneum, and a prop  
To our infirmity. No officious slave  
Art thou of that false secondary power  
By which we multiply distinctions, then  
Deem that our puny boundaries are things  
That we perceive, and not that we have made.  
To thee, unblinded by these formal arts,  
The unity of all hath been revealed (II, 210-221).

With this conception of science and of nature, compare the philosophy of Fichte as it is stated by Wernaer:

The external world, now deprived of its metaphysical background, became a mere concept of the mind. Tree, mountain, and beast ceased to have real, independent existence, and became a part of man's sovereign will. Man could create the things of the world and annihilate them. They were when they were in his mind, not otherwise.<sup>87</sup>

So, too, he says of the later influence of Schelling<sup>88</sup>:

The romanticists, on the other hand, bent as they were upon the enrichment of their inner life, and confident in the sovereignty of the human mind, thought themselves endued with powers capable of getting at nature's mysteries in a more direct and swifter way than through slow, elaborate scientific study.

<sup>86</sup> *Fichte*, p. 52.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Weddigen, *Geschichte der Einwirkungen der deutschen Litteratur auf die Litteraturen der übrigen europäischen Kulturvölker der Neuzeit*, p. 22.

<sup>87</sup> *Romanticism in Germany*, p. 136.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 141f.



They had welcomed Fichte, because he had helped to strengthen their confidence in their powers; they welcomed now Schelling and his philosophy of nature for similar reasons. For Schelling did not proceed to enter into an understanding of nature through empirical observation, but *a priori*. As a pupil of Fichte and as a faithful transcendental idealist he started from the mind of man, from the ego, and transferred the knowledge thus gained over to *naturam*, to the non-ego. The idea being that, inasmuch as man came by a process of development from nature, he had all the needed knowledge about nature already in himself.

The resemblance of these passages to the general thought of Wordsworth is sufficiently close to be noteworthy. A number of commentators have found in Wordsworth definite traces of these three German thinkers. Johannes Scherr thinks that the pantheistic influence manifest in the poetry of both Wordsworth and Coleridge is to be attributed directly to the influence of Schelling. A. C. Bradley is confident that, just as Coleridge in 1797 interpreted "Wordsworth's poetic experience" by talking to him about Spinoza, so "afterwards he supplied him with some Kantian ideas."<sup>89</sup> Bradley, too, without attempting to assert any actual connection, points out some close resemblances between the poetry of Wordsworth and German philosophy, especially Hegel's; for example, the common belief in a unifying "soul of all the worlds"; the common interest in mythological religions; the common philosophical optimism; and the common attitude of Wordsworth and at least Hegel among the Germans toward politics. Another parallel might be drawn between the conversion of Wordsworth to conventional religious thought in his latter years and Schelling's remarkable attempt to reconcile Kant's transcendentalism with current religious doctrines.

Professor Herford finds in Wordsworth's preoccupation with the creative power of the imagination, an idea that is developed in the *Prelude* and in the great *Ode on Immortality*, "a point of view which the influence of Coleridge—and especially of the Kantian Coleridge of 1800—tended to confirm."<sup>90</sup> So far as I am aware, the only other definite poem that is ever cited in the attempt to prove the German philosophical influence on Wordsworth is the *Ode to Duty*, in which a number of commentators, including Margraf and Gothein, have traced the influence of Kant's "categorical imperative."

<sup>89</sup> *English Poetry and German Philosophy*, p. 19, n.

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

Coleridge undoubtedly exerted a powerful influence upon Wordsworth's philosophical concepts—Bradley is right, I believe, in ascribing Wordsworth's failure to advance intellectually in his later years to the cessation of his intercourse with Coleridge. The only question that remains is: Were Coleridge's doctrines his own, or were they derived from German sources? This is a question that cannot be settled here, as it would involve a long and ultimately unsatisfactory investigation into the troubled realm of Coleridge's opium-haunted psychoses. Though his own attitude on this point is fairly clear, what he says is, as usual, not to be taken without some allowance. I shall quote his statements and let the case stand with that. In a letter to J. H. Green<sup>91</sup> he says of Fichte and Schelling:

As my opinions were formed before I was acquainted with the school of Fichte and Schelling, so do they remain independent of them, though I confess great obligations to them in the development of my thoughts, and yet seem to feel that I should have been more *useful* had I been left to evolve them myself without knowledge of their coincidence.

In the same letter, after making certain deductions on the score of his remarks on religion, he says of Kant:

But with these exception, I reverence Immanuel Kant with my whole heart and soul, and believe him to be the only philosopher, for *all men* who have the power of thinking. I cannot conceive the liberal pursuit or profession, in which the service derived from a patient study of his works would not be incalculably great, both as cathartic, tonic, and directly nutritious.

This is in 1817. He repeats the statement of his independence of German thought in a later letter—1825—to John Taylor Coleridge.<sup>92</sup>

To Lessing has been ascribed the germ of the idea of the supposedly unnatural father, found in both *The Borderers* and *Nathan the Wise*; and a parallel has been drawn by Brandl and by Stanfleben between Marmaduke and the Templar in the same plays. To Lessing, also, Wordsworth may owe certain critical doctrines already mentioned.

We now come to three writers whose influence has either been acknowledged by Wordsworth himself or has been so strongly asserted by commentators as to give it a particular importance.

<sup>91</sup> *Letters*, p. 683.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 735.

The first of these is Frederica Brun, a Danish-German poetess of the school of Klopstock and Matthison, who has been mentioned before only in passing. From one of her poems Coleridge drew the material for his *Hymn before Sunrise*. Wordsworth, in a note to his *Seven Sisters, or the Solitude of Binnorie*, states that he founded this poem on Brun's *Die Sieben Hügel*. He follows her story very closely, but changes the scene to Scotland and makes some metrical alterations.

The second of these authors to whom I have referred is Bürger, whom Wordsworth singled out for mention, more or less favorably, in his prose works. In his *Ellen Irwin* he adopted, as he himself states, "a construction of stanza quite new in the language; in fact, the same as that of Bürger's *Leonora*, except that the first and third lines do not, in my stanzas, rhyme." In a note upon the *Seven Whistlers*, who are mentioned in his sonnet (1807), *Though narrow be that old Man's cares*, Wordsworth says that "the superstition of Gabriel's Hounds appears to be very general over Europe, being the same as the one upon which the German poet, Bürger, has founded his *Ballad of the Wild Huntsman*." These are the only instances in which Wordsworth himself has acknowledged Bürger's influence, if the last quotation may be reckoned such an acknowledgment. Zeiger, however, traces the further influence of the last mentioned poem of Bürger's upon the description of the chase in *Hartleap Well* (1800), but to my mind the action in Bürger's poem is much more rapid than in Wordsworth's, nor do the details appear to me at all similar. There are, however, occasional similarities of phrasing. Margraf again hears an echo of *Leonora* in the desire of Margaret, in the poem called the *Affliction of Margaret* (1804), that her son might return even as a ghost to her. Dowden<sup>83</sup> finds in the *Danish Boy* indications of German influence, an influence hinted at by the note to the poem.

Margraf and Lowell alike find close resemblances between Wordsworth's *The Thorn* (1798) and Bürger's *Des Pfarrers Tochter von Taubenhain*, both in the story of a betrayed girl and in phrasing. There is undoubtedly, as Lowell points out, a remarkable similarity in the "conscientious measurement" of the little grave, in Bürger "drei Spannen lang," in Words-

<sup>83</sup> Wordsworth's *Poetical Works*, I, 40.

worth "just half a foot in height." Yet the poem was written before Wordsworth's journey to Germany; he himself says that it was founded on an attempt to idealize by invention an object of local interest. He might, to be sure, have read the German poem in Taylor's rendering ("three spans in length"), but this is no more than conjecture. Margraf has pointed out that Wordsworth, despite the fact that elsewhere he displays what Margraf calls "peinlicher Gewissenhaftigkeit," fails to mention any indebtedness to the German poet; and he concludes from this fact that the striking resemblances of the two poems are accidental.<sup>94</sup> No other poems of Wordsworth have, to my knowledge, been mentioned as coming under the influence of Bürger.

We have arrived now at the last of the three authors I have mentioned—Schiller, the most popular in England of all German writers. Nevertheless, aside from the conversations with Klopstock and a reference in a letter to Coleridge's sonnet on *The Robbers* as "too much of a rant," there is no mention, to the best of my knowledge, of Schiller anywhere in Wordsworth. Despite this fact, commentators have asserted that seven works or passages of the English poet show the influence of Schiller. First, and most important, is the connection traced between *The Borderers* and *The Robbers*, a connection agreed upon by all who have gone into the matter. Probably the earliest to feel the resemblance was Coleridge, who, writing to Cottle in 1797,<sup>95</sup> says of *The Borderers*: "There are in the piece those profound touches of the human heart which I find three or four times in *The Robbers* of Schiller, and often in Shakespeare." The resemblances between the two plays are unquestionably striking. The title of the English play, its supernumerary characters, and its general conception seem imitative of the German drama. In addition, we have the close parallel of Marmaduke and Karl Moor, both of whom are generous to the poor and the afflicted, even if harsh to the wealthy oppressor; of Oswald and Spiegelberg and of Oswald and Franz—the English poet's character being a compound of the German's two; of Idonea and Amalia. Furthermore, there are similarities of scene and stage effects, and, in some cases, of language. Finally, the total disregard in both plays of the classical unities is to be noted.

<sup>94</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Cottle, *op. cit.*, I, 250.

So far all the commentators, for example, Rea<sup>96</sup> and Sanftleben,<sup>97</sup> agree, but a few note further resemblances. Thus Sanftleben traces a parallel between Herbert, the father of Idonea, and the father of Karl Moor. Yet there is no question in the mind of anyone that Othello had a decided bearing on the working out of the problem of the play, and that the story of Robin Hood was in Wordsworth's mind. Wordsworth himself, in speaking of the composition of *The Borderers*,<sup>98</sup> although he tells us that he went to Ridpath's *History of the Borders* in a search for local color, makes no mention of any indebtedness to Schiller. Nevertheless, I think there is little doubt that Wordsworth imitated Schiller's turgid melodrama.

The influence of this same German play has also been traced on an earlier work of Wordsworth's—*Guilt and Sorrow*, discussed above. Margraf and Gothein both insist that the philanthropic murderer of that poem is a study in Karl Moorishness. To my mind this is more than doubtful, in view of the early composition of the poem. The scene of the Donau in *The Robbers* which Wordsworth praised to Klopstock is said by Zeiger to have influenced the description of the setting sun at the end of *The Excursion*. But this seems to me merely a last desperate effort of the parallelist. Schiller's description, as befits the dramatic style, is brief and pithy; Wordsworth's is, as usual, prolix and involved. The English poet scarcely needed German spectacles to see a sunset.

It is but natural that an attempt should be made to trace the influence of Schiller's *Wallenstein*, translated by Wordsworth's friend Coleridge, upon the work of the former. We have, however, no direct mention of the play in Wordsworth, so far as I know. That Wordsworth should not have read it is scarcely credible. Rea,<sup>99</sup> following Gillies in a Blackwood article of 1823, therefore traces an influence of two passages in *Wallenstein* upon Wordsworth. Max Piccolomini, speaking of the star-searchings of his master Wallenstein, says in a famous outburst on the Greek gods:

<sup>96</sup> Schiller's *Poems and Dramas in England*, pp. 13f.

<sup>97</sup> Wordsworth's "Borderers." Cf. also B. S. Allen, "Analogues of Wordsworth's *The Borderers*," P.M.L.A., XXXVIII, 267-77.

<sup>98</sup> Wordsworth's "Borderers".

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Christopher Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, I, 96f.

<sup>99</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

Die alten Fabelwesen sind nicht mehr,  
 Das reizende Geschlecht is ausgewandert;  
 Doch eine Sprache braucht das Herz; es bringt  
 Der alte Trieb die alten Namen wieder,  
 Und an dem Sternenhimmel gehn sie jetzt,  
 Die sonst in Leben freundlich mit gewandelt;  
 Dort winken sie dem Liebenden herab,  
 Und jedes Grosse brings uns JUPITER  
 Noch diesen Tag, und VENUS jedes Schöne.

This passage Coleridge renders somewhat freely thus:

They live no longer in the faith of reason!  
 But still the heart doth need a language, still  
 Doth the old instinct bring back the old names,  
 And to yon starry world they now are gone,  
 Spirits or gods, that used to share this earth  
 With man as with their friend: and to the lover  
 Yonder they move, from yonder visible sky  
 Shoot influence down: and even at this day  
 'Tis Jupiter who brings whate'er is great,  
 And Venus that brings everything that's fair.

We are asked to compare this passage with one in the fourth book of *The Excursion*, in which Wordsworth, with fine imaginative fervor, describes in a rationalistic fashion the origin of the Greek myths, of the Oreads, for example,

. . . . Sunbeams, upon distant hills,  
 Gliding apace, with shadows in their train,  
 Might, with small help from fancy, be transformed  
 Into fleet Oreads fleeting visibly.

A little later the Sage thinks of his Puritan forbears, and with them he compares the Greek myth-makers:

. . . . Though favored less,  
 Far less, than these, yet such, in their degree,  
 Were those bewildered Pagans of old time.  
 Beyond their own poor natures and above  
 They looked; were humbly thankful for the good  
 Which the warm sun solicited, and earth  
 Bestowed; were glad some,—and their moral sense  
 They fortified with reverence for the gods;  
 And they had hopes that overstepped the Grave.

In no sense of the passage is Wordsworth's explanation a plea for a revival of Hellenism, nor does it in the least suggest that Wordsworth himself wished to people the world again with

spirits and divinities. Moreover, there is not the slightest hint of the germinal thought in the passage from Schiller, that the modern belief in astrology has taken the place of the old belief in the gods, who give their names to the ruling planets.

Rea, following the Germans, sees a connection between this same speech of Max Piccolomini and another passage in Wordsworth, the fifth stanza of the Ode *When the soft hand of Sleep* (1815). Here Wordsworth, addressing the Pierian Sisters, says that though "Truth descending from above the Olympian summit" has destroyed all the other Grecian deities, they have been spared; and he bids them in a manner not particularly novel, to permit him to hear what they have to say concerning British history. If this passage is to be taken as indicating a naïve credence on the part of Wordsworth in the quaint and lovely spirits of the ancient world such as some modern Neo-Hellenists would have us cherish, then almost every poet who has written in epical strain since Homer might be reckoned as belonging to the same school; and every such poet might, in addition, be plausibly cited by German commentators as an imitator of Schiller. On the passage that I have cited from *The Excursion*, Bradley, in his Adamson lecture<sup>100</sup> remarks:

He [Hegel] would have been delighted with the fourth book of *The Excursion*, which is, indeed, curiously like him throughout. Naturally, he had no more idea of worshipping the Gods of Greece than Wordsworth had, but I am sure that he thought there was more truth in them than in the abstract Supreme Being of deistic enlightenment.

To my mind, no more connection is traceable between Wordsworth and Schiller than between Wordsworth and Hegel, with whom the Englishman was certainly unacquainted. The resemblance, such as there is, scarcely extends beyond an accident of phrasing.

The second passage from *The Piccolomini* that has been picked out for similar use is the dialogue of the two Piccolomini and Questenberg in Act I, Scene 4 of *Wallenstein*, on the blessings of peace. This has been compared to Wordsworth's sonnet, *I grieved for Buonaparte*, with its famous lines.

'Tis not in battles that from youth we train  
The Governor who must be wise and good.

<sup>100</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

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 And they had hopes that overstepped the Grave.

In no sense of the passage is Wordsworth's explanation a plea for a revival of Hellenism, nor does it in the least suggest that Wordsworth himself wished to people the world again with



spirits and divinities. Moreover, there is not the slightest hint of the germinal thought in the passage from Schiller, that the modern belief in astrology has taken the place of the old belief in the gods, who give their names to the ruling planets.

Rea, following the Germans, sees a connection between this same speech of Max Piccolomini and another passage in Wordsworth, the fifth stanza of the Ode *When the soft hand of Sleep* (1815). Here Wordsworth, addressing the Pierian Sisters, says that though "Truth descending from above the Olympian summit" has destroyed all the other Grecian deities, they have been spared; and he bids them in a manner not particularly novel, to permit him to hear what they have to say concerning British history. If this passage is to be taken as indicating a naïve credence on the part of Wordsworth in the quaint and lovely spirits of the ancient world such as some modern Neo-Hellenists would have us cherish, then almost every poet who has written in epical strain since Homer might be reckoned as belonging to the same school; and every such poet might, in addition, be plausibly cited by German commentators as an imitator of Schiller. On the passage that I have cited from *The Excursion*, Bradley, in his Adamson lecture<sup>100</sup> remarks:

He [Hegel] would have been delighted with the fourth book of *The Excursion*, which is, indeed, curiously like him throughout. Naturally, he had no more idea of worshipping the Gods of Greece than Wordsworth had, but I am sure that he thought there was more truth in them than in the abstract Supreme Being of deistic enlightenment.

To my mind, no more connection is traceable between Wordsworth and Schiller than between Wordsworth and Hegel, with whom the Englishman was certainly unacquainted. The resemblance, such as there is, scarcely extends beyond an accident of phrasing.

The second passage from *The Piccolomini* that has been picked out for similar use is the dialogue of the two Piccolomini and Questenberg in Act I, Scene 4 of *Wallenstein*, on the blessings of peace. This has been compared to Wordsworth's sonnet, *I grieved for Buonaparte*, with its famous lines.

'Tis not in battles that from youth we train  
The Governor who must be wise and good.

<sup>100</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

To my mind Schiller, in the passage cited as a parallel to this sonnet, does not even hint at the central thought of Wordsworth's poem, that the great ruler is trained in peace and not in war, but merely paints a spirited picture of the blessings of peace from the standpoint of the soldier. Wordsworth, in speaking of the composition of this sonnet, says he took fire while hearing Milton's sonnets read and wrote three of his own, among them this.<sup>101</sup>

Two other poems of Schiller are sometimes mentioned in connection with Wordsworth. Zeiger<sup>102</sup> notes that references have been made repeatedly to the similarity in plan of Wordsworth's *Excursion* and Schiller's *Spaziergang*, and Weddigen<sup>103</sup> sees the presence of vivid resemblances. Dr. Sachs,<sup>104</sup> however, perceives rightly that the likeness of the two poems is superficial, and remarks that Cowper's *Evening Walk* in the same way reminds one of Schiller—and of Wordsworth, be it said. A more interesting parallel is noted between Schiller's *Die Götter Griechenland* and the passage in *The Excursion* on the Greek gods that has already been discussed. The resemblance here is undoubted; and Zeiger<sup>105</sup> maintains that a direct influence may have reached Wordsworth. Until sure proof is adduced that Wordsworth knew this poem in the original (and it is not easy reading for the novice) or by translation (and the material within my reach is not sufficiently extensive to permit a definite conclusion as to the existence of any such translation), the resemblance can hardly be said to be more than a striking instance of like minds proceeding along similar paths.

## VI

The threads may now be gathered up. Three German poets—Brun, Bürger, and Schiller—undoubtedly influenced Wordsworth. One group, the German philosophers, perhaps reached him through Coleridge. Lessing left a faint, scarcely perceptible coloring on Wordsworth's mind. All in all, he is almost the last

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Christopher Wordsworth, *Op. cit.*, I, 189.

<sup>102</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>103</sup> Weddington, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>104</sup> *Schillers Beziehungen zur französischen und englischen Litteratur*, p. 106

<sup>105</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

writer of this age in England whom one would pick out as an instance of German influence.

How is it that there was so little German influence in the case of Wordsworth? Answers to this query, of course, must remain mere conjecture and surmise. An explanation might be found, first, in the type of ideas which Wordsworth professed after the turmoil of adolescence was over. He was, in a very dogged manner, a classicist in literature (a classicist, that is, of the Landor cast), a reactionary in politics, and a High Churchman in religion. In none of these respects was German literature likely to appeal to him, especially the German literature with which he was familiar, that of the *Sturm und Drang* period. So Rea notes:<sup>106</sup>

German classical literature, indeed, rose at a time when all departments were more or less affected by revolutionary principles, and as it was on translations of the most lax writings that English public opinion was based, the conclusion drawn was that all German writings must be anarchical or immoral. In an article on *De l'Allemagne* of Madame de Staël, a writer in the *Quarterly Review* of 1814 says: "So widely, indeed, was the land overspread with this pestiferous deluge (meaning German writings), that many of the most wholesome herbs and the fairest indigenous flowers received a taint in its progress: and it would be easy to instance some of the most illustrious names both in England and Germany whose early productions were impressed with feelings which they have long since unlearned, with hopes which they soon found it but too necessary to abandon."

The *Anti-Jacobin* definitely aims a shaft at Wordsworth, so far as he was connected with Coleridge, on the score of his associations with Germany:

One of the associates of the *twin* brethren . . . was, not long since, at the University of Goettingen, where he had passed a considerable time with another Englishman, *ejusdem farinae*, for the express purpose of becoming an adept in the mysteries of philosophism, and of qualifying himself for the task of translating such of the favorite productions of the German school as are best calculated to facilitate the eradication of British prejudices. It is a lamentable consideration that the prevalence of these abominable principles should, by giving a wrong bias to the mind, divert it from all useful pursuits, and so impede the beneficial progress of true science.<sup>107</sup>

This charge against the poet of unpatriotic devotion to the atheistic and revolutionary doctrines of Germany seems all the

<sup>106</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>107</sup> Quoted by Perry, "German Influence on English Literature," *Atlantic Monthly*, XL, 136.

more cruel when one considers the intense English feeling of Wordsworth, a feeling emphasized in direct connection with Germany, since it is on his return from that country that he tells England that never till then did he know what love he bore her. It is, in fact, in the character of Wordsworth himself that I would find my second general reason for his obtuseness to German influence. For throughout the course of his life the intensity of his patriotism deepened until it became little more than the typical John Bullish insularity. To a mind like Wordsworth's there was no balm in Gilead if Gilead happened to be a French or a Teutonic city. Thus Leslie Stephen has said: "Every Englishman is an island, it is said, and Wordsworth was thoroughly insular and self-contained by temperament and circumstance."<sup>108</sup> So, too, Emerson remarks:<sup>109</sup> "To judge from a single conversation, he [Wordsworth] made the impression of a narrow and very English mind." To emphasize this feeling, his rusticity, if the term may be used, contributed likewise, that passion of devotion to the soil from which he had sprung and to the scenes amid which his spirit had brooded since his birth. The attachment of the peasant to the land, and Wordsworth was in essence a peasant, sublimated and refined but still a peasant, can in its fashion become narrow-minded and bigoted; it resists new ideas with a stolid indifference that does not care to inquire into value or worth.

Finally, to this national and to this provincial trend of Wordsworth's mind one must add the peculiar bent of the man himself toward absolute independence. He did his own thinking and, what is even more important, his own feeling. So Scherer says: "Wordsworth is simply a hermit who has studied nature much, and has constantly analyzed his own feelings";<sup>110</sup> and Emerson holds similarly: "He had no master but nature and solitude."<sup>111</sup> How little books meant to him, his own *Expostulation and Reply* witnesses, and we have also the testimony of DeQuincey:

Very few books sufficed him; he was careless habitually of all the current literature, or indeed of any literature that could not be considered as enshrining

<sup>108</sup> *Studies*, I, 233.

<sup>109</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>110</sup> *Essays on English Literature*, p. 201.

<sup>111</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

the very ideal, capital, and elementary grandeur of the human intellect. In this extreme limitation of his literary sensibilities he was as much assisted by that accident of his own intellectual condition—viz., extreme, intense, unparalleled *onesideness* (*Einseitigkeit*)—as by any peculiar sanity of feeling. Thousands of books that have given rapturous delight to millions of ingenuous minds for Wordsworth were absolutely a dead letter—closed and sealed up from his sensibilities and his powers of appreciation, not less than from a blind man's eye.<sup>112</sup>

Only through conversation, such as that of Coleridge, could novel ideas penetrate to his ever-active intellect. Even such ideas underwent, in the process of mental digestion, a transmutation that made them for better or worse typically Wordsworthian. His prose and verse alike manifest unmistakably a solid, rather obstinate mind intent only on its own workings and its own ends. It is hard to conceive of Wordsworth, with his peculiar mental temperament, receiving easily influences of any kind. He was, by the urge of his nature, compelled to be idiosyncratically himself at all times. It is because of this fact that Hazlitt<sup>113</sup> can say of him: "He is . . . the most original poet now living, and the one whose writings could least be spared; for they have no substitute elsewhere."

Wordsworth then was like a walled city, on which the enemy made but little impression. His work is largely free from German or from any other influence that we can measure or test. It is, indeed, very obviously swayed by the ebb and flow of many obscure tides of feeling and thought, but, in the phrase of William Watson, they are

Inflowings that divulged not whence they came.

MAX J. HERZBERG

<sup>112</sup> *Works*, II, 287.

<sup>113</sup> *Spirit of the Age*, pp. 344f.

## XVIII. EXPOSTULATION AND REPLY

The poet Wordsworth has been for a century the synonym of wholesomeness and piety. It is only within the past decade that it has become the fashion to regard him as a dangerous influence. There is a school of critics at the present moment who go about sadly shaking their heads over Wordsworth's case. They think it a pity that, like Shelley, he should have devoted so fine a talent to the propagation of a subtly vicious teaching.

These critics speak in the name of True Religion. It is, apparently, not the Christian faith they have in mind; they are not themselves believers in supernatural religion; they do not derive their creed from divine revelation. Their somewhat negative faith consists in a suspicion of Nature. Their main tenet is that Nature is one thing and the moral life another, and that there is no communication between the two. They are particularly scandalized by Wordsworth's notion that he derives spiritual support and inspiration from the contemplation of Nature, from the world of the senses—"those senses," as one of them points out, "which all religions pronounce to be the enemies of man's higher nature."

This somewhat uncompromising statement is to be found in an article by Professor Barry Cerf in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* for December, 1922. It is in this article that the case against Wordsworth is presented in its gravest form. If you can believe Professor Cerf, Wordsworth might better have drunk the hemlock, like Socrates, before he became the corrupter of youth, the accomplice of Rousseau and Bergson in the undermining of rational faith in modern times.

These critics are men of wide scholarship, but in their reading of Wordsworth they sometimes fall short of that literary tact recommended by Matthew Arnold for persons undertaking the interpretation of imaginative literature. They seem, indeed, to consider Wordsworth as a systematic philosopher rather than as an imaginative writer, and they proceed to set forth the errors in his system as gravely as if he were a Descartes, a Schopenhauer, or a Spinoza. And yet they are literary scholars rather than spe-

cialists in philosophy; and Mr. Cerf, in particular, does not seem to me to write with the caution of the professional philosopher, conscious of the ever-shifting sense of words, and always ready to resolve his treacherous technical terms into the elements of common experience and common sense.

The difficulty is that Wordsworth was not a philosopher. He was no doubt often led astray—as to philosophical truth—by the poetic passion for figurative expression. It is the religious Milton who testifies that poetry is “more simple, sensuous, and passionate” than logic. And even looking to the precise logical sense underlying his poetical terms, I have no doubt that a trained analyst could find many a glaring inconsistency between one statement and another in Wordsworth’s poems. It is obvious that at certain times he entertained rather fantastic notions of the natural world (*Lines Written in Early Spring*), though here we should bear in mind his frequent monitory reference to the uncertain limits of perception and imagination—

of all the mighty world  
Of eye and ear—both *what they half create,*  
And *what perceive.*

And I have no doubt that sometimes, especially in the period of the *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth may have been in some confusion of mind as to the precise relations subsisting between our mental world and external nature, and that he may have somewhat exaggerated the part played by eye and ear in the formation of our moral ideals.

There lies the truth of Mr. Cerf’s contention—a truth so long ignored in the somewhat sentimental criticism that prevailed in the age of Victoria. It is a truth worth bringing to light, and I do not wish to question the service rendered by Mr. Cerf in doing so. But in making what is after all a minor point, Mr. Cerf seems to me to be giving a wrong impression of the prevailing tendencies and significance of Wordsworth. Even with a philosopher it is necessary to have regard to the general drift of his teaching. How much more so in the case of a poet, who persuades not by logic but by the spirit and sentiment pervading his work! And I believe that Mr. Cerf has rather overlooked the general drift of Wordsworth’s teaching in placing the emphasis as he has done. I fancy, too, that, as French

scholars, both he and Professor Babbitt have been overinclined to trace in this cautious English poet the bold lines of a system set forth by the doctrinaire Rousseau. In their scholarly zeal they have been inclined to bear too hard on certain poems of an early period, and even these poems they have read rather in the light of their prepossession than in that of Wordsworth's dominant spirit.

Few of us would be able to give a perfectly logical and satisfactory statement of how we arrive at our convictions on ultimate questions. Newman confessed as much for himself and I do not think that Wordsworth should be held to a stricter account than Newman. These Wordsworth critics speak in the name of True Religion, but unfortunately none of them makes very clear what he means by True Religion. Still less does any of them let us know by what means he arrives at his notion of True Religion, except as it is in line with a long tradition, and is somehow sanctioned by the authority of Plato, or Buddha, or Confucius. They object strenuously to what they regard as Wordsworth's repudiation of Reason; but they seem themselves to arrive at the truth, like most of us, through some "higher" faculty of Intuition. If one points out that this faculty of Intuition is much employed by the romantic poets, including Wordsworth, they reply that the intuition of the romantic poet is one thing and the intuition of the Humanist is another. The intuition of the romantic poet, they wish us to understand, is the product of sense impressions, and is accordingly corrupt and misleading; the intuition of the Humanist is the product of spiritual concentration, with the world of the senses shut out. This spiritual intuition is, in some way, more rational; and these critics of Wordsworth are very much distressed at his supposed substitution of mere sensuous revery for the true rational process.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fountain head of all the philosophy implied in the criticism of Wordsworth by Professor Babbitt and Professor Cerf would seem to be an essay by Mr. Paul Elmer More entitled "Definitions of Dualism" and included in *The Drift of Romanticism*, the eighth volume of Shelburne Essays, 1913. This is a serious and plausible attempt to give some account of "the relation of the human soul to nature." But the "insight" on which Mr. More relies so much for guidance among these mysteries does not seem to me essentially different from the "auxiliar light" of Wordsworth's *Prelude*, or what he calls in the *Intimations Ode* the "master-light of all our seeing," which again does not seem



This notion of Wordsworth's philosophy is derived almost wholly from two slight effusions written in the year 1798 and published in the first edition of the Lyrical Ballads—*Expostulation and Reply*, and *The Tables Turned*. It will be worth our while to give a little attention to these poems and the circumstances under which they were written. They are the product of a period when, as is pointed out by the great Wordsworth authorities, Professor Emile Legouis and Professor Arthur Beatty,<sup>2</sup> the poet had grown dissatisfied with the heady philosophy of thinkers like William Godwin, and when, under the influence of sisterly affection and country life, he inclined his ear to the milder suggestions of grove and field. His first uncritical enthusiasm for revolutionary ideals had been largely dissipated by the failure of the French Revolution to realize his rather extravagant hopes for humanity. He had first taken refuge, as he tells us in the *Prelude*, in a cold rationalism, based in a supposed scientific study of the facts of human nature and political economy, unilluminated by any kind of intuition or imaginative insight. This cold rationalism was associated in his mind with books of his time which he had been studying in the hope of solving by science problems which he had no longer the spiritual insight or enthusiasm to solve by faith. But, as he makes clear in the *Prelude*, this attempt proved fruitless. He was lost in the contradictions of thought; he could not arrive, by this kind of reasoning, at any conclusion as to the moral character and significance of the universe. essentially different from what Coleridge calls in his great Ode the voice from the soul,

"A sweet and potent voice, of its own birth,  
Of all sweet sounds the life and element."

<sup>2</sup> Legouis, *The Early Life of Wordsworth*, tr. by J. W. Matthews, London, 1897 (see especially Book III, Chapter I, sections iv and v, and Chapter II). Beatty, *William Wordsworth, his Doctrine and Art in their Historical Relations*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 17, Madison, 1922 (see especially Chapters VI, VII, and X, and particularly pp. 189-191). Professor Beatty presents the most complete systematic study of Wordsworth's philosophy of Nature and of the effect of the associationist psychology on Wordsworth's conception of the relation between man's mind and the outer world. My little essay was written several years ago and before my attention had been drawn to Professor Beatty's brilliant and detailed study; but I am gratified to find how nearly my conclusions agree, in general and in detail, with those of so notable a scholar. The main point of difference lies in the much greater stress laid by Professor Beatty on systematic and consistent philosophy in Wordsworth.

So I fared,  
 Dragging all precepts, judgments, maxims, creeds,  
 Like culprits to the bar; calling the mind,  
 Suspiciously, to establish in plain day  
 Her titles and her honour; now believing,  
 Now disbelieving; endlessly perplexed  
 With impulse, motive, right and wrong, the ground  
 Of obligation, what the rule and whence  
 The sanction; till, demanding formal proof,  
 And seeking it in everything, I lost  
 All feeling of conviction, and, in fine,  
 Sick, wearied out with contrarieties,  
 Yielded up moral questions in despair.<sup>3</sup>

It was then, as Wordsworth goes on to say, that, coming to live with his sister Dorothy in the country, he was recalled by her to a healthier and more natural way of approaching truth. Distracted with overmuch reading of books, with overmuch logical hairsplitting, he wisely gives himself up for the moment to the soothing and normalizing influence of nature. It is spring, and he invites his sister, in charming verse, to put on her "woodland dress," and come out with him and drink in "the spirit of the season" (*To My Sister*). Or perhaps—and now we arrive at the half-playful ballads which are so incriminating in the eyes of his latter-day critics—he goes out alone in the morning to sit on his "old gray stone," leaving his books at home, and when his schoolmaster expostulates with him for his idleness, the poet replies that there are other ways of growing wise than reading books. Our senses themselves drink in wisdom; our minds may be fed directly from Nature.

Not less I deem that there are Powers  
 Which of themselves our minds impress;  
 That we can feed this mind of ours  
 In a wise passiveness.

Again in the evening he returns to the charge, with all the vigor of friendly debate, bidding the pedant put aside his books, and let Nature be his teacher.

She has a world of ready wealth,  
 Our minds and hearts to bless—  
 Spontaneous wisdom breathed by health,  
 Truth breathed by cheerfulness.

<sup>3</sup> *The Prelude*, XI, 293-305.

One impulse from a vernal wood  
 May teach you more of man,  
 Of moral evil and of good,  
 Than all the sages can.

Sweet is the lore which Nature brings;  
 Our meddling intellect  
 Misshapes the beauteous forms of things:—  
 We murder to dissect.

Enough of Science and of Art;  
 Close up those barren leaves;  
 Come forth, and bring with you a heart  
 That watches and receives.

This is practically the whole of the evidence upon which a case has been laid against Wordsworth, charging him with the abandonment of reason as a guide to conduct in favor of the dictates of the senses. It does not seem perverse or irrational on a pleasant spring day, to acknowledge the part of good health and cheer in the attainment of wisdom, or to assert that one may on occasion get more good from a walk in the country than from reading Sanscrit, that one may, at least in spring, and before the age of thirty—

Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,  
 Sermons in stones, and good in everything.

If Wordsworth assured his bookish friend that one impulse from a vernal wood may teach him more than all the sages can, that is the principle upon which the sages themselves have generally acted. Wordsworth on his old gray stone is occupied much like Buddha beneath his sacred Bo tree. Even the college professor is the better for his summer vacation.

It has been particularly held against Wordsworth that he refers to the intellect as "meddling," as if he were altogether repudiating reason. And this passage has been set beside one in the *Prelude* in which he speaks of—

that false secondary power  
 By which we multiply distinctions.

By such expressions, according to Professor Cerf, Wordsworth has "led us to accept the equivalence of feeling and thought, or the proscription of intellect altogether." One has but to

read the passage from the *Prelude* in its context to see that such a statement does not apply. In condemning "that false secondary power by which we multiply distinctions," Wordsworth has not the remotest intention of proscribing the intellect; he does not even wish to proscribe the analytic or descriptive process of science, but to deny its claim, so thoughtlessly put forward by certain psychologists of his time, to give us the whole of the truth about ourselves. As a matter of fact, in his scornful reference to our "meddling intellect," Wordsworth is but expressing that dissatisfaction with descriptive science as a teacher of moral wisdom which everybody feels at one time or another, and which, in particular, his "humanist" critics have themselves so often and vigorously expressed. It is not reason which he is here proscribing, but that business of taking things to pieces and leaving them dead, under the impression that their vital principle has been captured.

Particular offense has been taken, by these critics, at his recommendation, on that spring morning of 1798, of a passive yielding of oneself to the gentle influences of nature. He recommends to the bookish friend a "wise passiveness" to these influences as an antidote to an excess of reading and dialectics. And he is accordingly supposed to be recommending to the man in the street to give up thought altogether in favor of sensation, and let himself drift voluptuously down the stream of impulse. This is reading a great deal into such innocent words. And it is to ignore altogether the well-known account, given in several places by Wordsworth himself, of the various reactions to nature which he experienced in succession. In this same year, 1798, Wordsworth explains, in *Tintern Abbey*, how he passed beyond the stage of mere rapture in the sensations of natural beauty; he has already come to supply "by thought" an "interest unborrowed from the eye"—that is, to *interpret* nature through the mind. And in the *Prelude*, both in the later parts and in those written at a time when, according to his recent critics, he was imbued with vicious "naturalism," there are many references to this *intellectual interpretation* of the language of the senses. He is, he says, a poet precisely by virtue of a faculty for making such an interpretation:

a plastic power  
 Abode within me . . . . .  
 . . . . . An auxiliar light  
 Came from my mind, which on the setting sun  
 Bestowed new splendor . . . . .<sup>4</sup>

Of course, Wordsworth was susceptible, like us all, to the moral tonic of outdoor sights and sounds, bird songs, far views, and he naturally found himself thinking more sanely and feeling more finely under their influence. He was not the first to lift up his eyes unto the hills. He was always impressed with the nice adaptation of the mind to the world of the senses, and of the world of the senses to the mind—that genial reciprocity of subject and object by which they mutually enrich one another, at the same time that they create the world, which has to be taken into account by any one who will make himself a credible philosophy. In the *Recluse*, in a passage which Professor Cerf cites as containing the argument of the *Prelude*, Wordsworth says:

My voice proclaims  
 How exquisitely the individual Mind  
 . . . . . to the external World  
 Is fitted: — and how exquisitely, too,  
 . . . . .  
 The external World is fitted to the Mind.

This is, indeed, such a commonplace of psychology—that the mind and the world are adjusted to each other, are the complements of each other—it is, indeed, a matter of such common observation, that it gives a most unpoetic air of platitude to the passages in which it is solemnly enunciated by Wordsworth in so many words. And yet the passage from the *Recluse* is actually cited by Professor Cerf as in some way noxious and corrupting, as an evidence of that misguided worship of nature that leads not to religion but to “Panthéism”! I am not enough of a philosopher to be sure of my footing on this dubious ground; I am not competent to clear Wordsworth of the charge of heresy. But I had never supposed that the pleasant and fruitful interaction of the subjective and the objective worlds was a

<sup>4</sup> II, 362-70. Observe that this was written probably before Coleridge's *Dejection* which develops the same doctrine. Professor Cerf (p. 620) cites Coleridge's doctrine as sounder than Wordsworth's; but here they are the same.

tenet peculiar to any form of religion or irreligion. In any case it does not seem to me to imply the identity of subjective and objective, though it is certainly consistent with their close association. What it means is, to begin with, that the contemplation of the world of the senses is good for the mind. And I shouldn't suppose that any one, at this time of day, would be inclined to dispute so elementary a truth of psychology.

But so far is Wordsworth from a tendency to lose himself in sensuous revery, to let himself float down the stream of changing impressions, that he gives us over and over again explicit information as to what it is in the natural world that speaks to the *mind* and *spirit*. What has impressed him most in the natural world is the grandeur and permanence of mountains and ocean and the regularity of natural laws: and these features of nature it is that support him spiritually and give an elevation and fixity to his moral life, offsetting the worldly tendency to live in the petty and fickle impulses of the moment. This is the very opposite to what is now attributed to Wordsworth, the disposition to let the unguided senses control the life of the spirit. It is the determination to translate the utterance of the senses into the language of the spirit. One of the earliest passages in the *Prelude*, supposed to have been written within a year of *Tintern Abbey* and the poems addressed to the school-master, is that beginning—

Wisdom and Spirit of the universe!<sup>1</sup>

Again, I can't say whether Wordsworth is here guilty of anything so monstrous as pantheism, but if it is pantheism it has certainly a strangely Platonic cast. Wordsworth may refer to a "Widsom and Spirit of the Universe"; but in the very next line he defines this spirit in terms which are far from being a repudiation of Reason:

Thou Soul that art the eternity of thought.

He takes pains, that is, to define the spirit of the universe as rational or ideal in the Platonic sense.

But however that may be, the important matter is what he has to say of his own good fortune in having had his childish passions intertwined "with high objects, with *enduring things*."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I, 401.

<sup>2</sup> I, 409.

Later on, in boyhood, the coming of the seasons tended to stabilize him spiritually in that they "left a register of *permanent relations*."<sup>7</sup> At the University, again, when tired of the vain dazzle of undergraduate life, he would leave the crowd and peruse "the common countenance of earth and sky," looking for "*universal things*."<sup>8</sup> These universal things he looked for not merely in earth and sky but also in his own mind, where he became aware of that soul which is the eternity of thought—

the Upholder of the tranquil soul  
That tolerates the indignities of Time  
And from the centre of Eternity  
All finite motions overruling, lives  
In glory immutable.<sup>9</sup>

But the passage in the *Prelude* in which he has taken the greatest pains to make clear what it is he looks for in nature and how it may be made of use in training man's spirit, is to be found in that part of the poem which deals with the recovery of his imagination after its temporary eclipse. For a time the poet had been lost in vain dialectics, and so beclouded in vision that he could not find inspiration in those "steadfast laws," that "temperate show of objects that endure," which are an intimation to the reflective mind of what men should seek in themselves.

But, the dawn beginning now  
To reappear, 't was proved that not in vain  
I had been taught to reverence a Power  
That is the visible quality and shape  
And *image of right reason*; that matures  
Her processes by steadfast laws: gives birth  
To no impatient or fallacious hopes,  
No heat of passion or excessive zeal,  
No vain conceits; provokes to no quick turns  
Of self-applauding intellect; but trains  
To meekness, and exalts by humble faith;  
Holds up before the mind intoxicate  
With present objects, and the busy dance  
Of things that pass away, a temperate show  
Of objects that endure; and by this course  
Disposes her, when over-fondly set

<sup>7</sup> II, 292-93.

<sup>8</sup> III, 106-7.

<sup>9</sup> III, 117-21.

On throwing off encumbrances, to seek  
 In man, and in the frame of social life,  
 Whate'er there is desirable and good  
 Of kindred permanence.<sup>10</sup>

Never, Heaven knows, did poet so risk his reputation as a singer to give explicit form to his thought. It is a passage worth the study of the critics who object to Wordsworth's "naturalism." Professor Cerf is the disciple of Professor Irving Babbitt who, in his turn, is much indebted to Mr. Paul Elmer More, the disciple of Plato. They have much to say, all three of them, about the eternal flux of sensations which produces not wisdom and virtue but mental confusion and moral flaccidity, as opposed to the eternal oneness of reason, which leads to moral and mental integrity. In the struggle of the Many and the One, we are often told, the romantics by throwing in their lot with nature, took the side of the distracting Many against the stabilizing One.<sup>11</sup> It is easier to abandon oneself to the Many than to discipline oneself in the pursuit of the One. Wordsworth's "wise passiveness" is really, they tell us, an unwise and weak surrender to the Many. But what of his interpretation of nature, in its lawful regularity, as simply "the visible quality and shape and image of right reason"? What of his prescription of the study of nature as a mirror that

Holds up before the mind intoxicate  
 With present objects, and the busy dance  
 Of things that pass away, a temperate show  
 Of objects that endure?

That sounds very much like a recommendation of the One as against the Many. The language of poetry is not the precise language of metaphysics, and even the metaphysician has been known to be inconsistent or obscure. But is it so certain that the "wise passiveness" of the spring of 1798 means an indiscriminating passiveness to sense-impressions, an abandonment of oneself to uncriticized impulses? Why not say a reasonable submissiveness to that Power that is "the image of right reason," a welcoming attitude toward those benevolent "Powers which of themselves our minds impress"?

<sup>10</sup> XIII, 18-37.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Professor Cerf, p. 618.



Since, however, Wordsworth was so often compelled to take refuge in the beauties and largenesses of dumb nature from the sickening display of ugliness and meanness of mankind in large cities, some of his critics seem to think that he was turning his back on mankind and all its accumulations of moral and rational wisdom, for a self-indulgent plunge in the bath of sensuous impressions.

There are really two articles to this indictment: first, that Wordsworth was in some way preferring an entity called Nature to another entity called Man; and second, that, in turning from Man to Nature, he somehow longed to lose his identity in the stream of sensations designated Nature. "The fundamental error in the romantic outlook," writes Professor Cerf, "proceeds from a shifting of interest away from man to nature."<sup>12</sup> Now, so far as Wordsworth is concerned, while it is obvious that external nature bulks much larger in his poems than in those of a Goldsmith or a Pope, certain great Wordsworthian scholars have shown, by a patient survey of his thought and writing, that he never at any time discontinued his study of humanity or considered anything else his task as a poet. His intention was always, according to M. Legouis, the realistic and moralized presentation of human psychology.<sup>13</sup> The Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* and Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* tell the same story. Or let one but read over the titles of poems in the table of contents. How many poems are there which, even by title, suggest "the shifting of interest away from man to nature"? And when one takes into account what the titles cover, one is still more impressed with the constancy with which Wordsworth is at all times beset with the moral problems of human nature. If in the year 1802 we find him penning a particularly large number of poems to the daisy and the lesser celandine, we have only to read the poems to find that he is shadowing fancifully in these flowers the virtues of which he is particularly fond in human beings—he is no more turning from man to nature than is Robert Herrick when he writes an epigram on "Why flowers change color" or intersperses poems to Julia and on Jollies Wife with poems on Roses and to Daffodils. Wordsworth's poems on daisies are,

<sup>12</sup> P. 638.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also Professor Beatty, especially Chapter X.

in any case, but the relaxations of a poet who in the same year is writing sonnets On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic or on the decay in England of "plain living and high thinking."

But the very best means of determining whether Wordsworth was shifting the interest away from man to nature is to read his own minute record, in the *Prelude*, of the growth of a poet's mind. It is true that the early books of the *Prelude* are full of the sublimities, the impressions of pain and pleasure, which made up Nature to the youthful mind of Wordsworth; for he has undertaken to give the best account he can of the process by which his "infant sensibility" was disciplined and developed into the imaginative power with which he was going to interpret life to himself and his readers, and natural impressions were in his case a dominant influence in this development and discipline. But there is no suggestion that Wordsworth set up for worship, even as a boy, some entity designated Nature, as separate from the whole of experience, which we call life and which includes Man. The college boy who, in the summer vacation, on going home after the frivolous pleasures of a dance, saw the sun rise and became "a dedicated spirit"—to what was he dedicated—to the worship of the sun, shall we suppose? He was dedicated to whatever is the opposite of frivolous pleasure, to the pursuit of moral wisdom and the good of man. It was this pursuit which took him on his walking trip in the Alps, which took him to France during the Revolution and brought him home again, which led him to decline occupations, like the law, that might interfere with his spiritual aims, which supported him in his years of extreme poverty with his sister Dorothy, and inspired him in his poetic collaboration with Coleridge. At a very early age, thanks to the favoring influences of his childhood environment, he had come to feel the potential nobility of men<sup>14</sup> and to realize, even in the city, that humanist ideal by which the race sustains itself in its elevation above the beasts.

Add also, that among the multitudes  
Of that huge city, oftentimes was seen  
Affectingly set forth, more than elsewhere  
Is possible, the unity of man,  
One spirit over ignorance and vice  
Predominant in good and evil hearts;

<sup>14</sup> See especially Books VIII and XIII.

One sense for moral judgments, as one eye  
For the sun's light.

. . . . .  
Thus from a very early age, O friend!  
My thoughts by slow gradations had been drawn  
To human-kind, and to the good and ill  
Of human life; Nature had led me on.<sup>15</sup>

The second point against Wordsworth as a nature poet is that he somehow longed to give up the fight for spiritual integrity and let himself be voluptuously dispersed on the stream of cosmic feeling. "True to its pantheistic origin," says Professor Cerf, "romantic religiosity took the form of an expansive yearning to lose oneself in the universe, to become a part of the cosmic stream: "Rolled round in earth's diurnal course, With rocks and stones, and trees!"<sup>16</sup>

Since the above is almost the sole example Mr. Cerf has to offer of this morbid craving on Wordsworth's part, it is worth while inquiring how good an example it may be. The reader familiar with Wordsworth will recall that these lines occur in a poem in which he refers to the death of a girl or woman dear to him. He had not realized that she was subject to death, to that complete loss of action and sensation which comes upon animal organisms that cease to breathe. But he was mistaken; she *was* subject to death, and she has now become as senseless, as passive to brute forces, as mere natural objects.

No motion has she now, no force;  
She neither hears nor sees;  
Rolled round in earth's diurnal course  
With rocks, and stones, and trees.<sup>17</sup>

It is a magnificent instance of Wordsworth's imagination working with the tools of plainest realism, but no example at all of the malady in question. It is simply a description of a dead person. It has nothing whatever to do with the worship of nature, with romantic revery, or the "expansive yearning to lose oneself in the universe."

The only other passage referred to by Professor Cerf as indicating this "yearning" of Wordsworth is the lines:

<sup>15</sup> VIII, 665-79.

<sup>16</sup> P. 617.

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<sup>16</sup> P. 617.

<sup>17</sup> *A Slumber did my Spirit Seal.*

To her fair works did Nature link  
The human soul that through me ran.<sup>18</sup>

In this connection Professor Cerf remarks: "Man approaches perfection in proportion as he differs from animals and things."<sup>19</sup> I doubt if Wordsworth would at any period have been inclined to deny a proposition so generally acknowledged, though he might have balked at the dogmatic absoluteness with which the thought is phrased. But this is very different from saying that the human soul has no kinship with the fair works of nature, no links of common origin and kind with the singing birds and the budding flowers which set Wordsworth musing on the spring day that inspired this poem. Wordsworth would have man learn a certain lesson from the unthinking processes of nature. It has been a common practice for religious teachers of many persuasions to draw a moral for men from the lilies of the field.

It is clearly time for some one to spell out again certain elementary ideas that are writ large over all the poetry of Wordsworth. One of these is an idea dominant in all modern thought—dominant among the humanists of the Renaissance, and a heritage to them from the humanists of Greece and Rome—the idea that man, with his peculiar faculties of intelligence and conscience, is yet close akin to universal nature, derivative from her, and inseparably bound to her by intimate ties. If heaven is his father, earth is at any rate his mother. This was a favorite idea of scientists as well as poets in Wordsworth's day; and it has not lost favor in our day through the development of biology and paleontology, of anthropology and physiology. So far as I know, it has the sympathetic approval of every system of psychology and philosophy now taught in our universities. As for religion, I must have a clearer definition of that term than Professor Cerf has given us before I can be made to see that religion has repudiated in modern times, any more than in the times of Lao-Tsze, the idea of man's kinship with the rest of nature.

The other idea that I find most obvious in Wordsworth, as critics have done from the beginning, is that men can derive from communion with outdoor nature much help in the cultivation of the spirit. This idea is not peculiar to Wordsworth; any

<sup>18</sup> *Lines Written in Early Spring.*

<sup>19</sup> P. 622.

one can cite to the same effect passages from the Hebrew Bible, from the noblest of Greek and Roman writers. But Wordsworth does make more of this idea than other poets have done. His sensibilities were cultivated beyond those of most men; and he has taught us more than any one else of the therapeutic effect of natural sights and sounds. If he were not a poet, he would be a bromide—in our day—our day of Muirs and Burroughses. But Wordsworth is a poet, and we still read in him, with no sense of platitude, of

Spontaneous wisdom breathed by health,  
Truth breathed by cheerfulness.

Above all he was conscious always of his lakes and mountains, his world of the senses, as part of a cosmic Order. As a university student he would lie at night and watch the chapel where stood the statue of Newton,

with his prism and silent face,  
The marble index of a mind forever  
Voyaging through strange seas of Thought alone.

The Cambridge of Wordsworth's day was the great school of a piety based on the idea of natural law in the universe—the inspiring idea which had reached its widest extension in the celestial physics of Newton. This Cambridge doctrine came to reinforce the effect of Wordsworth's early dealings with skies and mountains, to increase his reverence for a Power—

That is the visible quality and shape  
And image of right reason.

And he believed, as pious men have done in all ages, that the contemplation of this Power strengthens and elevates the soul, as it

Holds up before the mind intoxicate  
With present objects, and the busy dance  
Of things that pass away, a temperate show  
Of objects that endure.

I cannot see how that is inconsistent with True Religion, whether it be the religion of Confucius or Buddha, of Plato or of Christ. It seems too obvious for comment. But if I have been writing in italics what is obvious, it is because recent critics have been so prone to write in capitals what is anything but that.

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH

## XIX. WORDSWORTH'S UNACKNOWLEDGED DEBT TO MACPHERSON'S *OSSIAN*

Although Wordsworth professed contempt for Macpherson's "translation" as a worthless forgery, it can be shown that he was familiar with the subject-matter, the spirit, and, in places, with the exact phraseology of *Ossian*; that he borrowed an Ossianic word or two when he needed it; that many of his poems deal with themes relating to the Ossianic poems, or present images or lines to which parallels may be found in *Ossian*; and that in his passionate love of the mountain wilderness he came very near the spirit of the blind bard of Selma.

It is not the purpose of the present paper to discuss the relations between Macpherson's supposed translations, his Gaelic manuscript first published in 1807, and the genuine Ossianic lore which has come down to us from other sources. It is sufficient to observe that Wordsworth knew only the translations put forward by Macpherson. It would seem that he knew no Gaelic and had no personal acquaintance among Gaelic scholars, so that he felt obliged to ask Sir Walter Scott for assistance from his friends in composing versè which required a Gaelic word or two.<sup>1</sup> Despite the regret expressed in his poem, *Written in a Blank Leaf of Macpherson's Ossian*, that he could not know the original Ossian instead of the "counterfeit Remains," it would seem certain that he must have been influenced by Macpherson's version, if by any Ossianic poetry at all.

The mature Wordsworth, too rarely a gracious or a generous critic of other poets, was unlikely to acknowledge indebtedness to a work which flagrantly violated some of the most sacred canons of his theory, and which was widely regarded among Englishmen as an impudent forgery. In his critical judgment, the blind Ossian is little more than an interesting figure of tradition. In a letter to Talfourd he wrote:

the leading interest attached to the name of Ossian is connected with gray hairs, infirmity, and privation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of the Wordsworth Family from 1787 to 1855*, ed. Wm. Knight, Boston and London, 1907, I, 286. Letter dated January 20, 1807.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 115.



A similar view was expressed in an interview recorded in the memoirs of the brothers Wiffen:

I sounded him with regard to Ossian. I was chagrined to find that he was denounced, as a disgusting imposture; the manners, and imagery, designated as false and unreal, condemned *in toto*, yet to the blind Bard himself, he had some relentings. He was evidently satisfied with the image of the aged Harper, left the last of his race, and giving his griefs to the echoes of the hills; but all beyond,—the touching tenderness, and beauty of the characters delineated, the lively description of mountain scenery, and the ethereal spirit of melancholy, which pervades those singular compositions, were abandoned without a sigh.<sup>3</sup>

For the translator of Ossian, Wordsworth had no such toleration. In 1815 he denounced Macpherson unsparingly in his *Essay Supplementary to the Preface*; in 1823, writing to Cunningham, he referred to "Macpherson's frauds" which "met with such dangerous success";<sup>4</sup> and in 1829, writing in a restrained tone of labored courtesy to a defender of *Ossian*, he strongly reaffirmed his own judgment, although conceding that Macpherson's publications had really merited some importance in literary history.<sup>5</sup> Nowhere in his critical writings does he go farther than this, or acknowledge any personal indebtedness to the poetry rather than to the tradition attached to the name of Ossian. The Ossianic poems are not mentioned among the childhood favorites in Book V of *The Prelude*,<sup>6</sup> and some of the

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Wm Knight, *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, Edinburgh, 1889, X, 311.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, II, 209.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 366. "Notwithstanding the censure, you will see proofs—both in page 238 and in page 15 of the third volume of the same edition—that I consider myself much indebted to Macpherson, as having made the English public acquainted with the traditions concerning Ossian and his age. Nor would I withhold from him the praise of having preserved many fragments of Gaelic poetry, which without his attention to the subject might perhaps have perished. Most of these, however, are more or less corrupted by the liberties he has taken in the mode of translating them."

<sup>6</sup> Less ungrateful was Bowles, who, in his *Monody on the Death of Dr. Warton*, listed Ossian as one of his six favorite authors during his Oxford days, together with Homer, Theocritus, Sophocles, Shakespeare, and Milton. However, it is apparent that Bowles esteemed *Ossian* as matter for "the unheeded midnight hours," admiring it for its strangeness and remoteness from the life he knew, rather than, as I am convinced Wordsworth did, for its passionate expression of the beauty of environing nature.

The naïve admiration of Robert Burns, who named Macpherson's *Ossian* among "the glorious models after which I endeavour to form my conduct," is more amusing than significant.

more important studies of his life and work make no allusion to them. Frequently critics have been encouraged by Wordsworth's own statement in his *Essay Supplementary to the Preface* to declare explicitly that he was not influenced by Macpherson.

Rannie, for example, writes as follows:

Towards the more Romantic of his predecessors, the author of the Ossian poems, and the ballad-writers, and even towards such true landscape lovers as Thomson and Cowper, Wordsworth was very critical. . . . For Percy's *Reliques*, indeed, he has nothing but praise. But Ossian! . . . Wordsworth . . . mercilessly tears the unhappy imposture to tatters; he spurs on his somewhat sluggish rhetoric, and decides that the book is "essentially unnatural . . . a forgery audacious as worthless."

Legouis is led into a like opinion by the *Essay Supplementary to the Preface*; but he enlarges upon the idea that Wordsworth detected the falsity of *Ossian*:

The reality of nature obtruded itself so forcibly on his senses that he could not falsify as he pleased. By dint of comparing nature as it is with its appearance as depicted by the poets, he early became an acute critic of the sincere or conventional type. He quickly detected a false ring in the poems imposed upon the world under the name of Ossian, and is almost the only poet of his generation who shows no sign whatever of having imitated Macpherson. "From what I saw with my own eyes," he says of the latter's work, "I know that the imagery was spurious. In Nature everything is distinct, yet nothing defined into absolute independent singleness." In Macpherson it is exactly the reverse; "everything (that is not stolen) is in this manner defined, insulated, dislocated, deadened,—yet nothing distinct."<sup>7</sup>

Edmund Gosse follows a similar line of attack upon Macpherson:

The vagueness and unreality of the natural phenomena described in *Ossian* have long been felt to be one of the great objections to its genuineness. No particulars are vouchsafed which enable us to form a distinct idea of the dress or food of the warriors, of their customs or religion, or even of the animal world in which they moved, for the eagle and the whale positively exhaust the list of *Ossian's* finned and feathered fauna.<sup>8</sup>

It may be remarked that the last of these statements is certainly misleading. The animal world of *Morven* is not rep-

<sup>7</sup> David Watson Rannie, *Wordsworth and His Circle*, New York and London, 1907, pp. 8-9.

<sup>8</sup> Émile Legouis, *The Early Life of William Wordsworth. 1770-1798*, trans. by J. W. Matthews, London, 1897, pp. 122-23.

<sup>9</sup> *A History of Eighteenth Century Literature*, London and New York, 1907, p. 336.

resented as rich and varied, no doubt in part because of the barrenness of the country, even more because of the pre-occupation of the poet with the vaster aspects of nature; but Dr. Blair noted references to the following: "eagles, sea fowl, the horse, the deer, and the mountain bee,"<sup>10</sup> to which I may add (with no assurance of having exhausted the list) the swan, the raven, the hawk, the heathcock, flies, the boar, the hart, the stag, the roe, the hind, the bull, the fox, and the dog.

The *Essay Supplementary to the Preface* (1815) is even more bitter toward Macpherson than the preceding extracts have indicated. With a critical acerbity which may be due, in part, to the true-born Englishman's vexation at having been hoaxed, he rises into mock heroics:

All hail, Macpherson! hail to thee, Sire of Ossian! The Phantom was begotten by the snug embrace of an impudent Highlander upon a cloud of tradition—it travelled southward, where it was greeted with acclamation, and the thin Consistence took its course through Europe, upon the breath of popular applause. . . . Having had the good fortune to be born and reared in a mountainous country, from my very childhood I have felt the falsehood that pervades the volumes imposed upon the world under the name of Ossian. . . . Yet, much as those pretended treasures of antiquity have been admired, they have been wholly unimportant upon the literature of the Country. No succeeding writer appears to have caught from them a ray of inspiration. . . . This incapability to amalgamate with the literature of the Island, is, in my estimation, a decisive proof that the book is essentially unnatural; nor should I require any other to demonstrate it to be a forgery, audacious as worthless.—Contrast, in this respect, the effect of Macpherson's publication with the *Reliques* of Percy. . . . I do not think that there is an able writer in verse of the present day who would not be proud to acknowledge his obligations to the *Reliques*. . . . for myself, I am happy on this occasion to make a public avowal of my own.<sup>11</sup>

Wordsworth weakens his argument by setting up the *Reliques* in antithesis to *Ossian*; since the publication of the *Percy Folio MS.*, one is tempted to question whether Percy was so much unlike his Scottish contemporary in his appreciation of poetical antiques. His insistence that *Ossian* has failed to influence later writers is contrary to all observation of the poetry of the English Romantic School, and is flatly contradictory to the statement of Legouis that Wordsworth himself "is almost the only poet of

<sup>10</sup> Hugh Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian*, in *The Poems of Ossian*, London, 1806, I, 110.

<sup>11</sup> *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, Edinburgh, 1883, IV, 350-53.

his generation who shows no sign whatever of having imitated Macpherson."<sup>12</sup>

It is not to be inferred from this tribute to the *Reliques* that Wordsworth was as candid in regard to all of his borrowings; if he was at times a royal thief, he sometimes repaid with royal ingratitude. Legouis has pointed out the probability that his violent revolt against poetic diction was largely a reaction against the excessively ornate style of his own early poems; and that his open attack upon poetic diction was an effort to throw "the whole responsibility for his errors upon his predecessors."<sup>13</sup> Moreover, at the very time when his own writings were thickly studded with borrowings from the earlier eighteenth century poets,<sup>14</sup> he was able to disclaim all acquaintance with modern literature,<sup>15</sup> in his answer to William Mathews' request for his observations on that subject:

You might as well have solicited me to send you an account of the tribes inhabiting the central regions of the African Continent. God knows my incursions into the fields of modern literature—excepting in our own language three volumes of *Tristram Shandy*, and two or three papers of the *Spectator*, half-subdued—are absolutely nothing.<sup>16</sup>

And this despite his subsequent assertion that he had been familiar with *Ossian* from childhood!<sup>17</sup>

But the point is not open to dispute; his intimate acquaintance with *Ossian* can be easily established from his own poems. He devotes four sonnets<sup>18</sup> to Fingal's Cave, in the Isle of Staffa,

<sup>12</sup> *Supra*, p. 364.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 146-47.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-45. But Legouis makes no mention of *Ossian* in his list of parallel passages.

<sup>15</sup> For a comprehensive survey of Wordsworth's literary background, see Dr. K. Lienemann's *Die Belesenheit von William Wordsworth*, Berlin, 1908.

<sup>16</sup> *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, I, 32.

<sup>17</sup> *Supra*, p. 365.

<sup>18</sup> R. W. Emerson, who was much struck by the prejudices of Wordsworth's "narrow and very English mind" (*English Traits*, Boston, 1884, p. 27), and who records Wordsworth's opinion that "no Scotchman can write English" (p. 279), gives a vivid account of the enthusiastic interest which the poet took in the composition of these sonnets (pp. 24-5).

"He had just returned from a visit to Staffa, and within three days had made three sonnets on Fingal's Cave and was composing a fourth when he was called in to see me. He said 'If you are interested in my verses perhaps you will like to hear these lines.' I gladly assented, and he recollected himself for a few

a spot which fascinated him so that, as he remarked in a note on the first of the sonnets,

at the risk of incurring the reasonable displeasure of the master of the steam-boat, I returned to the cave, and explored it under circumstances more favourable to those imaginative impressions which it is so wonderfully fitted to make upon the mind.<sup>19</sup>

Just so did this sturdy disbeliever in Macpherson go mooning about in Fingal's Cave, envying "our fathers" who knew the spirits of the place by name, and who knew Ossian the son of Fingal, and

could hear *his* ghostly song who trod  
Earth, till the flesh lay on him like a load,  
While he struck his desolate harp without hope or aims.<sup>20</sup>

In at least five other poems Wordsworth makes explicit reference to Ossian, the man or the book. *Glen Almain* is a tender little poem on the supposed place of Ossian's burial. Its account of his poetry, "He sang of battles," would seem to have given the cue for the "battles long ago" of the Solitary Reaper's song. The two poems were published together in 1807, and they were written about the same time, probably in 1803. The *Effusion in the Pleasure-Ground on the Banks of the Bran* is a curious account of an apartment in the Highlands, in which hung a painting of Ossian so constructed as to fly apart in the middle and disclose to the astonished spectator a number of wild cataracts in the landscape beyond. It is interesting to observe that he describes the habitation of Ossian with an exact Ossianic phrase—"the hill of storms";<sup>21</sup> and in the midst of

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moments and then stood forth and repeated, one after the other, the entire three sonnets with great animation. I fancied the second and third more beautiful than his poems are wont to be. . . . This recitation was so unlooked for and surprising,—he, the old Wordsworth, standing apart, and reciting to me in a garden-walk, like a school-boy declaiming,—that I at first was near to laugh; but recollecting myself, that I had come thus far to see a poet and he was chanting poems to me, I saw that he was right and I was wrong, and gladly gave myself up to hear."

<sup>19</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 925.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 474, ll. 6-8.

<sup>21</sup> *The Poems of Ossian, Translated by James Macpherson*, Centenary Edition, Edinburgh, 1896, p. 410.

artificial landscape gardening he feels a sense of kinship with the former inhabitants and with the primitive spirit of the place:

Thus (where the intrusive Pile, ill-graced  
With baubles of theatric taste,  
O'erlooks the torrent breathing showers  
On motley bands of alien flowers  
In stiff confusion set or sown,  
Till Nature cannot find her own,  
Or keep a remnant of the sod  
Which Caledonian Heroes trod)  
I mused; and, thirsting for redress,  
Recoiled into the wilderness.<sup>22</sup>

In still another poem, *The Highland Broach*, he refers to the wall

Where shields of mighty heroes hung,  
Where Fingal heard what Ossian sung.

And he goes on to lament, in good Ossianic phrase, the decay of that golden time:

The heroic Age expired—it slept  
Deep in its tomb:—the bramble crept  
O'er Fingal's hearth; the grassy sod  
Grew on the floors his sons had trod.  
Malvina! where art thou?<sup>23</sup>

In a poem entitled *Written in a Blank Leaf of Macpherson's Ossian*, Wordsworth expresses the thought that the fragments in nature need no artificial completion; and utters the wish that he might have the authentic words of Ossian himself, instead of the "counterfeit Remains." He laments the loss of the

primal flight  
Of the poetic ecstasy

of such primitive bards as Orpheus and Musaeus, as of Ossian, whose works have perished. But he concludes that the greater loss is that of the bards who have disappointed the world, "self-betrayed"; and he rejoices in those who have had courage

<sup>22</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 301, ll. 119-28.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 390, ll. 29-35.

to linger in old age to sing bravely to mankind. He hails them as brothers; and curiously enough he links with blind Ossian his pattern of civic virtue, blind Milton:

Brothers in soul! though distant times  
Produced you nursed in various climes,  
Ye, when the orb of life had waned,  
A plentitude of love retained:  
Hence, while in you each sad regret  
By corresponding hope was met,  
Ye lingered among human kind,  
Sweet voices for the passing wind;  
Departing sunbeams, loth to stop,  
Though smiling on the last hill-top!  
Such to the tender-hearted maid  
Even ere her joys begin to fade;  
Such, haply, to the rugged chief  
By fortune crushed, or tamed by grief;  
Appears, on Morven's lonely shore,  
Dim-gleaming through imperfect lore,  
The Son of Fingal; such was blind  
Maeonides of ampler mind;  
Such Milton, to the fountain-head  
Of glory by Urania led!<sup>24</sup>

And although *The Prelude* denies *Ossian* a place among the favorites of the author's youth, it shows the certainty with which Wordsworth as a young man could recognize its flowers amid the pulpit eloquence of a popular London preacher:

And Ossian (doubt not— 'tis the naked truth)  
Summoned from streamy Morven—each and all  
Would, in their turns, lend ornaments and flowers  
To entwine the crook of eloquence that helped  
This pretty Shepherd, pride of all the plains,  
To rule and guide his captivated flock.<sup>25</sup>

For indeed, his familiarity with *Ossian* did not end in a general conception of the poet's character as a primitive bard; it extended to minuter matters of the imagery and diction of Macpherson's translation. Whenever he refers to *Ossian*, he uses at will the exact and typical Ossianic phrases—"streamy Morven" in the lines quoted, "the hill of storms" referred to

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 473, ll. 63-82.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 695, ll. 567-72.

above,<sup>26</sup> and the like. In still another of his poems of Scotland, *The Earl of Breadalbane's Ruined Mansion, and Family Burial Place*, he seems to have *Ossian* in mind in his opening lines:

Well sang the Bard who called the grave, in strains  
Thoughtful and sad, the "narrow house."<sup>27</sup>

However often the phrase may be found in Romantic poetry, it occurs most frequently in *Ossian*, where it is the fixed epithet for the grave:

Soon shall he lie in the narrow house, and no bard shall raise his fame!<sup>28</sup>

Any citation of parallel passages in Wordsworth and *Ossian* involves much greater difficulties than those of possible recurrence in kindred Romantic poetry. Wordsworth's professed contempt for Macpherson would make him less likely than he might otherwise be to fall into close similarity of image or phrase. Furthermore, much of the machinery of Macpherson is alien to Wordsworth's purpose: the fights of Fingal and his men, the passionate lament of a blind chieftain for the glories of a lost kingdom and for the death of heroes—these would have little place in Wordsworth's poetical design. However, it is the quasi-epic embellishments of Macpherson which are of least value, and which are most open to the suspicion of clumsy fabrication. In the more original and more deeply characteristic features of *Ossian*—in the language of sun and moon and stars, clouds, mountains, rocks, mossy stones, winds, trees, and streams—there is often a striking, and I believe a significant, similarity to kindred passages in Wordsworth's poems.

Compare the Ossianic lament—

Daura, my daughter! thou wert fair: fair as the moon on Fura<sup>29</sup>

or the opening of the famous hymn to the evening star

Star of descending night! fair is thy light in the west!<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Sage*, p. 367.

<sup>27</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 300, ll. 1-2.

<sup>28</sup> Centenary Edition, "The Songs of Selma," *Alfred*, pp. 416-17.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400.



or

They were like stars, on a rainy hill, by night, each looking faintly through  
her mist<sup>21</sup>

or

I saw thee, like a star, that shines on the hill, at night<sup>22</sup>

with Wordsworth's

Till Night, descending upon hill and vale<sup>23</sup>

or his

Fair as a star, when only one  
Is shining in the sky.<sup>24</sup>

Compare the Ossianic lament:

Why did I not pass away in secret, like the flower of the rock, that lifts its  
fair head unseen<sup>25</sup>

with Wordsworth's

violet by a mossy stone  
Half hidden from the eye!<sup>26</sup>

Compare the oft-repeated Ossianic phrase

The stormy winds are laid<sup>27</sup>

with Wordsworth's

like stormy winds  
That into breezes sink.<sup>28</sup>

Compare

He is gone on his blast like the shade of a wandering cloud<sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, *Berrathon*, p. 396.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dar-Thula*, p. 348.

<sup>23</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 363, l. 110.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109, ll. 7-8.

<sup>25</sup> Centenary Edition, *Oithona*, p. 135.

<sup>26</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 109, ll. 5-6.

<sup>27</sup> Centenary Edition, "The Songs of Selma," p. 409.

<sup>28</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 500, ll. 51-2.

<sup>29</sup> Centenary Edition, *Conlath and Cuthona*, p. 370.

with

I wandered lonely as a cloud.<sup>40</sup>

Compare the frequently repeated and varied Ossianic image

Her breasts were like foam on the wave<sup>41</sup>

Her white breast heaved . . . like the foam on the streamy Lubar<sup>42</sup>

Her breast rose slowly to sight, like ocean's heaving wave<sup>43</sup>

. . . her high heaving breast is seen, white as foamy waves<sup>44</sup>

. . . the bosom of whitening waves<sup>45</sup>

. . . calm as the breast of the lake<sup>46</sup>

The moon is in the east. Calm and bright is the breast of the lake<sup>47</sup>

with Wordsworth's

This Sea that bares her bosom to the moon.<sup>48</sup>

Or, to consider passages even more deeply characteristic of the Ossianic poems, as well as of Wordsworth, compare their manner of associating the death of man with environing nature:

Three stones lift their grey heads, beneath a bending oak.<sup>49</sup>

Four stones, with their heads of moss, are the only memorial of thee. A tree with scarce a leaf . . .<sup>50</sup>

Rolled round in earth's diurnal course,  
With rocks, and stones, and trees.<sup>51</sup>

But it is not in isolated echoes of imagery and phraseology that the real indebtedness of Wordsworth to *Ossian* is to be found. There is in Wordsworth's poetry a curious inconsistency between theory and practice. He, the philosopher of the commonplace, is selected with Keats to exemplify Matthew

<sup>40</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 187, l. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Centenary Edition, *Carthou*, p. 174.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, *Fingal*, III, 63.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, *Colna-Dona*, p. 195.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sul-Malla of Lumon*, p. 382.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, *Cathlin of Clulha*, p. 334.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, "The Songs of Selma," *Alpin*, p. 413.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, *The Battle of Lora*, p. 150.

<sup>48</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 259, l. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Centenary Edition, *Temora*, II, p. 253.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, "The Songs of Selma," *Alpin*, p. 413.

<sup>51</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 187, ll. 7-8.

Arnold's "natural magic"<sup>52</sup> in English poetry; and his predilection for lonely places and for wild, barbaric nature is in sharp contrast with his professed admiration for the "meanest flower that blows" and "the human heart by which we live." The meagerness of minute details of nature and of the manners of life, which Gosse insists on as one of the chief arguments against the genuineness of *Ossian*,<sup>53</sup> is often quite as characteristic of Wordsworth. Selecting a passage almost at random from among *The Poems of the Imagination*, we meet with lines much resembling parts of the Ossianic "Songs of Selma" from Wordsworth's poem *To the Clouds*:

The mountain blast  
Shall be our *hand* of music; he shall sweep  
The rocks, and quivering trees, and billowy lake,  
And search the fibres of the caves, and they  
Shall answer.<sup>54</sup>

Why did the author of such things as the "Poems Founded on the Affections" return alone to dream his dreams in the Cave of Fingal, or seek solace in his poetry—as in his life—among barren mountains?

Legouis glances at this inconsistency, and seems to be puzzled by it:

He declares himself the obedient interpreter of that reality which seems the absolute antithesis of poetry. . . . But Wordsworth renounces the extraordinary features of reality, no less than those of fiction. The mountains which occupy so large a place in his work appear in it only by accident, if I may say so—because he was born and lived among them, and because he never describes anything but what has presented itself to his senses. They are unnecessary to his poetry, and almost inconsistent with his doctrine. The peculiar province of Wordsworth is that of the *common*. Wherever selection was possible he held it his duty to borrow nothing from those elements of the world which are marvelous or unusual.<sup>55</sup>

This half-hearted explanation of Wordsworth's love of the extraordinary features of nature as a mere accident of birth, the outgrowth of a careful and methodical observation of the

<sup>52</sup> *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, etc., New York, 1907, p. 129.

<sup>53</sup> *Supra*, p. 364.

<sup>54</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 230, ll. 61-5.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 446.

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<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 446.

world which presented itself to his senses, would not go far toward explaining such a confessional as this:

The sounding cataract  
 Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,  
 The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,  
 Their colours and their forms, were then to me  
 An appetite.<sup>46</sup>

What relation can Macpherson's *Ossian* be reasonably assumed to bear to these peculiar aspects of Wordsworth's poetry—his power of "natural magic" and his love of wild nature?

Arnold, although he seems not to have carried his reasoning consciously to its logical conclusion, was explicit in attributing the "natural magic" of English poetry to a Celtic influence,<sup>47</sup> and in ascribing to Macpherson's *Ossian* the credit of communicating this influence to modern European literature. After making all possible allowances for the faults of Macpherson's work, he concludes that

there will still be left in the book a residue with the very soul of the Celtic genius in it, and which has the proud distinction of having brought this soul of the Celtic genius into contact with the genius of modern Europe, and enriched all our poetry by it. Woody Morven, and echoing Sora, and Selma with its silent halls!—we all owe them a debt of gratitude, and when we are unjust enough to forget it, may the Muse forget us!<sup>48</sup>

And a more recent writer, more severe in his condemnation of Macpherson's methods and less eloquent in his praise of Macpherson's achievement, employs different terminology to express virtually the same general idea as to the influence of *Ossian*:

The varied sources of his work and its worthlessness as a transcript of actual Celtic poems do not alter the fact that he produced a work of art which by its deep appreciation of natural beauty and the melancholy tenderness of its treatment of the ancient legend did more than any single work to bring about the romantic movement in European . . . literature.<sup>49</sup>

In the imaginative interpretation of mountainous scenery, it is rather generally conceded that Macpherson's *Ossian* served

<sup>46</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 206, ll. 76-80.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>49</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, sub "James Macpherson."

to blaze the way for all who came after. To meet with a fine description of the mountains after the decade of 1760—and there were few enough before that—is likely to be to meet with the influence of *Ossian*. For instance, Dr. Myra Reynolds, in her survey of the treatment of nature in the literature of the eighteenth century, remarks that *Humphrey Clinker* was the last novel by Smollett, and the only one in which he made effective use of nature;<sup>60</sup> and she quotes from a letter from the country of *Ossian*:

These are the lonely hills of Morven, where Fingal and his heroes enjoyed the same pastime. I feel an enthusiastic pleasure when I survey the brown heath that Ossian was wont to tread; and hear the wind whistle through the bending grass. . . . The poems of Ossian are in every mouth.<sup>61</sup>

So also Professor Veitch:

Europe . . . rejoiced in the new vision of mountain glory and mountain freedom which was opened up in these strange, weird, Celtic poems.<sup>62</sup>

Sir Archibald Geikie, in his lecture on the *Types of Scenery and Their Influence on Literature*, has emphasized the fact that in all English literature the finest and most adequate interpretations of mountain scenery are Macpherson's *Ossian* and the poetry of Wordsworth. He makes no attempt to draw an analogy, or to indicate a relationship between the two, even though some of the passages which he quotes from Wordsworth might almost be transferred to his discussion of the earlier work. To *Ossian* he gives unstinted praise for its fidelity to nature, its beauty (despite its monotony), and its power. The judgment of Geikie, himself an authority on the topography of the Highlands, contradicts the assertion of Wordsworth that *Ossian* is false to the truth of nature in its representation of mountain scenery:

But when we discover that the endless allusions to topographical features are faithful delineations, which give the very spirit and essence of the scenery, we feel that whether they were written in the eighteenth century or the third, they display a poetic genius of no mean order.

<sup>60</sup> *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry*, Chicago, 1909, p. 213.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>62</sup> John Veitch, *The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry*, Edinburgh and London, 1887, II, 117-18.

The grandeur and gloom of the Highland mountains, the spectral mists that sweep round the crags, the roar of the torrents, the gleam of sunlight on moor and lake, the wail of the breeze among the cairns of the dead, the unspeakable sadness that seems to brood over the landscape whether the sky be clear or clouded—these features of West Highland scenery were first revealed by Macpherson to the modern world. This revelation quickened the change of feeling, already begun, in regard to the prevailing horror of mountain scenery. It brought before men's eyes some of the fascination of the mountain-world, more especially in regard to the atmospheric effects that play so large a part in its landscape. It showed the titanic forces of storm and tempest in full activity. And yet there runs through all the poems a vein of infinite melancholy. The pathos of life manifested itself everywhere, now in the tenderness of unavailing devotion, now in the courage of hopeless despair. . . .

Never before or since have the endless changes of sky and atmosphere been more powerfully portrayed.<sup>63</sup>

Another lover of the Highlands, and at the same time one of the foremost authorities in the interpretation of Wordsworth, has put *Ossian* above Wordsworth in the power of expressing feeling for the mountains. John Campbell Shairp remarked in one of his Oxford lectures, shortly after a visit to the Ossian country:

Even to this day, when one is alone in the loneliest places of the Highlands, in the wilderness where no man is, or the desolate moor of Rannoch, or among the grey boulders of Badenoch,—when

“the loneliness

Loadeth the heart, the desert tires the eye”—

at such a time, if one wished a language to express the feeling that weighs upon the heart, where would one turn to find it? Not to Scott; not even to Wordsworth—though the power of hills was upon him, if upon any modern. Not in these, but in the voice of Cona alone would the heart find a language that would relieve it.<sup>64</sup>

In another discussion of *Ossian* Shairp came very near to making a statement regarding the influence of the poems upon Wordsworth—although even here, apparently as a result of Wordsworth's professed antipathy for Macpherson's work, the relation does not seem to have been clearly grasped:

Whether the poetry was old, or the product of the last century, it describes, as none other does, the desolation of dusky moors, the solemn brooding of the mists on the mountains, the occasional looking through them of sun by day, of

<sup>63</sup> *Landscape in History and Other Essays*, London, 1905, pp. 115-17.

<sup>64</sup> *Aspects of Poetry*, Oxford, 1881, p. 285.



moon and stars by night, the gloom of dark cloudy Bens or cairns, with flashing cataracts, the ocean with its storms as it breaks on the West Highland shores or on the headlands of the Hébrides. Wordsworth, though an unbeliever in Ossian, felt that the fit place for his spirit was

"Where rocks are rudely heaped and rent  
As by a spirit turbulent,  
Where sights are rough and sounds are wild  
And everything unreconciled,  
In some complaining dim retreat,  
For fear and melancholy meet."

. . .

Whatever men may now think of them there cannot be a doubt but these mountain monotonies took the heart of Europe with a new emotion, and prepared it for that passion for mountains which has since possessed it.<sup>65</sup>

In a discussion of Wordsworth's youth, Shairp emphasized the fact that his early interests and his communion with nature unconsciously fixed the bent of his mature thought and poetical expression:

These were his supreme moments of existence, when the vision first dawned upon his soul, when without knowing it he was baptized with an effluence from on high, consecrated to be the poet-priest of Nature's mysteries. The light that then came to him was in after years "the masterlight of all his seeing," the fountain-head of his highest inspirations. From this was drawn that peculiar ethereal gleam which rests on his finest after productions—the ode to the Cuckoo, the poems on Matthew, Tintern Abbey, the Intimations of Immortality, and many another poem.<sup>66</sup>

Whatever the literary merits of *Ossian*, its influence upon the imaginative powers of the young Romantic poets is abundantly established—except for Wordsworth. Is it a mere coincidence that so much of the world upon which the "inner eye" of Wordsworth loved to dwell—sun, moon, stars, clouds, winds, mountains, torrents, waves, rocks, moss, trees (commonplaces in the conventional language of poetry)—was like the world of *Ossian*?<sup>67</sup> In Wordsworth—as in *Ossian*—these familiar phenomena of nature appear in the new glamor of "natural magic," and exalted by that passionate love of wild nature which Legouis

<sup>65</sup> *On Poetic Interpretations of Nature*, Boston, 1885, pp. 232-34.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, London, 1897, II, 51: "old Ossian's old friends, sunbeams and mists."

considers almost inconsistent with Wordsworth's professed doctrines. Many of the same images occur again and again to both poets, and form the background of their most characteristic thoughts.

Indeed, when Wordsworth would suggest most clearly the world of nature which has power to solace the soul of man, he has, in old memory, a vision of the land of Morven; as in the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*, the features of nature which draw the poet's mind from unseasonable grief have more than a superficial resemblance to those detailed in *Colma*, one of the Ossianic "Songs of Selma":

The cataracts blow their trumpets from the steep;

. . .

I hear the Echoes through the mountains throng,  
The Winds come to me from the fields of sleep,"

The wind is heard in the mountain. The torrent pours down the rock. No hut receives me from the rain, forlorn on the hill of winds. . . . The rocks are grey on the steep."

JOHN ROBERT MOORE

" Oxford Edition, p. 588, ll. 25-8.

" Centenary Edition, 410-11.

## XX. COLERIDGE AND THE IDEA OF EVOLUTION

Coleridge, more than any other man in the England of his time, sensed what were the significant currents of thought then in the civilized world, although his recognition of many of these ideas seems instinctive rather than conscious. Coleridge was often a prophet who saw as in a glass darkly. But though darkly, he *saw*—or, at least, *felt*.

One current of thought which Coleridge sensed, and which proved to be of the utmost importance to the advance of human knowledge, was that leading towards the idea of evolution. Coleridge's relations to this idea have never, I think, been worked out in detail. His critics have either ignored the subject, or, going to the other extreme, have seized on a few phrases and acclaimed him as a prophet of evolution. Professor Gingerich, in a most useful article on Coleridge's philosophy,<sup>1</sup> quoting from his *Aids to Reflection* the statement that "all things strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving," observes in a foot-note: "These almost startlingly penetrative passages anticipate, so far as prophecy can anticipate, the evolutionary thought of a later generation, especially on its ethical side, as expressed, for instance, in the poetry of Browning." Though there is truth in this observation, the questions raised by that remark of Coleridge's are, as I hope to show, far more complex than Mr. Gingerich's comment would indicate. The same criticism applies to the judgment expressed by Professor Wylie:

Coleridge's habit of living and thinking by great principles was vivified by his recognition of the evolution in human progress, and of the organic nature of thought. . . . The mysterious and undemonstrable, which his philosophy called the root of all knowledge, perhaps made him sensitive to those processes of growth and development that his predecessors had so wholly ignored. But the air was full of the new truth. The days of Lamarck and Darwin were at hand; Kant and Goethe had fairly grasped the idea of evolution. . . . It was this idea of man's historical relations and development that Coleridge made a moulding power in English thought. Though interested in the tendency of scientists toward a belief in evolution, he was content to leave the investigation

<sup>1</sup> S. F. Gingerich, "From Necessity to Transcendentalism in Coleridge." *P.M.L.A.*, XXXV, 1ff.

in the hands of those, "capable of demonstrating its objective truth," with the hope that we might thence receive "one other splendid proof that with the knowledge of law alone dwell power and prophecy."<sup>2</sup>

Deferring consideration of the passage to which Miss Wylie refers until it can be compared with Coleridge's other statements, we may agree without hesitation that Coleridge had the spirit of evolution working in him. On the other hand, there is unquestionable proof, which will appear later, that he was not *favorably* "interested in the tendency of scientists toward a belief in evolution"—at least in organic evolution.<sup>3</sup> As time went on the idea of evolution grew more and more powerful in Coleridge, but even to the end of his life we see him struggling beneath a hard crust of antagonistic ideas and beliefs which were fully as powerful. Coleridge's was a mind of conflict in an age of conflict.

The clearest plan to follow in discussing the subject will be, first, to trace the development of the evolutionary ideas in Coleridge's mind; second, to describe the forces in him antagonistic to these ideas; and, third, to outline something of the philosophy of life which Coleridge reached as a result of this inward conflict.

## I

Positive ideas looking toward evolution, in the earlier part of Coleridge's life, are so few and unimportant that we can disregard them here. But during the decade or so after his trip to Germany in 1798-1799<sup>4</sup> they begin to appear more frequently in his writings, and to be more significant in their implications.

In 1801 he wrote to Thomas Poole:<sup>5</sup>

I trust that I am about to do more—namely, that I shall be able to evolve all the five senses, that is, to deduce them from one sense, and to state their growth and the causes of their difference, and in this evolvment to solve the process of life and consciousness.

<sup>2</sup> Laura J. Wylie, *Studies in the Evolution of English Criticism*, p. 197. The passage referred to is in *The Friend*, Essay 6, Section 2.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, his comment on "man's having progressed from an orang-outang state," quoted in section II of this discussion.

<sup>4</sup> For a good discussion of the influence of this trip on Coleridge's mind, see Professor Gingerich's article, referred to before.

<sup>5</sup> March 16, 1801. (Coleridge's *Letters*, Vol. I, p. 348).

Needless to say, Coleridge never carried out this ambitious plan. But the point of view he takes is decidedly evolutionary. The spirit of the time had begun its work upon him.

One of the many eighteenth century philosophical ideas which the idea of evolution exploded was the "argument from design"—the contention of Paley and the other "natural theologians" that any living thing gives clear evidence that God created it, because one could not suppose so delicate a mechanism to have been produced without a superior Intelligence as the architect. Paley's favorite example was the watch—we see a watch and know there must have been an intelligent being that made it. Therefore, when we see the infinitely more complex and delicately adjusted human or animal form, we should surely recognize a superior intelligence as the maker of that. To a believer in the theory of evolution this analogy of a living thing to a watch is very imperfect and crude—their origins, and the ways in which they come to be what they are, are entirely different.

Coleridge reacted, significantly, away from the "argument from design" to the idea of growth. A marginal note which he made, probably about 1807,<sup>6</sup> in the *Works* of Robert Robinson shows this reaction very clearly. Robinson, upholding the argument from design, makes the rather silly remark:

Had I been born a Greenlander, I should have said, "My kayak did not make itself. More skill is displayed in the structure of the meanest bird than in that of the best kayak, and more still in that of man than in the composition of either."

Coleridge comments:

Had Robinson been a Greenlander he would have thought thus: my kayak was *made*—the bird *grew*—and never have reasoned from one to the other.

In this distinction between *being made* and *growing* lies the fundamental difference between the expounders of the argument from design, and those of dynamic philosophy and evolution. And Coleridge's philosophy was dynamic. From this passage alone we could not be entirely sure, but he gives abundant evidence elsewhere.

Probably the most wide-spread concept in natural philosophy

<sup>6</sup> The note is included in Coleridge's *Notes Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous*; p. 119.

during the eighteenth century was that of a "chain of being."<sup>7</sup> The idea came originally from Aristotle, or possibly existed even earlier; but the philosopher who gave the idea directly to the eighteenth century was Leibnitz. Leibnitz added to the Aristotelian chain of being the so-called "principle of continuity," and thus we have the eighteenth century conception, that all forms of life are arranged in one great ascending chain, from the lowest forms up through the vegetables, then through the animals, "the diapason ending full in Man"; that every species of living things (except, of course, man) is between two other species, one directly below it and one directly above it in the scale; and—here the principle of continuity comes in—that there are no breaks in the chain. "Natura non facit saltus."

Coleridge very probably accepted all through his life the doctrine of continuity. But his expressions of the idea appear only toward the end of the first decade in the century.<sup>8</sup>

Through all this time, too, a further development of the idea of continuity was growing in him, which is one of his important advances toward the modern idea of evolution. The eighteenth century chain of being is, of course, utterly different from our present evolutionary idea of the relations among species. Species are not above or below one another in any chain, but are diversified like the branches of a tree. The modern symbol for the relations among living forms is the family tree rather than the vital scale. Coleridge saw in part that the old vital scale did not represent organic nature's true arrangement. In *The Friend* he says:

So long back as the first appearance of Dr. Darwin's *Phytologia*, I, then in earliest manhood, presumed to hazard the opinion, that the physiological botanists were hunting in a false direction, and sought for analogy where they should have looked for antithesis. I saw, or thought I saw, that the harmony between the vegetable and animal world was not a harmony of resemblances, but of contrast, and that their relation to each other was that of corresponding opposites. . . . Since that time, the same idea has dawned in the minds of philosophers capable of demonstrating its objective truth by induction of facts in an unbroken series of correspondences in nature. From these men, or from minds enkindled by their labors, we may hope hereafter to receive it, or rather

<sup>7</sup> Other names for the idea are: "scale of being," "vital chain," "vital scale," "échelle des êtres."

<sup>8</sup> See his note on the passage in Stillingfleet referring to Sir Walter Raleigh, which I shall discuss in another connection later in this article.

the yet higher idea to which it refers us, matured into laws of organic nature, and thence to have one other splendid proof, that with the knowledge of law alone dwell power and prophecy.<sup>9</sup>

This passage, by the way, is the one from which Miss Wylie quoted. The idea Coleridge wished to have demonstrated by scientists is the divergence of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, or rather a "yet higher idea, matured into laws of organic nature." Miss Wylie evidently takes this "higher idea" to be evolution. What Coleridge is obviously referring to is the system of nature described in the *Theory of Life* and elsewhere,<sup>10</sup> a system growing directly from the harmony of contrast between the animal and vegetable worlds, and the only system of which he ever speaks in connection with this contrast.

The animal kingdom, then, is not a continuation up the vital scale from the vegetable, but the two kingdoms diverge. From the lowest orders of life "flow, as in opposite directions, the two streams of vegetation and animalization."<sup>11</sup> Coleridge escaped the fallacy which is a distinct flaw even in the system of that most important early evolutionist, Erasmus Darwin. Erasmus Darwin's futile attempts to show that plants change into animals were the result of his failure to realize clearly that these two great kingdoms of organic life do not follow each other, but diverge from a common point. Coleridge saw this latter fact clearly; unfortunately, he did not extend his reasoning to the lesser divisions of organic nature. He simply presupposes two diverging vital chains instead of one, not realizing that the principle of divergence applies within the animal and vegetable kingdoms as well as between them.

<sup>9</sup> This is not in *The Friend* as it was originally published in 1809, so far as I can find, but is in the enlarged version of 1818, Section 2, Essay 6. My references to *The Friend*, unless otherwise stated, are to the version printed in the *Complete Works* of Coleridge, New York, 1884.

<sup>10</sup> See the summary of Coleridge's system, later in this discussion.

<sup>11</sup> *Theory of Life*, Bohn edition, p. 410. The *Theory of Life* evidently contains some alterations or additions by James Gillman. See Editor's Preface, and Dr. Seth Watson's Preface, in the Bohn edition. A Brandl (*S. T. Coleridge and the English Romantic School*, Chap. VIII) calls Gillman the author and Coleridge only the helper. The extent of Gillman's contributions seems impossible to ascertain. The main ideas, at least, are undoubtedly Coleridge's, for almost every one of them can be paralleled in Coleridge's other writings. So I use the essay as Coleridge's, without depending, however, upon statements from it unless they are corroborated by Coleridge's statements elsewhere.

During the next decade, 1810-1820, Coleridge's philosophy became more and more permeated with the conception of dynamic life in nature. He saw nature less and less as a passive static condition of things that goes on in the same eternal round, and more and more as a nature which is living and growing. Just a word of caution at this point—I say Coleridge conceived of *nature* as growing through her manifold forms. This approaches the idea of evolution, but does not necessarily reach it. But of that more a little later. Coleridge was coming more and more definitely to emphasize *natura naturans* rather than the *natura naturata*—the creative and developing side of nature rather than nature looked at only as a picture.<sup>12</sup>

So far this conception of nature might have been entirely a pantheistic attitude, with no relation to science or to evolution. But another element entered his philosophy, which came directly from science, I feel sure. This was his growing belief in the unity of organization among different species of animals—a unity which is based on certain great universal laws.<sup>13</sup> He uttered words of the highest praise concerning John Hunter, because Hunter in his Museum showed that he had grasped the great fact that zoology is a study of unified and interdependent phenomena. Coleridge called Hunter "the profoundest, I had almost said the only, physiological philosopher of the latter half of the preceding century."<sup>14</sup> Botany Coleridge considered not yet a science, in spite of the work of Linnaeus, because it was still merely a catalogue of facts, and had "yet to expect the devotion and energies of the philosopher."<sup>15</sup> In 1818 or thereabouts Coleridge became acquainted with the work of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, his pregnant ideas on the unity of animal composition, and his theory that different families and even different classes of animals have organs and structures analogous to one another—that, for instance, the fin of a fish, the wing of a bird,

<sup>12</sup> See *Essays on the Fine Arts*, written 1814. (Bohn edition, *Miscellanies and Theory of Life*, p. 46.)

<sup>13</sup> For a full account of this important idea and its history, see Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's *Vie, Travaux, et Doctrine Scientifique de Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire*, Paris and Strasbourg, 1847. For a brief explanation of the idea and its history, see my article, "Did Thomas Lovell Beddoes believe in the Evolution of Species?" (*Mod. Philol.*, XXI, No. 1, August 1923).

<sup>14</sup> See *The Friend*, final version, Section 2, Essay 7 and Essay 9.

<sup>15</sup> *The Friend*, final version, Section 2, Essay 6.



the hand of a man, are all analogous in their structure and closely interrelated. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's ideas exerted, I believe, a very strong influence on Coleridge's growing appreciation of organic nature's unity of structure and his realization that science should study and apprehend the laws and conditions on which this unity depends, not simply classify and catalogue phenomena. Coleridge wrote a marginal note to an article by Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire in the *Quarterly Journal of Foreign Medicine and Surgery*,<sup>16</sup> which indicates how eagerly he received these new scientific ideas which coincided with the growing spirit within him. Geoffroy wrote as follows:

Nature constantly employs the same materials, and only displays her ingenuity in varying their forms. . . . If one organ is found of an extraordinary size, the neighboring parts are less developed; yet each of them is not the less preserved, although in a degree so minute as frequently to render them almost useless. They become so many rudiments, which bear witness in some measure to the permanence of the general plan.

The passage is written from Geoffroy's typical point of view. Coleridge's comment is:

i. e., in the simplest living organism, *ex. gr.*, the Polyp, all the powers of life are potentially contained in the lowest; but as productive power cannot be without product, we must assume, even in the minimum of energy, a correspondent minimum of Product—and a production bearing the character of potentiality, answering to the potential state of the productivity—viz., of no or obscure use to the animal, yet prophetic of an important function in some higher genus or species—or again historic of a by-gone use.

The spirit of evolution is clearly and emphatically a power, even though an unconscious power, behind these sentences. But Coleridge, it will be observed, strikes one note which is

<sup>16</sup> Vol. I, 1818-19, p. 89: "Art. IX. Du couvercle des Branchies dans les poissons; et des quatre os correspondans du conduit auditif dans les animaux à respiration aérienne. Extrait abrégé du premier mémoire d'un ouvrage imprimé mais qui n'est pas encore publié et qui est intitulé 'Philosophie Anatomique', ou l'organisation des animaux vertébrés ramenée à un type uniforme. Tome I. Dans lequel on traite des appareils osseux de l'organe respiratoire sous le rapport de l'identité de leurs matériaux. Par M. Geoffroi St. Hilaire, Membre de l'Institut de France, &c. &c. &c. (Communicated by the Author)." The passage quoted from Geoffroy is the first paragraph of the article. This volume of the *Quarterly Journal* is rare. The Surgeon-General's library, Washington, D. C., has a copy. Coleridge's marginal note is published in his *Notes Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous*, pp. 248-49.

different from anything in Geoffroy. This is the idea that these rudimentary organs are "prophetic" of higher functions. Geoffroy's theory supposes no such prophetic power in Nature. He simply says that Nature is working always with the same elementary organs, increasing or diminishing them, giving them one function or another, as they may be necessary for the good of the particular animal concerned. He expresses this in the last paragraph of his article in the *Quarterly Journal*:

Whence arises all this metamorphosis, and all this variety of form? From nature herself: she has assigned to the elementary organs the duty of assuming various combinations, of acting as if they were instruments out of use. She has laid them aside with such ingenuity, that they may be ready for every call.

From 1820 on, new books Coleridge read, new scientific work he heard about, gave constantly increased strength to the forces within him working toward evolution. Finally, in three of his latest writings, *Aids to Reflection*, the *Theory of Life*, and the *Constitution of Church and State*, also in the reports of his conversations during those latter years when he lived at Highgate,<sup>17</sup> this aspect of his philosophy receives its most complete and most highly developed expression, and his statements can be synthesized into something approaching a system. Coleridge—or Gillman and Coleridge—gives most of these ideas in the *Theory of Life*, and they can be found quite compactly expressed there. I am, however, not depending on the sole authority of that essay (see foot-note 11) except for the wording of its definition of life as an *act and process*—and can anyone knowing anything of Coleridge's ideas or his prose style question that Coleridge, not Gillman, either wrote or directly inspired those last sentences of the essay?

Life, says Coleridge, "is not a *thing*—a self-subsistent *hypostasis*—but an *act and process*." It is, in other words, nature working out her development by forces subject to universal laws. And the most important of these forces are two that oppose each other; a tendency in nature as a whole to unify more fully and completely, and a tendency in every particular animal to become more definite and more individual. "Life, as Life, supposes a positive or universal principle in

<sup>17</sup> In *Table Talk*, and in the conversation reported by J. A. Heraud in his *Oration on the Death of Coleridge*, published in 1834.

nature, with a negative principle in every particular animal, the latter, or limitative power, constantly acting to individualize, and, as it were, *figure* the former."<sup>18</sup> This results in an equilibrium, as it were, of different degrees, the degrees being represented by the various forms of living things. As the equilibrium changes and advances, there is a constant increase in intensity of individualization among living forms, yet a constantly maintained totality—in other words, the many markedly individual forms of life are at the same time part of the great unity of nature. The minerals (which are considered to have Life as everything that *is* has to some degree) illustrate "mere unity of powers."<sup>19</sup> The crystals, a step higher, constitute the simplest forms of "totality." Another step higher are such things as fossils, peat, coal, coral, etc., which are the residue of animal or vegetable life.<sup>20</sup> (Here Coleridge—or Gillman—is, of course, off the track, and he feels very uncertain about the matter himself). Then come the lowest vegetables and animals, where "the individual is apparent and separate, but subordinate to anything in man."<sup>21</sup> And so the vegetables and animals diverge, the series of animal forms culminating thus far in man.

Furthermore, nature is prophetic, and announces the higher forms by sure indications in the lower:

The metal at its height of being seems a mute prophecy of the coming vegetation, into a mimic semblance of which it crystallizes. . . . And who that hath watched their ways with an understanding heart, could, as the vision evolving, still advanced toward him, contemplate the filial and loyal bee; the home-building . . . swallow; and above all the manifoldly intelligent ant tribes . . . and not say to himself, Behold the shadow of approaching humanity, the sun rising from behind, in the kindling morn of creation!<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Theory of Life*, Bohn edition, p. 430. See also: *Table Talk* for July 9, 1827: "In the very lowest link in the vast and mysterious chain of Being, there is an effort, although scarcely apparent, at individualization; but it is almost lost in the mere nature. A little higher up, the individual is apparent and separate, but subordinate to anything in man. At length, the animal rises to be on a par with the lowest power of the human nature. There are some of our natural desires which only remain in our most perfect state on earth as means of the higher powers' acting."

<sup>19</sup> *Theory of Life*, Bohn edition, p. 389.

<sup>20</sup> *Theory of Life*, pp. 389-90.

<sup>21</sup> *Table Talk* for July 9, 1827.

<sup>22</sup> *Aids to Reflection*: Comment on Aphorism 74. See for the same idea expressed in other words, *On the Constitution of Church and State*, the Dialogue between Demosius and Mystes.

with

I wandered lonely as a cloud.<sup>40</sup>

Compare the frequently repeated and varied Ossianic image

Her breasts were like foam on the wave<sup>41</sup>

Her white breast heaved . . . like the foam on the streamy Lubar<sup>42</sup>

Her breast rose slowly to sight, like ocean's heaving wave<sup>43</sup>

. . . her high heaving breast is seen, white as foamy waves<sup>44</sup>

. . . the bosom of whitening waves<sup>45</sup>

. . . calm as the breast of the lake<sup>46</sup>

The moon is in the east. Calm and bright is the breast of the lake<sup>47</sup>

with Wordsworth's

This Sea that bares her bosom to the moon.<sup>48</sup>

Or, to consider passages even more deeply characteristic of the Ossianic poems, as well as of Wordsworth, compare their manner of associating the death of man with environing nature:

Three stones lift their grey heads, beneath a bending oak.<sup>49</sup>

Four stones, with their heads of moss, are the only memorial of thee. A tree with scarce a leaf . . .<sup>50</sup>

Rolled round in earth's diurnal course,  
With rocks, and stones, and trees.<sup>51</sup>

But it is not in isolated echoes of imagery and phraseology that the real indebtedness of Wordsworth to *Ossian* is to be found. There is in Wordsworth's poetry a curious inconsistency between theory and practice. He, the philosopher of the commonplace, is selected with Keats to exemplify Matthew

<sup>40</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 187, l. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Centenary Edition, *Carthou*, p. 174.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, *Fingal*, III, 63.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, *Colna-Dona*, p. 195.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sul-Malla of Lumon*, p. 382.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, *Cathlin of Clutha*, p. 334.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, "The Songs of Selma," *Alpin*, p. 413.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, *The Battle of Lora*, p. 150.

<sup>48</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 259, l. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Centenary Edition, *Temora*, II, p. 253.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, "The Songs of Selma," *Alpin*, p. 413.

<sup>51</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 187, ll. 7-8.

Arnold's "natural magic"<sup>52</sup> in English poetry; and his predilection for lonely places and for wild, barbaric nature is in sharp contrast with his professed admiration for the "meanest flower that blows" and "the human heart by which we live." The meagerness of minute details of nature and of the manners of life, which Gosse insists on as one of the chief arguments against the genuineness of *Ossian*,<sup>53</sup> is often quite as characteristic of Wordsworth. Selecting a passage almost at random from among *The Poems of the Imagination*, we meet with lines much resembling parts of the Ossianic "Songs of Selma" from Wordsworth's poem *To the Clouds*:

The mountain blast  
Shall be our *hand* of music; he shall sweep  
The rocks, and quivering trees, and billowy lake,  
And search the fibres of the caves, and they  
Shall answer.<sup>54</sup>

Why did the author of such things as the "Poems Founded on the Affections" return alone to dream his dreams in the Cave of Fingal, or seek solace in his poetry—as in his life—among barren mountains?

Legouis glances at this inconsistency, and seems to be puzzled by it:

He declares himself the obedient interpreter of that reality which seems the absolute antithesis of poetry. . . . But Wordsworth renounces the extraordinary features of reality, no less than those of fiction. The mountains which occupy so large a place in his work appear in it only by accident, if I may say so—because he was born and lived among them, and because he never describes anything but what has presented itself to his senses. They are unnecessary to his poetry, and almost inconsistent with his doctrine. The peculiar province of Wordsworth is that of the *common*. Wherever selection was possible he held it his duty to borrow nothing from those elements of the world which are marvelous or unusual.<sup>55</sup>

This half-hearted explanation of Wordsworth's love of the extraordinary features of nature as a mere accident of birth, the outgrowth of a careful and methodical observation of the

<sup>52</sup> *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, etc., New York, 1907, p. 129.

<sup>53</sup> *Supra*, p. 364.

<sup>54</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 230, ll. 61-5.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 446.

world which presented itself to his senses, would not go far toward explaining such a confessional as this:

The sounding cataract  
 Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,  
 The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,  
 Their colours and their forms, were then to me  
 An appetite.<sup>64</sup>

What relation can Macpherson's *Ossian* be reasonably assumed to bear to these peculiar aspects of Wordsworth's poetry—his power of "natural magic" and his love of wild nature?

Arnold, although he seems not to have carried his reasoning consciously to its logical conclusion, was explicit in attributing the "natural magic" of English poetry to a Celtic influence,<sup>67</sup> and in ascribing to Macpherson's *Ossian* the credit of communicating this influence to modern European literature. After making all possible allowances for the faults of Macpherson's work, he concludes that

there will still be left in the book a residue with the very soul of the Celtic genius in it, and which has the proud distinction of having brought this soul of the Celtic genius into contact with the genius of modern Europe, and enriched all our poetry by it. Woody Morven, and echoing Sora, and Selma with its silent halls!—we all owe them a debt of gratitude, and when we are unjust enough to forget it, may the Muse forget us!<sup>68</sup>

And a more recent writer, more severe in his condemnation of Macpherson's methods and less eloquent in his praise of Macpherson's achievement, employs different terminology to express virtually the same general idea as to the influence of *Ossian*:

The varied sources of his work and its worthlessness as a transcript of actual Celtic poems do not alter the fact that he produced a work of art which by its deep appreciation of natural beauty and the melancholy tenderness of its treatment of the ancient legend did more than any single work to bring about the romantic movement in European . . . literature.<sup>69</sup>

In the imaginative interpretation of mountainous scenery, it is rather generally conceded that Macpherson's *Ossian* served

<sup>64</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 206, ll. 76-80.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>69</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, sub "James Macpherson."

to blaze the way for all who came after. To meet with a fine description of the mountains after the decade of 1760—and there were few enough before that—is likely to be to meet with the influence of *Ossian*. For instance, Dr. Myra Reynolds, in her survey of the treatment of nature in the literature of the eighteenth century, remarks that *Humphrey Clinker* was the last novel by Smollett, and the only one in which he made effective use of nature;<sup>60</sup> and she quotes from a letter from the country of *Ossian*:

These are the lonely hills of Morven, where Fingal and his heroes enjoyed the same pastime. I feel an enthusiastic pleasure when I survey the brown heath that Ossian was wont to tread; and hear the wind whistle through the bending grass. . . . The poems of Ossian are in every mouth.<sup>61</sup>

So also Professor Veitch:

Europe . . . rejoiced in the new vision of mountain glory and mountain freedom which was opened up in these strange, weird, Celtic poems.<sup>62</sup>

Sir Archibald Geikie, in his lecture on the *Types of Scenery and Their Influence on Literature*, has emphasized the fact that in all English literature the finest and most adequate interpretations of mountain scenery are Macpherson's *Ossian* and the poetry of Wordsworth. He makes no attempt to draw an analogy, or to indicate a relationship between the two, even though some of the passages which he quotes from Wordsworth might almost be transferred to his discussion of the earlier work. To *Ossian* he gives unstinted praise for its fidelity to nature, its beauty (despite its monotony), and its power. The judgment of Geikie, himself an authority on the topography of the Highlands, contradicts the assertion of Wordsworth that *Ossian* is false to the truth of nature in its representation of mountain scenery:

But when we discover that the endless allusions to topographical features are faithful delineations, which give the very spirit and essence of the scenery, we feel that whether they were written in the eighteenth century or the third, they display a poetic genius of no mean order.

<sup>60</sup> *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry*, Chicago, 1909, p. 213.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>62</sup> John Veitch, *The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry*, Edinburgh and London, 1887, II, 117-18.

The grandeur and gloom of the Highland mountains, the spectral mists that sweep round the crags, the roar of the torrents, the gleam of sunlight on moor and lake, the wail of the breeze among the cairns of the dead, the unspeakable sadness that seems to brood over the landscape whether the sky be clear or clouded—these features of West Highland scenery were first revealed by Macpherson to the modern world. This revelation quickened the change of feeling, already begun, in regard to the prevailing horror of mountain scenery. It brought before men's eyes some of the fascination of the mountain-world, more especially in regard to the atmospheric effects that play so large a part in its landscape. It showed the titanic forces of storm and tempest in full activity. And yet there runs through all the poems a vein of infinite melancholy. The pathos of life manifested itself everywhere, now in the tenderness of unavailing devotion, now in the courage of hopeless despair. . . .

Never before or since have the endless changes of sky and atmosphere been more powerfully portrayed.<sup>63</sup>

Another lover of the Highlands, and at the same time one of the foremost authorities in the interpretation of Wordsworth, has put *Ossian* above Wordsworth in the power of expressing feeling for the mountains. John Campbell Shairp remarked in one of his Oxford lectures, shortly after a visit to the Ossian country:

Even to this day, when one is alone in the loneliest places of the Highlands, in the wilderness where no man is, or the desolate moor of Rannoch, or among the grey boulders of Badenoch,—when

"the loneliness

Loadeth the heart, the desert tires the eye"—

at such a time, if one wished a language to express the feeling that weighs upon the heart, where would one turn to find it? Not to Scott; not even to Wordsworth—though the power of hills was upon him, if upon any modern. Not in these, but in the voice of Cona alone would the heart find a language that would relieve it.<sup>64</sup>

In another discussion of *Ossian* Shairp came very near to making a statement regarding the influence of the poems upon Wordsworth—although even here, apparently as a result of Wordsworth's professed antipathy for Macpherson's work, the relation does not seem to have been clearly grasped:

Whether the poetry was old, or the product of the last century, it describes, as none other does, the desolation of dusky moors, the solemn brooding of the mists on the mountains, the occasional looking through them of sun by day, of

<sup>63</sup> *Landscape in History and Other Essays*, London, 1905, pp. 115-17.

<sup>64</sup> *Aspects of Poetry*, Oxford, 1881, p. 285.



moon and stars by night, the gloom of dark cloudy Bens or cairns, with flashing cataracts, the ocean with its storms as it breaks on the West Highland shores or on the headlands of the Hebrides. Wordsworth, though an unbeliever in Ossian, felt that the fit place for his spirit was

"Where rocks are rudely heaped and rent  
As by a spirit turbulent,  
Where sights are rough and sounds are wild  
And everything unreconciled,  
In some complaining dim retreat,  
For fear and melancholy meet."

. . .

Whatever men may now think of them there cannot be a doubt but these mountain monotonies took the heart of Europe with a new emotion, and prepared it for that passion for mountains which has since possessed it.<sup>65</sup>

In a discussion of Wordsworth's youth, Shairst emphasized the fact that his early interests and his communion with nature unconsciously fixed the bent of his mature thought and poetical expression:

These were his supreme moments of existence, when the vision first dawned upon his soul, when without knowing it he was baptized with an effluence from on high, consecrated to be the poet-priest of Nature's mysteries. The light that then came to him was in after years "the masterlight of all his seeing," the fountain-head of his highest inspirations. From this was drawn that peculiar ethereal gleam which rests on his finest after productions—the ode to the Cuckoo, the poems on Matthew, Tintern Abbey, the Intimations of Immortality, and many another poem.<sup>66</sup>

Whatever the literary merits of *Ossian*, its influence upon the imaginative powers of the young Romantic poets is abundantly established—except for Wordsworth. Is it a mere coincidence that so much of the world upon which the "inner eye" of Wordsworth loved to dwell—sun, moon, stars, clouds, winds, mountains, torrents, waves, rocks, moss, trees (commonplaces in the conventional language of poetry)—was like the world of *Ossian*?<sup>67</sup> In Wordsworth—as in *Ossian*—these familiar phenomena of nature appear in the new glamor of "natural magic," and exalted by that passionate love of wild nature which Legouis

<sup>65</sup> *On Poetic Interpretations of Nature*, Boston, 1885, pp. 232-34.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, London, 1897, II, 51: "old Ossian's old friends, sunbeams and mists."

artificial landscape gardening he feels a sense of kinship with the former inhabitants and with the primitive spirit of the place:

Thus (where the intrusive Pile, ill-graced  
With baubles of theatric taste,  
O'erlooks the torrent breathing showers  
On motley bands of alien flowers  
In stiff confusion set or sown,  
Till Nature cannot find her own,  
Or keep a remnant of the sod  
Which Caledonian Heroes trod)  
I mused; and, thirsting for redress,  
Recoiled into the wilderness.<sup>22</sup>

In still another poem, *The Highland Broach*, he refers to the wall

Where shields of mighty heroes hung,  
Where Fingal heard what Ossian sung.

And he goes on to lament, in good Ossianic phrase, the decay of that golden time:

The heroic Age expired—it slept  
Deep in its tomb:—the bramble crept  
O'er Fingal's hearth; the grassy sod  
Grew on the floors his sons had trod.  
Malvina! where art thou?<sup>23</sup>

In a poem entitled *Written in a Blank Leaf of Macpherson's Ossian*, Wordsworth expresses the thought that the fragments in nature need no artificial completion; and utters the wish that he might have the authentic words of Ossian himself, instead of the "counterfeit Remains." He laments the loss of the

primal flight  
Of the poetic ecstasy

of such primitive bards as Orpheus and Musaeus, as of Ossian, whose works have perished. But he concludes that the greater loss is that of the bards who have disappointed the world, "self-betrayed"; and he rejoices in those who have had courage

<sup>22</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 301, ll. 119-28.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 390, ll. 29-35.

to linger in old age to sing bravely to mankind. He hails them as brothers; and curiously enough he links with blind Ossian his pattern of civic virtue, blind Milton:

Brothers in soul! though distant times  
Produced you nursed in various climes,  
Ye, when the orb of life had waned,  
A plentitude of love retained:  
Hence, while in you each sad regret  
By corresponding hope was met,  
Ye lingered among human kind,  
Sweet voices for the passing wind;  
Departing sunbeams, loth to stop,  
Though smiling on the last hill-top!  
Such to the tender-hearted maid  
Even ere her joys begin to fade;  
Such, haply, to the rugged chief  
By fortune crushed, or tamed by grief;  
Appears, on Morven's lonely shore,  
Dim-gleaming through imperfect lore,  
The Son of Fingal; such was blind  
Maeonides of ampler mind;  
Such Milton, to the fountain-head  
Of glory by Urania led!<sup>24</sup>

And although *The Prelude* denies *Ossian* a place among the favorites of the author's youth, it shows the certainty with which Wordsworth as a young man could recognize its flowers amid the pulpit eloquence of a popular London preacher:

And Ossian (doubt not—'tis the naked truth)  
Summoned from streamy Morven—each and all  
Would, in their turns, lend ornaments and flowers  
To entwine the crook of eloquence that helped  
This pretty Shepherd, pride of all the plains,  
To rule and guide his captivated flock.<sup>25</sup>

For indeed, his familiarity with *Ossian* did not end in a general conception of the poet's character as a primitive bard; it extended to minuter matters of the imagery and diction of Macpherson's translation. Whenever he refers to *Ossian*, he uses at will the exact and typical Ossianic phrases—"streamy Morven" in the lines quoted, "the hill of storms" referred to

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 473, ll. 63-82.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 695, ll. 567-72.

above,<sup>26</sup> and the like. In still another of his poems of Scotland, *The Earl of Breadalbane's Ruined Mansion, and Family Burial Place*, he seems to have *Ossian* in mind in his opening lines:

Well sang the Bard who called the grave, in strains  
Thoughtful and sad, the "narrow house."<sup>27</sup>

However often the phrase may be found in Romantic poetry, it occurs most frequently in *Ossian*, where it is the fixed epithet for the grave:

Soon shall he lie in the narrow house, and no bard shall raise his fame!<sup>28</sup>

Any citation of parallel passages in Wordsworth and *Ossian* involves much greater difficulties than those of possible recurrence in kindred Romantic poetry. Wordsworth's professed contempt for Macpherson would make him less likely than he might otherwise be to fall into close similarity of image or phrase. Furthermore, much of the machinery of Macpherson is alien to Wordsworth's purpose: the fights of Fingal and his men, the passionate lament of a blind chieftain for the glories of a lost kingdom and for the death of heroes—these would have little place in Wordsworth's poetical design. However, it is the quasi-epic embellishments of Macpherson which are of least value, and which are most open to the suspicion of clumsy fabrication. In the more original and more deeply characteristic features of *Ossian*—in the language of sun and moon and stars, clouds, mountains, rocks, mossy stones, winds, trees, and streams—there is often a striking, and I believe a significant, similarity to kindred passages in Wordsworth's poems.

Compare the Ossianic lament—

Daura, my daughter! thou wert fair; fair as the moon on Fura<sup>29</sup>

or the opening of the famous hymn to the evening star

Star of descending night! fair is thy light in the west!<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Supra*, p. 367.

<sup>27</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 389. ll. 1-2.

<sup>28</sup> Centenary Edition, "The Songs of Selma," *Alpin*, pp. 416-17.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 415.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 409.

or

They were like stars, on a rainy hill, by night, each looking faintly through  
her mist<sup>21</sup>

or

I saw thee, like a star, that shines on the hill, at night<sup>22</sup>

with Wordsworth's

Till Night, descending upon hill and vale<sup>23</sup>

or his

Fair as a star, when only one  
Is shining in the sky.<sup>24</sup>

Compare the Ossianic lament:

Why did I not pass away in secret, like the flower of the rock, that lifts its  
fair head unseen<sup>25</sup>

with Wordsworth's

violet by a mossy stone  
Half hidden from the eye!<sup>26</sup>

Compare the oft-repeated Ossianic phrase

The stormy winds are laid<sup>27</sup>

with Wordsworth's

like stormy winds  
That into breezes sink.<sup>28</sup>

Compare

He is gone on his blast like the shade of a wandering cloud<sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, *Berrathon*, p. 396.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dar-Thula*, p. 348.

<sup>23</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 363, l. 110.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109, ll. 7-8.

<sup>25</sup> Centenary Edition, *Oithona*, p. 135.

<sup>26</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 109, ll. 5-6.

<sup>27</sup> Centenary Edition, "The Songs of Selma," p. 409.

<sup>28</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 500, ll. 51-2.

<sup>29</sup> Centenary Edition, *Conlath and Cuthona*, p. 370.

with

I wandered lonely as a cloud.<sup>40</sup>

Compare the frequently repeated and varied Ossianic image

Her breasts were like foam on the wave<sup>41</sup>

Her white breast heaved . . . like the foam on the streamy Lubar<sup>42</sup>

Her breast rose slowly to sight, like ocean's heaving wave<sup>43</sup>

. . . her high heaving breast is seen, white as foamy waves<sup>44</sup>

. . . the bosom of whitening waves<sup>45</sup>

. . . calm as the breast of the lake<sup>46</sup>

The moon is in the east. Calm and bright is the breast of the lake<sup>47</sup>

with Wordsworth's

This Sea that bares her bosom to the moon.<sup>48</sup>

Or, to consider passages even more deeply characteristic of the Ossianic poems, as well as of Wordsworth, compare their manner of associating the death of man with environing nature:

Three stones lift their grey heads, beneath a bending oak.<sup>49</sup>

Four stones, with their heads of moss, are the only memorial of thee. A tree with scarce a leaf . . .<sup>50</sup>

Rolled round in earth's diurnal course,  
With rocks, and stones, and trees.<sup>51</sup>

But it is not in isolated echoes of imagery and phraseology that the real indebtedness of Wordsworth to *Ossian* is to be found. There is in Wordsworth's poetry a curious inconsistency between theory and practice. He, the philosopher of the commonplace, is selected with Keats to exemplify Matthew

<sup>40</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 187, l. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Centenary Edition, *Carthou*, p. 174.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, *Fingal*, III, 63.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, *Colna-Dona*, p. 195.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sul-Malla of Lumon*, p. 382.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, *Cathlin of Clutha*, p. 334.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, "The Songs of Selma," *Alpin*, p. 413.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, *The Battle of Lora*, p. 150.

<sup>48</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 259, l. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Centenary Edition, *Temora*, II, p. 253.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, "The Songs of Selma," *Alpin*, p. 413.

<sup>51</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 187, ll. 7-8.

Arnold's "natural magic"<sup>52</sup> in English poetry; and his predilection for lonely places and for wild, barbaric nature is in sharp contrast with his professed admiration for the "meanest flower that blows" and "the human heart by which we live." The meagerness of minute details of nature and of the manners of life, which Gosse insists on as one of the chief arguments against the genuineness of *Ossian*,<sup>53</sup> is often quite as characteristic of Wordsworth. Selecting a passage almost at random from among *The Poems of the Imagination*, we meet with lines much resembling parts of the Ossianic "Songs of Selma" from Wordsworth's poem *To the Clouds*:

The mountain blast  
Shall be our *hand* of music; he shall sweep  
The rocks, and quivering trees, and billowy lake,  
And search the fibres of the caves, and they  
Shall answer.<sup>54</sup>

Why did the author of such things as the "Poems Founded on the Affections" return alone to dream his dreams in the Cave of Fingal, or seek solace in his poetry—as in his life—among barren mountains?

Legouis glances at this inconsistency, and seems to be puzzled by it:

He declares himself the obedient interpreter of that reality which seems the absolute antithesis of poetry. . . . But Wordsworth renounces the extraordinary features of reality, no less than those of fiction. The mountains which occupy so large a place in his work appear in it only by accident, if I may say so—because he was born and lived among them, and because he never describes anything but what has presented itself to his senses. They are unnecessary to his poetry, and almost inconsistent with his doctrine. The peculiar province of Wordsworth is that of the *common*. Wherever selection was possible he held it his duty to borrow nothing from those elements of the world which are marvelous or unusual.<sup>55</sup>

This half-hearted explanation of Wordsworth's love of the extraordinary features of nature as a mere accident of birth, the outgrowth of a careful and methodical observation of the

<sup>52</sup> *On the Study of Celtic Literature, etc.*, New York, 1907, p. 129.

<sup>53</sup> *Supra*, p. 364.

<sup>54</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 230, ll. 61-5.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 446.

world which presented itself to his senses, would not go far toward explaining such a confessional as this:

The sounding cataract  
 Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,  
 The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,  
 Their colours and their forms, were then to me  
 An appetite.<sup>66</sup>

What relation can Macpherson's *Ossian* be reasonably assumed to bear to these peculiar aspects of Wordsworth's poetry—his power of "natural magic" and his love of wild nature?

Arnold, although he seems not to have carried his reasoning consciously to its logical conclusion, was explicit in attributing the "natural magic" of English poetry to a Celtic influence,<sup>67</sup> and in ascribing to Macpherson's *Ossian* the credit of communicating this influence to modern European literature. After making all possible allowances for the faults of Macpherson's work, he concludes that

there will still be left in the book a residue with the very soul of the Celtic genius in it, and which has the proud distinction of having brought this soul of the Celtic genius into contact with the genius of modern Europe, and enriched all our poetry by it. Woody Morven, and echoing Sora, and Selma with its silent halls!—we all owe them a debt of gratitude, and when we are unjust enough to forget it, may the Muse forget us!<sup>68</sup>

And a more recent writer, more severe in his condemnation of Macpherson's methods and less eloquent in his praise of Macpherson's achievement, employs different terminology to express virtually the same general idea as to the influence of *Ossian*:

The varied sources of his work and its worthlessness as a transcript of actual Celtic poems do not alter the fact that he produced a work of art which by its deep appreciation of natural beauty and the melancholy tenderness of its treatment of the ancient legend did more than any single work to bring about the romantic movement in European . . . literature.<sup>69</sup>

In the imaginative interpretation of mountainous scenery, it is rather generally conceded that Macpherson's *Ossian* served

<sup>66</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 206, ll. 76-80.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>69</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, sub "James Macpherson."



to blaze the way for all who came after. To meet with a fine description of the mountains after the decade of 1760—and there were few enough before that—is likely to be to meet with the influence of *Ossian*. For instance, Dr. Myra Reynolds, in her survey of the treatment of nature in the literature of the eighteenth century, remarks that *Humphrey Clinker* was the last novel by Smollett, and the only one in which he made effective use of nature;<sup>60</sup> and she quotes from a letter from the country of *Ossian*:

These are the lonely hills of Morven, where Fingal and his heroes enjoyed the same pastime. I feel an enthusiastic pleasure when I survey the brown heath that Ossian was wont to tread; and hear the wind whistle through the bending grass. . . . The poems of Ossian are in every mouth.<sup>61</sup>

So also Professor Veitch:

Europe . . . rejoiced in the new vision of mountain glory and mountain freedom which was opened up in these strange, weird, Celtic poems.<sup>62</sup>

Sir Archibald Geikie, in his lecture on the *Types of Scenery and Their Influence on Literature*, has emphasized the fact that in all English literature the finest and most adequate interpretations of mountain scenery are Macpherson's *Ossian* and the poetry of Wordsworth. He makes no attempt to draw an analogy, or to indicate a relationship between the two, even though some of the passages which he quotes from Wordsworth might almost be transferred to his discussion of the earlier work. To *Ossian* he gives unstinted praise for its fidelity to nature, its beauty (despite its monotony), and its power. The judgment of Geikie, himself an authority on the topography of the Highlands, contradicts the assertion of Wordsworth that *Ossian* is false to the truth of nature in its representation of mountain scenery: X

But when we discover that the endless allusions to topographical features are faithful delineations, which give the very spirit and essence of the scenery, we feel that whether they were written in the eighteenth century or the third, they display a poetic genius of no mean order.

<sup>60</sup> *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry*, Chicago, 1909, p. 213.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>62</sup> John Veitch, *The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry*, Edinburgh and London, 1887, II, 117-18.

The grandeur and gloom of the Highland mountains, the spectral mists that sweep round the crags, the roar of the torrents, the gleam of sunlight on moor and lake, the wail of the breeze among the cairns of the dead, the unspeakable sadness that seems to brood over the landscape whether the sky be clear or clouded—these features of West Highland scenery were first revealed by Macpherson to the modern world. This revelation quickened the change of feeling, already begun, in regard to the prevailing horror of mountain scenery. It brought before men's eyes some of the fascination of the mountain-world, more especially in regard to the atmospheric effects that play so large a part in its landscape. It showed the titanic forces of storm and tempest in full activity. And yet there runs through all the poems a vein of infinite melancholy. The pathos of life manifested itself everywhere, now in the tenderness of unavailing devotion, now in the courage of hopeless despair. . . .

Never before or since have the endless changes of sky and atmosphere been more powerfully portrayed.<sup>63</sup>

Another lover of the Highlands, and at the same time one of the foremost authorities in the interpretation of Wordsworth, has put *Ossian* above Wordsworth in the power of expressing feeling for the mountains. John Campbell Shairp remarked in one of his Oxford lectures, shortly after a visit to the Ossian country:

Even to this day, when one is alone in the loneliest places of the Highlands, in the wilderness where no man is, or the desolate moor of Rannoch, or among the grey boulders of Badenoch,—when

“the loneliness

Loadeth the heart, the desert tires the eye”—

at such a time, if one wished a language to express the feeling that weighs upon the heart, where would one turn to find it? Not to Scott; not even to Wordsworth—though the power of hills was upon him, if upon any modern. Not in these, but in the voice of Cona alone would the heart find a language that would relieve it.<sup>64</sup>

In another discussion of *Ossian* Shairp came very near to making a statement regarding the influence of the poems upon Wordsworth—although even here, apparently as a result of Wordsworth's professed antipathy for Macpherson's work, the relation does not seem to have been clearly grasped:

Whether the poetry was old, or the product of the last century, it describes, as none other does, the desolation of dusky moors, the solemn brooding of the mists on the mountains, the occasional looking through them of sun by day, of

<sup>63</sup> *Landscape in History and Other Essays*, London, 1905, pp. 115-17.

<sup>64</sup> *Aspects of Poetry*, Oxford, 1881, p. 285.

moon and stars by night, the gloom of dark cloudy Bens or cairns, with flashing cataracts, the ocean with its storms as it breaks on the West Highland shores or on the headlands of the Hebrides. Wordsworth, though an unbeliever in Ossian, felt that the fit place for his spirit was

"Where rocks are rudely heaped and rent  
As by a spirit turbulent,  
Where sights are rough and sounds are wild  
And everything unreconciled,  
In some complaining dim retreat,  
For fear and melancholy meet."

. . .

Whatever men may now think of them there cannot be a doubt but these mountain monotonies took the heart of Europe with a new emotion, and prepared it for that passion for mountains which has since possessed it.<sup>65</sup>

In a discussion of Wordsworth's youth, Shairp emphasized the fact that his early interests and his communion with nature unconsciously fixed the bent of his mature thought and poetical expression:

These were his supreme moments of existence, when the vision first dawned upon his soul, when without knowing it he was baptized with an effluence from on high, consecrated to be the poet-priest of Nature's mysteries. The light that then came to him was in after years "the masterlight of all his seeing," the fountain-head of his highest inspirations. From this was drawn that peculiar ethereal gleam which rests on his finest after productions—the ode to the Cuckoo, the poems on Matthew, Tintern Abbey, the Intimations of Immortality, and many another poem.<sup>66</sup>

Whatever the literary merits of *Ossian*, its influence upon the imaginative powers of the young Romantic poets is abundantly established—except for Wordsworth. Is it a mere coincidence that so much of the world upon which the "inner eye" of Wordsworth loved to dwell—sun, moon, stars, clouds, winds, mountains, torrents, waves, rocks, moss, trees (commonplaces in the conventional language of poetry)—was like the world of *Ossian*?<sup>67</sup> In Wordsworth—as in *Ossian*—these familiar phenomena of nature appear in the new glamor of "natural magic," and exalted by that passionate love of wild nature which Legouis

<sup>65</sup> *On Poetic Interpretations of Nature*, Boston, 1885, pp. 232-34.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, London, 1897, II, 51: "old Ossian's old friends, sunbeams and mists."

considers almost inconsistent with Wordsworth's professed doctrines. Many of the same images occur again and again to both poets, and form the background of their most characteristic thoughts.

Indeed, when Wordsworth would suggest most clearly the world of nature which has power to solace the soul of man, he has, in old memory, a vision of the land of Morven; as in the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*, the features of nature which draw the poet's mind from unseasonable grief have more than a superficial resemblance to those detailed in *Colma*, one of the Ossianic "Songs of Selma":

The cataracts blow their trumpets from the steep;

. . .

I hear the Echoes through the mountains throng,  
The Winds come to me from the fields of sleep,"

The wind is heard in the mountain. The torrent pours down the rock. No hut receives me from the rain, forlorn on the hill of winds. . . . The rocks are grey on the steep."<sup>68</sup>

JOHN ROBERT MOORE

<sup>68</sup> Oxford Edition, p. 588, ll. 25-8.

<sup>69</sup> Centenary Edition, 410-11.

## XX. COLERIDGE AND THE IDEA OF EVOLUTION

Coleridge, more than any other man in the England of his time, sensed what were the significant currents of thought then in the civilized world, although his recognition of many of these ideas seems instinctive rather than conscious. Coleridge was often a prophet who saw as in a glass darkly. But though darkly, he *saw*—or, at least, *felt*.

One current of thought which Coleridge sensed, and which proved to be of the utmost importance to the advance of human knowledge, was that leading towards the idea of evolution. Coleridge's relations to this idea have never, I think, been worked out in detail. His critics have either ignored the subject, or, going to the other extreme, have seized on a few phrases and acclaimed him as a prophet of evolution. Professor Gingerich, in a most useful article on Coleridge's philosophy,<sup>1</sup> quoting from his *Aids to Reflection* the statement that "all things strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving," observes in a foot-note: "These almost startlingly penetrative passages anticipate, so far as prophecy can anticipate, the evolutionary thought of a later generation, especially on its ethical side, as expressed, for instance, in the poetry of Browning." Though there is truth in this observation, the questions raised by that remark of Coleridge's are, as I hope to show, far more complex than Mr. Gingerich's comment would indicate. The same criticism applies to the judgment expressed by Professor Wylie:

Coleridge's habit of living and thinking by great principles was vivified by his recognition of the evolution in human progress, and of the organic nature of thought. . . . The mysterious and undemonstrable, which his philosophy called the root of all knowledge, perhaps made him sensitive to those processes of growth and development that his predecessors had so wholly ignored. But the air was full of the new truth. The days of Lamarck and Darwin were at hand; Kant and Goethe had fairly grasped the idea of evolution. . . . It was this idea of man's historical relations and development that Coleridge made a moulding power in English thought. Though interested in the tendency of scientists toward a belief in evolution, he was content to leave the investigation

<sup>1</sup> S. F. Gingerich, "From Necessity to Transcendentalism in Coleridge." *P.M.L.A.*, XXXV, 1ff.

in the hands of those, "capable of demonstrating its objective truth," with the hope that we might thence receive "one other splendid proof that with the knowledge of law alone dwell power and prophecy."<sup>2</sup>

Deferring consideration of the passage to which Miss Wylie refers until it can be compared with Coleridge's other statements, we may agree without hesitation that Coleridge had the spirit of evolution working in him. On the other hand, there is unquestionable proof, which will appear later, that he was not *favorably* "interested in the tendency of scientists toward a belief in evolution"—at least in organic evolution.<sup>3</sup> As time went on the idea of evolution grew more and more powerful in Coleridge, but even to the end of his life we see him struggling beneath a hard crust of antagonistic ideas and beliefs which were fully as powerful. Coleridge's was a mind of conflict in an age of conflict.

The clearest plan to follow in discussing the subject will be, first, to trace the development of the evolutionary ideas in Coleridge's mind; second, to describe the forces in him antagonistic to these ideas; and, third, to outline something of the philosophy of life which Coleridge reached as a result of this inward conflict.

## I

Positive ideas looking toward evolution, in the earlier part of Coleridge's life, are so few and unimportant that we can disregard them here. But during the decade or so after his trip to Germany in 1798-1799<sup>4</sup> they begin to appear more frequently in his writings, and to be more significant in their implications.

In 1801 he wrote to Thomas Poole:<sup>5</sup>

I trust that I am about to do more—namely, that I shall be able to evolve all the five senses, that is, to deduce them from one sense, and to state their growth and the causes of their difference, and in this evolvment to solve the process of life and consciousness.

<sup>2</sup> Laura J. Wylie, *Studies in the Evolution of English Criticism*, p. 197. The passage referred to is in *The Friend*, Essay 6, Section 2.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, his comment on "man's having progressed from an orang-outang state," quoted in section II of this discussion.

<sup>4</sup> For a good discussion of the influence of this trip on Coleridge's mind, see Professor Gingerich's article, referred to before.

<sup>5</sup> March 16, 1801. (Coleridge's *Letters*, Vol. I, p. 348).

Needless to say, Coleridge never carried out this ambitious plan. But the point of view he takes is decidedly evolutionary. The spirit of the time had begun its work upon him.

One of the many eighteenth century philosophical ideas which the idea of evolution exploded was the "argument from design"—the contention of Paley and the other "natural theologians" that any living thing gives clear evidence that God created it, because one could not suppose so delicate a mechanism to have been produced without a superior Intelligence as the architect. Paley's favorite example was the watch—we see a watch and know there must have been an intelligent being that made it. Therefore, when we see the infinitely more complex and delicately adjusted human or animal form, we should surely recognize a superior intelligence as the maker of that. To a believer in the theory of evolution this analogy of a living thing to a watch is very imperfect and crude—their origins, and the ways in which they come to be what they are, are entirely different.

Coleridge reacted, significantly, away from the "argument from design" to the idea of growth. A marginal note which he made, probably about 1807,<sup>6</sup> in the *Works* of Robert Robinson shows this reaction very clearly. Robinson, upholding the argument from design, makes the rather silly remark:

Had I been born a Greenlander, I should have said, "My kayak did not make itself. More skill is displayed in the structure of the meanest bird than in that of the best kayak, and more still in that of man than in the composition of either."

Coleridge comments:

Had Robinson been a Greenlander he would have thought thus: my kayak was *made*—the bird *grew*—and never have reasoned from one to the other.

In this distinction between *being made* and *growing* lies the fundamental difference between the expounders of the argument from design, and those of dynamic philosophy and evolution. And Coleridge's philosophy was dynamic. From this passage alone we could not be entirely sure, but he gives abundant evidence elsewhere.

Probably the most wide-spread concept in natural philosophy

<sup>6</sup> The note is included in Coleridge's *Notes Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous*; p. 119.

during the eighteenth century was that of a "chain of being."<sup>7</sup> The idea came originally from Aristotle, or possibly existed even earlier; but the philosopher who gave the idea directly to the eighteenth century was Leibnitz. Leibnitz added to the Aristotelian chain of being the so-called "principle of continuity," and thus we have the eighteenth century conception, that all forms of life are arranged in one great ascending chain, from the lowest forms up through the vegetables, then through the animals, "the diapason ending full in Man"; that every species of living things (except, of course, man) is between two other species, one directly below it and one directly above it in the scale; and—here the principle of continuity comes in—that there are no breaks in the chain. "Natura non facit saltus."

Coleridge very probably accepted all through his life the doctrine of continuity. But his expressions of the idea appear only toward the end of the first decade in the century.<sup>8</sup>

Through all this time, too, a further development of the idea of continuity was growing in him, which is one of his important advances toward the modern idea of evolution. The eighteenth century chain of being is, of course, utterly different from our present evolutionary idea of the relations among species. Species are not above or below one another in any chain, but are diversified like the branches of a tree. The modern symbol for the relations among living forms is the family tree rather than the vital scale. Coleridge saw in part that the old vital scale did not represent organic nature's true arrangement. In *The Friend* he says:

So long back as the first appearance of Dr. Darwin's *Phytologia*, I, then in earliest manhood, presumed to hazard the opinion, that the physiological botanists were hunting in a false direction, and sought for analogy where they should have looked for antithesis. I saw, or thought I saw, that the harmony between the vegetable and animal world was not a harmony of resemblances, but of contrast, and that their relation to each other was that of corresponding opposites. . . . Since that time, the same idea has dawned in the minds of philosophers capable of demonstrating its objective truth by induction of facts in an unbroken series of correspondences in nature. From these men, or from minds enkindled by their labors, we may hope hereafter to receive it, or rather

<sup>7</sup> Other names for the idea are: "scale of being," "vital chain," "vital scale," "échelle des êtres."

<sup>8</sup> See his note on the passage in Stillingfleet referring to Sir Walter Raleigh, which I shall discuss in another connection later in this article.



the yet higher idea to which it refers us, matured into laws of organic nature, and thence to have one other splendid proof, that with the knowledge of law alone dwell power and prophecy.<sup>9</sup>

This passage, by the way, is the one from which Miss Wylie quoted. The idea Coleridge wished to have demonstrated by scientists is the divergence of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, or rather a "yet higher idea, matured into laws of organic nature." Miss Wylie evidently takes this "higher idea" to be evolution. What Coleridge is obviously referring to is the system of nature described in the *Theory of Life* and elsewhere,<sup>10</sup> a system growing directly from the harmony of contrast between the animal and vegetable worlds, and the only system of which he ever speaks in connection with this contrast.

The animal kingdom, then, is not a continuation up the vital scale from the vegetable, but the two kingdoms diverge. From the lowest orders of life "flow, as in opposite directions, the two streams of vegetation and animalization."<sup>11</sup> Coleridge escaped the fallacy which is a distinct flaw even in the system of that most important early evolutionist, Erasmus Darwin. Erasmus Darwin's futile attempts to show that plants change into animals were the result of his failure to realize clearly that these two great kingdoms of organic life do not follow each other, but diverge from a common point. Coleridge saw this latter fact clearly; unfortunately, he did not extend his reasoning to the lesser divisions of organic nature. He simply presupposes two diverging vital chains instead of one, not realizing that the principle of divergence applies within the animal and vegetable kingdoms as well as between them.

<sup>9</sup> This is not in *The Friend* as it was originally published in 1809, so far as I can find, but is in the enlarged version of 1818, Section 2, Essay 6. My references to *The Friend*, unless otherwise stated, are to the version printed in the *Complete Works* of Coleridge, New York, 1884.

<sup>10</sup> See the summary of Coleridge's system, later in this discussion.

<sup>11</sup> *Theory of Life*, Bohn edition, p. 410. The *Theory of Life* evidently contains some alterations or additions by James Gillman. See Editor's Preface, and Dr. Seth Watson's Preface, in the Bohn edition. A Brandl (*S. T. Coleridge and the English Romantic School*, Chap. VIII) calls Gillman the author and Coleridge only the helper. The extent of Gillman's contributions seems impossible to ascertain. The main ideas, at least, are undoubtedly Coleridge's, for almost every one of them can be paralleled in Coleridge's other writings. So I use the essay as Coleridge's, without depending, however, upon statements from it unless they are corroborated by Coleridge's statements elsewhere.

During the next decade, 1810-1820, Coleridge's philosophy became more and more permeated with the conception of dynamic life in nature. He saw nature less and less as a passive static condition of things that goes on in the same eternal round, and more and more as a nature which is living and growing. Just a word of caution at this point—I say Coleridge conceived of *nature* as growing through her manifold forms. This approaches the idea of evolution, but does not necessarily reach it. But of that more a little later. Coleridge was coming more and more definitely to emphasize *natura naturans* rather than the *natura naturata*—the creative and developing side of nature rather than nature looked at only as a picture.<sup>12</sup>

So far this conception of nature might have been entirely a pantheistic attitude, with no relation to science or to evolution. But another element entered his philosophy, which came directly from science, I feel sure. This was his growing belief in the unity of organization among different species of animals—a unity which is based on certain great universal laws.<sup>13</sup> He uttered words of the highest praise concerning John Hunter, because Hunter in his Museum showed that he had grasped the great fact that zoology is a study of unified and interdependent phenomena. Coleridge called Hunter "the profoundest, I had almost said the only, physiological philosopher of the latter half of the preceding century."<sup>14</sup> Botany Coleridge considered not yet a science, in spite of the work of Linnaeus, because it was still merely a catalogue of facts, and had "yet to expect the devotion and energies of the philosopher."<sup>15</sup> In 1818 or thereabouts Coleridge became acquainted with the work of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, his pregnant ideas on the unity of animal composition, and his theory that different families and even different classes of animals have organs and structures analogous to one another—that, for instance, the fin of a fish, the wing of a bird,

<sup>12</sup> See *Essays on the Fine Arts*, written 1814. (Bohn edition, *Miscellanies and Theory of Life*, p. 46.)

<sup>13</sup> For a full account of this important idea and its history, see Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's *Vie, Travaux, et Doctrine Scientifique de Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire*, Paris and Strasbourg, 1847. For a brief explanation of the idea and its history, see my article, "Did Thomas Lovell Beddoes believe in the Evolution of Species?" (*Mod. Philol.*, XXI, No. 1, August 1923).

<sup>14</sup> See *The Friend*, final version, Section 2, Essay 7 and Essay 9.

<sup>15</sup> *The Friend*, final version, Section 2, Essay 6.

the hand of a man, are all analogous in their structure and closely interrelated. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's ideas exerted, I believe, a very strong influence on Coleridge's growing appreciation of organic nature's unity of structure and his realization that science should study and apprehend the laws and conditions on which this unity depends, not simply classify and catalogue phenomena. Coleridge wrote a marginal note to an article by Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire in the *Quarterly Journal of Foreign Medicine and Surgery*,<sup>16</sup> which indicates how eagerly he received these new scientific ideas which coincided with the growing spirit within him. Geoffroy wrote as follows:

Nature constantly employs the same materials, and only displays her ingenuity in varying their forms. . . . If one organ is found of an extraordinary size, the neighboring parts are less developed; yet each of them is not the less preserved, although in a degree so minute as frequently to render them almost useless. They become so many rudiments, which bear witness in some measure to the permanence of the general plan.

The passage is written from Geoffroy's typical point of view. Coleridge's comment is:

i. e., in the simplest living organism, *ex. gr.*, the Polyp, all the powers of life are potentially contained in the lowest; but as productive power cannot be without product, we must assume, even in the minimum of energy, a correspondent minimum of Product—and a production bearing the character of potentiality, answering to the potential state of the productivity—viz., of no or obscure use to the animal, yet prophetic of an important function in some higher genus or species—or again historic of a by-gone use.

The spirit of evolution is clearly and emphatically a power, even though an unconscious power, behind these sentences. But Coleridge, it will be observed, strikes one note which is

<sup>16</sup> Vol. I, 1818-19, p. 89: "Art. IX. Du couvercle des Branchies dans les poissons; et des quatre os correspondans du conduit auditif dans les animaux à respiration aérienne. Extrait abrégé du premier mémoire d'un ouvrage imprimé mais qui n'est pas encore publié et qui est intitulé 'Philosophie Anatomique', ou l'organisation des animaux vertébrés ramenée à un type uniforme. Tome I. Dans lequel on traite des appareils osseux de l'organe respiratoire sous le rapport de l'identité de leurs matériaux. Par M. Geoffroi St. Hilaire, Membre de l'Institut de France, &c. &c. &c. (Communicated by the Author)." The passage quoted from Geoffroy is the first paragraph of the article. This volume of the *Quarterly Journal* is rare. The Surgeon-General's library, Washington, D. C., has a copy. Coleridge's marginal note is published in his *Notes Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous*, pp. 248-49.

different from anything in Geoffroy. This is the idea that these rudimentary organs are "prophetic" of higher functions. Geoffroy's theory supposes no such prophetic power in Nature. He simply says that Nature is working always with the same elementary organs, increasing or diminishing them, giving them one function or another, as they may be necessary for the good of the particular animal concerned. He expresses this in the last paragraph of his article in the *Quarterly Journal*:

Whence arises all this metamorphosis, and all this variety of form? From nature herself: she has assigned to the elementary organs the duty of assuming various combinations, of acting as if they were instruments out of use. She has laid them aside with such ingenuity, that they may be ready for every call.

From 1820 on, new books Coleridge read, new scientific work he heard about, gave constantly increased strength to the forces within him working toward evolution. Finally, in three of his latest writings, *Aids to Reflection*, the *Theory of Life*, and the *Constitution of Church and State*, also in the reports of his conversations during those latter years when he lived at Highgate,<sup>17</sup> this aspect of his philosophy receives its most complete and most highly developed expression, and his statements can be synthesized into something approaching a system. Coleridge—or Gillman and Coleridge—gives most of these ideas in the *Theory of Life*, and they can be found quite compactly expressed there. I am, however, not depending on the sole authority of that essay (see foot-note 11) except for the wording of its definition of life as an *act and process*—and can anyone knowing anything of Coleridge's ideas or his prose style question that Coleridge, not Gillman, either wrote or directly inspired those last sentences of the essay?

Life, says Coleridge, "is not a *thing*—a self-subsistent *hypostasis*—but an *act and process*." It is, in other words, nature working out her development by forces subject to universal laws. And the most important of these forces are two that oppose each other; a tendency in nature as a whole to unify more fully and completely, and a tendency in every particular animal to become more definite and more individual. "Life, as Life, supposes a positive or universal principle in

<sup>17</sup> In *Table Talk*, and in the conversation reported by J. A. Heraud in his *Oration on the Death of Coleridge*, published in 1834.

nature, with a negative principle in every particular animal, the latter, or limitative power, constantly acting to individualize, and, as it were, *figure* the former."<sup>18</sup> This results in an equilibrium, as it were, of different degrees, the degrees being represented by the various forms of living things. As the equilibrium changes and advances, there is a constant increase in intensity of individualization among living forms, yet a constantly maintained totality—in other words, the many markedly individual forms of life are at the same time part of the great unity of nature. The minerals (which are considered to have Life as everything that is has to some degree) illustrate "mere unity of powers."<sup>19</sup> The crystals, a step higher, constitute the simplest forms of "totality." Another step higher are such things as fossils, peat, coal, coral, etc., which are the residue of animal or vegetable life.<sup>20</sup> (Here Coleridge—or Gillman—is, of course, off the track, and he feels very uncertain about the matter himself). Then come the lowest vegetables and animals, where "the individual is apparent and separate, but subordinate to anything in man."<sup>21</sup> And so the vegetables and animals diverge, the series of animal forms culminating thus far in man.

Furthermore, nature is prophetic, and announces the higher forms by sure indications in the lower:

The metal at its height of being seems a mute prophecy of the coming vegetation, into a mimic semblance of which it crystallizes. . . . And who that hath watched their ways with an understanding heart, could, as the vision evolving, still advanced toward him, contemplate the filial and loyal bee; the home-building . . . swallow; and above all the manifoldly intelligent ant tribes . . . and not say to himself, Behold the shadow of approaching humanity, the sun rising from behind, in the kindling morn of creation!<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Theory of Life*, Bohn edition, p. 430. See also: *Table Talk* for July 9, 1827: "In the very lowest link in the vast and mysterious chain of Being, there is an effort, although scarcely apparent, at individualization; but it is almost lost in the mere nature. A little higher up, the individual is apparent and separate, but subordinate to anything in man. At length, the animal rises to be on a par with the lowest power of the human nature. There are some of our natural desires which only remain in our most perfect state on earth as means of the higher powers' acting."

<sup>19</sup> *Theory of Life*, Bohn edition, p. 389.

<sup>20</sup> *Theory of Life*, pp. 389-90.

<sup>21</sup> *Table Talk* for July 9, 1827.

<sup>22</sup> *Aids to Reflection*: Comment on Aphorism 74. See for the same idea expressed in other words, *On the Constitution of Church and State*, the Dialogue between Demosius and Mystes.

Finally, Coleridge comes as close as he ever came to the idea of evolution:

Nature is rather an appetite to be, than Being itself. Nature is essentially imperfect, and all her tendencies are, (so to speak) "to supersede herself." Thus the fin of a fish is a hand, but without the uses, it only serves as a fan; but there it shows that an imperfection has begun to be *felt*; and which imperfection is removed more or less, in a higher scale of creatures.<sup>23</sup>

Thus all lower Natures find their highest good in semblances and seekings of that which is higher and better. All things strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving. And shall man alone stoop? . . . No! it must be a higher good to make you happy.<sup>24</sup>

*Could* Coleridge have said this last without seeing the truth of evolution? He could. He did not realize the truth of evolution.

## II

For proof of my statement that Coleridge did not realize the truth of evolution, I shall have to trace chronologically some other elements in Coleridge's philosophy, in much the same way that I have noted the growth of forces within him tending toward—though not reaching—evolution.

In Coleridge's early period (before 1798-1799) he was clearly influenced by Unitarian ideas, and tended towards the idea that God is pervasive through all things, that man is a part of nature and sharer in God's love along with the rest of creation. This point of view was closer to the evolutionary spirit than the orthodox Trinitarian doctrines of the time were. But Coleridge never became so profoundly influenced by this type of philosophy as to lose a certain substratum of orthodox belief. A fragmentary note which he wrote in his note-book for 1795-1798 shows that Unitarianism did not have unqualified charms for him: "Unitarians, travelling from Orthodoxy to Atheism—Why? etc."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Given as Coleridge's words in a Thursday morning colloquy about the year 1827, by John A. Heraud, in his *Oration on the Death of Coleridge*, published 1834.

<sup>24</sup> *Aids to Reflection*: Comment on Aphorism 74.

<sup>25</sup> Page 9b of note-book, as printed in the *Archiv für das Stud. der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. 97, pp. 333ff.

The ending of his poem *The Æolian Harp* is significant of his frame of mind. The poet loses himself momentarily in a dream that all of animated nature may be as harps for "one intellectual breeze, at once the Soul of each, and God of all," but his Sara brings him back to orthodoxy again, and he rests content. Coleridge's own nature, I suspect, often played the same rôle which he assigns in this poem to Sara. He was reacting against rationalism also before his trip to Germany. In the 1795-98 note-book he reminds himself: "In the Essay on Berkeley to speak of Sir Isaac Newton and other materialists."<sup>26</sup>

The most significant passages in Coleridge's works as evidence against his belief in evolution are those referring to Erasmus Darwin. Coleridge was on his famous trip to secure subscribers for *The Watchman* when he first met Erasmus Darwin. He describes an interview with "Dr. Darwin, the everything except the Christian!" in a letter of 1796.<sup>27</sup> He seems to have been chiefly, and unfavorably, impressed with Erasmus Darwin's deistic beliefs; in fact, Coleridge always considered Darwin an atheist, an opinion which is not borne out by Darwin's writings.

Coleridge makes numerous references to Darwin and was obviously deeply impressed by his abilities.<sup>28</sup> But all the evidence concurs in indicating that he did not accept in the slightest Dr. Darwin's views on the evolution of species.

The question whether or not Coleridge believed in the evolu-

<sup>26</sup> Page 29a of the note-book. This, by the way, somewhat weakens Professor Gingerich's point made on page 23 of his article referred to before. He quotes a letter to Poole, written in 1801, which contains strictures on Newton as a materialist, and cites it as one of the first unmistakable signs of Coleridge's change of heart after his trip to Germany. Coleridge said, as can be seen by his note-book, the same thing about Newton, before his trip to Germany. I suspect that Professor Gingerich has somewhat underestimated the elements of Coleridge's later beliefs which were showing themselves distinctly, even before his trip to Germany.

<sup>27</sup> To Josiah Wade, Jan. 27, 1796. (Coleridge's *Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 152-53).

<sup>28</sup> See for example: Note-book for 1795-98 (*Archiv für das Stud. der neueren Sprachen*), p. 25. Allsop, Thomas: *Letters etc. of Coleridge*, Vol. 2, p. 115. *Biographia Epistolaris*, Vol. I, p. 218 (Letter of Nov. 12, 1800), Vol. II, pp. 15 (Letter of June, 1807), and 46-7 (Letter of Jan. 30, 1809). *The Letters of S. T. Coleridge*, Vol. I, p. 211 (Dec. 31, 1796), 215 (Feb. 6, 1797), 386 (July 29, 1802). *Table Talk* for May 1, 1830. *Anima Poetae*, pp. 3, 4, 78, 127-28, 236. *Biographia Literaria*, (Bohn edition) p. 8. *The Friend* (final version), Section II, Essay VI. *Miscellanies and Theory of Life* (Bohn edition), p. 16.

tion of species can, in fact, be settled without going any farther than his remarks concerning Erasmus Darwin. In a letter to Wordsworth written in 1815 Coleridge gives an interesting and unconsciously amusing account of what he had hoped Wordsworth's *Recluse* would have been; he says, among other things:

Next, I understood that you would take the human race in the concrete, have exploded the absurd notion of Pope's "Essay on Man," Darwin, and all the countless believers even (strange to say) among Christians of man's having progressed from an orang-outang State—so contrary to all history, to all religion, nay, to all possibility—to have affirmed a Fall in some sense, as a fact, the possibility of which cannot be understood from the nature of the will, but the reality of which is attested by experience and conscience."<sup>29</sup>

A perfectly plain, straightforward statement of Coleridge's beliefs on the question of man's history as a species. The reference to Pope's *Essay on Man* is curious. The *Essay on Man* expresses no evolutionary doctrines, except at times to take the Lucretian point of view that man has risen from a savage state. This is probably what Coleridge is referring to. It seems very likely that he was thinking of Lucretius in that connection, for shortly before in the same letter he referred to Lucretius as follows: "Whatever in Lucretius is poetry is not philosophy, whatever is philosophical is not poetry."

Evidently Coleridge perceived well enough the logical outcome of the Lucretian history of man (a perception which most readers of Lucretius in the eighteenth century did not have), and ranked Lucretius with Darwin. On the same principle, he ranked Darwin with Pope and the other "countless believers" in this part of the Lucretian philosophy—and condemned their point of view utterly.

In connection with this passage I have just discussed, another passage is significant, as corroborating Coleridge's disbelief in the evolution of species. This is a marginal note to Edward Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae: or a Rational Account of the Grounds of Christian Faith* (published 1675).<sup>30</sup> Stillingfleet had written as follows:<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> May 30, 1815. (*Letters of S. T. Coleridge*, Vol. II, p. 648).

<sup>30</sup> Coleridge: *Notes on Stillingfleet*. Printed for private circulation, Glasgow, 1875. Originally published in *The Athenaeum*, for March 27, 1875.

<sup>31</sup> On page 544 of the *Origines Sacrae*.



Sir W. Rawleigh gives a prudent caution, that men ought not to take animals of a mixed nature, as mules or hyænas,<sup>22</sup> nor such as differ in size and shape from each other, as the cat of Europe and ounce of India, into the several species of animals.

This passage provoked the following comment from Coleridge:

What! did Sir Walter Raleigh believe that a male and female ounce (and, if so, why not two tigers and lions, etc.?) would have produced, in course of generations, a cat, or a cat a lion? This is Darwinizing with a vengeance. By this mode of reasoning he might have reduced Noah's stowage to at most half-a-dozen, so beautiful is the gradation of the species and genera of animals from men to mice.

Sir Walter has already received some attention from historians, as an early believer in the mutability of species. What is important to us is Coleridge's reaction to the idea. He immediately connects it with Erasmus Darwin's views, and sees the implications of such a possibility for promiscuous mixing of breeds. If he had reacted favorably to this idea, he would have become a thorough evolutionist, for we have seen before that he was progressing away from the belief in a vital chain, and that he saw the unity and the continuity of nature. But he stopped short at the evolution of species.

One fundamental cause for Coleridge's failure to accept the evolution of species is implied in the passage I have quoted from his letter to Wordsworth. Coleridge, after his trip to Germany, and to some extent before, believed in the orthodox doctrine of the Fall of Man. In 1816 he wrote as part of his *Confessio Fidei*: "I believe, and hold it as the fundamental article of Christianity, that I am a fallen creature."<sup>23</sup>

He always qualified his belief by saying he meant "a Fall in some sense": he never accepted an unqualified literal interpretation of Scripture. But the doctrine of "a Fall in some sense" to his mind entirely excluded the Lucretian idea of man's progress from a savage state and still more the doctrines of Erasmus Darwin. If man's remote ancestors were the lower animals, Coleridge reasoned, man cannot have "fallen" in any sense. Therefore, a belief in the evolution of man is not only false but dangerous.

<sup>22</sup> Foot-note by editor of the *Notes on Stillingfleet*: "Raleigh believed the hyæna to be a hybrid between the wolf and the fox."

<sup>23</sup> Coleridge's *Complete Works*, V, 16.

But might he not have accepted evolution for the lower organic forms, and excepted man? Coleridge was no fool. We have seen with what sureness of insight he perceived that the Lucretian doctrines in Pope's *Essay on Man* are akin to the evolutionary doctrines of Erasmus Darwin, and that Sir Walter Raleigh's belief in numerous animal "mules" leads straight toward a belief in the mutability of species. No. If other organic forms are the product of evolution, man's physical body must be, too—there was no way of avoiding the conclusion. It had to be both, or neither. And Coleridge preferred neither.

Yet, as I have said before, Coleridge could not help seeing more and more clearly as his life went on that man is very closely allied to the other animals. The result was an attempt to compromise.

### III

Coleridge found many suggestions for such a compromise in the German philosophers, especially Kant and Schelling. In the first place,<sup>34</sup> he accepted the idea particularly advocated by Schelling, that science can be and should be the product of deductive reasoning—the opposite attitude from that of the Baconian school, and a reaction from it.

Then, proceeding deductively from his presupposition of man's place in nature, Coleridge included in his philosophy the Kantian distinction between reason and understanding. In *The Statesman's Manual*<sup>35</sup> Coleridge declares:

Man alone was created in the image of God: a position groundless and inexplicable, if the reason in man do not differ from the understanding. For this the inferior animals (many at least) possess in degree: and assuredly the divine image or idea is not a thing of degrees.

Reason is the distinctively spiritual faculty in man which makes him different from all other animals. Understanding is not absolute, like reason, but is relative, and is a power present

<sup>34</sup> I am not, needless to say, here outlining any chronological process of thought in Coleridge's mind; I am simply trying to treat the matter logically, as I see it. Coleridge's reasoning of this sort was possibly conscious, possibly, unconscious.

<sup>35</sup> Published 1816. For a discussion of this distinction between reason and understanding, see, for example, Professor Gingerich's article, referred to before.

to some extent in certain lower animals. Understanding concerns itself with ideas from the senses: reason, with ideas of the supersensuous and spiritual. Coleridge here is in agreement with Kant, and innumerable others, in their reaction against the rationalism of Hume (where "reason" is only what Coleridge would term "understanding") toward transcendentalism.

This distinction placed man on a different plane from the lower animals, and made the belief in a Fall possible. Coleridge evidently thought that if he should accept the evolution of species, and the evolution of man, such a distinction between reason and understanding could not exist—or rather he probably reasoned the other way, that since this distinction does exist, therefore the descent of man from the lower animals is impossible.

The result was a conception of nature which can be found in other thinkers of Coleridge's time and earlier; a conception which resembles the idea of evolution quite closely, but which is utterly different—which is a step towards the idea of evolution, but decidedly not that idea itself. Coleridge believed that *Nature* has progressed from lower to higher forms. But by this he meant that the higher forms were created *after* the lower, not that the one grew from the other. In "the mysterious Week, the teeming work-days of the Creator,"<sup>36</sup> this abstract universal Nature produced first minerals, then the lowest vegetables and animals, and then in two diverging ascending series, the higher vegetables, and the higher animals ending in the highest, man. The "prophetic" organs and structures are simply *Nature's* prophecies of her higher productions.

So, putting together the positive forces in Coleridge working toward evolution, and the negative forces working against it, we have a complex mixture of ideas and tendencies, not by any means all of which can be reconciled to one another even by Coleridge's own system. But the essential facts, as I see them, are these: Coleridge was deeply and increasingly influenced by the ideas in his time working toward evolution. But he felt that the religious doctrines of man's fall and re-

<sup>36</sup> *Aids to Reflection*, Comment on Aphorism 74.

demption did not admit the possibility of evolution itself.<sup>37</sup> So he refused to accept evolution, and tried to explain the spirit of the very idea he would not accept, by supposing that an abstract "Nature" developed and grew in its production of new and increasingly higher forms of life, but that these forms did not grow or develop from each other.

Coleridge's faith in the unevolutionary parts of his system, in fact, wavered as his life drew toward a close. The new spirit was becoming too strong in him. He saw, and said, "All things strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving."<sup>38</sup> Then he tried to believe that in spite of this, there are limits to species, that one species of living things always tries to rise but is eternally baffled by the boundaries of its species:

There must, therefore, have everlastingly been an anguish, and an agony, and an eternal baffling, between True Being and that which was not True Being, but was striving to become so.<sup>39</sup>

This is perhaps somewhat cryptic in expression. But that Coleridge meant what I think he did seems to be fairly well evidenced by the fact that J. A. Heraud, who reports the conversation in which Coleridge said this, and was deeply impressed by Coleridge's philosophy, included in his poem *The Descent into Hell*<sup>40</sup> this idea of Coleridge's and expresses it more clearly than Coleridge himself does:

Nature yearns  
To rid her imperfections . . .<sup>41</sup> now apart  
Abiding . . . and to be with thee (God); discerns  
And feels her wants, and evermore desires  
*Through all the scales of Being;*<sup>42</sup> and returns  
By a perpetual process; and aspires

<sup>37</sup> Henry Crabbe Robinson (*Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Lamb, etc. Selections from the Remains of H. C. Robinson*. Ed. Edith J. Morley, 1922. p. 62) wrote of Coleridge: "He afterwards made many remarks on the doctrine of the Trinity from which I could gather only that he was very desirous to be orthodox, to indulge in all the subtleties and refinements of metaphysics and yet conform with the popular religion."

<sup>38</sup> *Aids to Reflection*, Comment on Aphorism 74.

<sup>39</sup> J. A. Heraud's account of one of Coleridge's conversations in 1827. See his *Oration on the Death of Coleridge*.

<sup>40</sup> Published 1830. Heraud quotes his verses I am citing, as a foot-note to this passage from Coleridge's conversation, and says the idea in the poem is taken from this idea in Coleridge. See his *Oration on the Death of Coleridge*, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Dotted line is Heraud's, not an indication of passages omitted.

<sup>42</sup> Italics mine.

By an eternal strife, and agony  
 Eternal—ever baffled; and ne'er tires  
 Of her great anguish for delivery  
 From travail groaning, with the appetite  
 For Being which alone is found in thee!

The "anguish" and "agony" are, in a sense, true concepts. But the "eternal baffling" which Coleridge ascribes to Nature, is really existent, not in Nature, but in his own mind, which felt the truth of evolution and refused to see it.

Anyone who has adventured on the happy hunting ground of Coleridge's sources will understand the difficulty of an attempt to treat them briefly. One is apt to wonder sometimes whether Coleridge said anything that did not have its source or parallel in some other writer. It is not as an originator but as a reflector—a many-faceted reflector—that Coleridge is important. All I shall do here is to suggest a few sources for Coleridge's evolutionary ideas (many others could undoubtedly be found) and refer to other works on the subject.

Coleridge's philosophy after his trip to Germany was, of course, soaked through and through in the ideas of German metaphysicians and critics. Kant is the source for his distinction between the reason and the understanding; Schelling the source for his belief that science should be deductive, and for his conception of the opposing forces, universality and individuality, in nature.<sup>43</sup> An influence on both Schelling and Coleridge was the dynamic philosophy of Giordano Bruno.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> For the latter idea in Schelling, see *Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Natur*, Book 2, Zusatz to Chapt. 6. The idea has a distinct resemblance to part of Herbert Spencer's evolutionary philosophy. In spite of the numerous articles that have appeared on the subject of Coleridge's debt to the Germans, no one has yet made a comprehensive survey of the field. The partial studies thus far made concentrate mostly on Coleridge's critical rather than his philosophical ideas. A. C. Dunstan ("The German Influence on Coleridge": *Modern Language Review*, XVII, 272-81; XVIII, 183-201) has a foot-note giving a list of publications on the subject (q. v.), and his own article contains some material on Coleridge's philosophy, though concerned chiefly with Coleridge's critical ideas. A. D. Snyder (*The Critical Principle of the Reconciliation of Opposites as Employed by Coleridge*, Ann Arbor, 1918) connects Coleridge's idea of a contracting and an expanding force in nature with Schelling. The earlier attacks and defenses of Coleridge by De Quincey, Hare, Gillman, and Ferrier are also interesting historically in this connection. For an account of the controversy see A. A. Helmholtz, *The Indebtedness of S. T. Coleridge to A. W. von Schlegel*, Madison, Wis., 1907.

<sup>44</sup> See *Biographia Literaria*, Chap. IX.

French and English thinkers were also influences. John Hunter in England and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire in France both helped fix in Coleridge's mind the idea of the unity of organization in animals.<sup>45</sup> Coleridge read also Sir Everard Home, Abernethy, and Hatchett, and refers to their work in comparative anatomy and embryology as corroborating the ideas of Hunter.<sup>46</sup>

Coleridge's relations with Erasmus Darwin I have already discussed. He read also Lyell's *Geology*, that landmark in the history of evolutionary geology.<sup>47</sup> So much for authors directly connected with the history of evolution. Coleridge read very widely indeed, and the idea of evolution rose from many and devious currents of thought; so his reading of Malthus, Horne Tooke, and Lorenz Oken, for instance, has connections with the subject, which it would take a treatise on the history of evolution to make clear.

Coleridge, in fact, was awake to nearly all of the movements of thought in his time. His was the type of mind that could not help feeling currents of thought, even though sometimes this almost instinctive insight went against his own inclinations and beliefs. Except in rare instances, he did not go beyond his time, at least in regard to the ideas with which we are concerned. The progress of his mind, in fact, is nearly parallel to that of the thought of his age in general. The rationalist movement of the eighteenth century, culminating and to some extent working its own destruction in Hume, is represented in Coleridge by his state of mind before his trip to Germany. The transcendental movement of Kant and his followers, a reaction from the rationalistic philosophy, is represented in Coleridge by the transcendental side of his philosophy. And finally the spirit of evolution, which came more directly from the school of Hume than from the school of Kant, but had elements of both

<sup>45</sup> Coleridge very probably read not only the article by Geoffroy in the *Quarterly Journal* (see earlier in this discussion), but also Geoffroy's *Philosophie Anatomique*. Compare, for instance, *Philosophie Anatomique*, Part I, Paris, 1818, pp. xxiiff, 97, 98, 412, with J. A. Heraud's account of a conversation with Coleridge, in Heraud's *Oration on the Death of S. T. Coleridge*.

<sup>46</sup> See *The Friend*, final version, Sect. 2, Essay 7.

<sup>47</sup> See *Table Talk* for June 29, 1833.

and was different from each, that under-current of thought which was growing more and more powerful in the early nineteenth century, can be seen working its way upward in Coleridge's mind, too. But it never crystallized into a clear belief, for Coleridge; his mind was not quite ready for its reception.

GEORGE R. POTTER

## XXI. JANE AUSTEN THE CRITIC

Miss Austen, in a letter to her sister Cassandra dated December 18, 1798, writes thus of a circulating library about to be opened, presumably at Steventon, on January 14:

As an inducement to subscribe, Mrs. Martin tells me that her collection is not to consist only of novels, but of every kind of literature, etc. She might have spared this pretension to our family who are great novel readers and not ashamed of being so; but it was necessary, I suppose, to the self-consequence of half her subscribers.<sup>1</sup>

Nor was the reading of novels confined to the feminine portion of the Austen family: "My father is now reading *The Midnight Bell*";<sup>2</sup> "My father has bought it [*Fitz-Albini*]"<sup>3</sup>; "James reads it [*Marmion*] aloud every evening";<sup>4</sup> "I wonder James did not like it [*The Heroine*] better."<sup>5</sup> Such statements are of not infrequent occurrence in the letters. It was to the author's personal experience that we owe the endorsement of masculine interest in novel reading expressed by Henry Tilney of Northanger Abbey, doubtless a young gentleman of parts. Henry has discovered that men are almost as great novel readers as women:

I, myself, [he says to Catherine Morland], have read hundreds and hundreds. Do not imagine that you can cope with me in a knowledge of *Julias and Louisas*. If we proceed to particulars, and engage in the never ceasing inquiry of 'Have you read this?' and 'Have you read that?' I shall soon leave you as far behind me as . . . your friend Emily herself left poor Valancourt when she went with her aunt into Italy.<sup>6</sup>

Thus does the hero champion his sex in the practice of novel reading and at the same time proclaim his acquaintance with one of the best sellers of the day.

<sup>1</sup> William Austen-Leigh and R. A. Austen-Leigh, *Jane Austen, Her Life and Letters*. 2nd ed., N. Y., 1914, p. 117. Hereafter referred to as *Life and Letters*.

<sup>2</sup> To Cassandra, Oct. 1798, *Life and Letters*, p. 111. All references to letters are to those addressed to Cassandra unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>3</sup> Nov. 25, 1798, *ibid.*, 114.

<sup>4</sup> June 20, 1808, *ibid.*, 206-7.

<sup>5</sup> J. E. Austen-Leigh, *A Memoir of Jane Austen*. 2nd ed., London, 1870, p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> *Northanger Abbey*, pp. 83-84. All references to the novels except *Love and Freindship* are taken from the "Everyman's Library," ed., Dutton & Co.



It was Miss Austen's enthusiasm for fiction and her faith in the novel as a dignified form of art that inspired the well-known and spirited defense of novel reading and novel writing in *Northanger Abbey* where, for the first and almost the only time in the history of her art, she breaks the silence of impersonality and steps boldly forth in justification of her much loved and much abused profession.<sup>7</sup> The apology is admirable for its fearlessness, truth, and sincerity.

Perusal of Miss Austen's novels and letters reveals allusion to over forty works of fiction with which she seems to have been acquainted, a number which must constitute but a fraction of her total achievement. Much of her reading no doubt escaped mention in her letters, and the letters we possess form by no means all of her correspondence. According to W. and R. A. Austen-Leigh,<sup>8</sup> Cassandra after her sister's death destroyed many letters of a personal nature, from a distaste for publicity; no doubt, some of these were of particular interest and value.

With the exception of three or four works of fiction by Madame de Genlis<sup>9</sup> the novels mentioned in the list, which for convenience we shall call Miss Austen's list, are all of English authorship and most of them are contemporary. Of novels belonging to the mid-century and earlier occur only *Robinson Crusoe*, *Tom Jones*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and *Sir Charles Grandison*. Conspicuous among contemporary novelists are Scott, Miss Edgeworth, Miss Burney, Mrs. Radcliffe, M. G. Lewis, and Hannah More. The works of the rest, whatever their intrinsic merits may be and their ephemeral success may have been, have, after life's fitful fever, long been sleeping in a peaceful oblivion. A kind consideration would not invoke the spirit of Miss Austen to disturb their slumbers. *Self Control*, *The Wild Irish Girl*, *Ida of Athens*, *The Midnight Bell*, *Alicea de Lacy*, *The Castle of Wolfenbach* need more than a casual glance through the public library catalog to convince the seeker that they are not the titles of imaginary books. Such novels, however worthless in themselves, are of value in illustrating the temper of novels produced during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first decade or two of the century following—

<sup>7</sup> *Northanger Abbey*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>8</sup> *Life and Letters*, Preface, p. v.

<sup>9</sup> See below, p. 416.

a period of notorious decadence in the history of English fiction, beginning really with Sterne and Smollett and closing only with Miss Austen and Scott. Miss Mitton, in *Jane Austen and her Times* quotes Samuel Rogers as saying that the publisher Lane made a large fortune by the immense quantity of trashy novels which he had sent forth from the Minerva Press. "I perfectly remember," Rogers continues, "the splendid carriage in which he used to ride, and his footmen with their cockades and gold headed canes."<sup>10</sup>

A list of 74 novels and tales in prose and verse published during Miss Austen's lifetime and exclusive of her own productions, made from Ryland's *Chronological Outlines* counts but a single name of the first order in prose, that of Scott; and in verse, but three names, Scott, Coleridge, and Byron. The list consists for the most part of fairly well known mediocrity, such as Henry Brooke, Clara Reeve, Henry Beckford, Mrs. Inchbald, Thomas Holcroft, M. G. Lewis, William Godwin and Mrs. Lennox, together with some who occasionally rise above it; such as Mrs. Radcliffe, Miss Burney, Miss Edgeworth, and Crabbe; and some who fall below it and who have in consequence been almost if not quite forgotten, like Mrs. Opie, Mrs. Charlotte Smith, and the Porters, Jane and Anna Maria.

Miss Austen mentions thirteen of the fictional works in the list from Ryland; the remainder of her contemporary references are to books of purely ephemeral interest. These facts, and many more, could be adduced, help the reader of today to some apprehension of the grand total of worthless novels perpetrated upon an eager and admiring public in the period under consideration. The situation is not dissimilar to that in our own time. The causes of these conditions are, in the two cases, almost identical. In both periods we note a marked increase in the demand for fiction, a demand fostered largely by the leveling of education through the establishing of nonconformist schools in the earlier period and through the constant extension of education among the masses in our own day. Increased demand for fiction naturally produces agencies to supply the demand, such as the circulating library, an institution which had marked influence on the character and output of fiction in Miss Austen's time,

<sup>10</sup> G. E. Mitton, *Jane Austen and Her Times*. London, 1905, p. 168.

and which is proportionately influential today. Another incentive to increased production is the periodical. Periodical publication of novels beginning in England with Smollett's *Sir Launcelot Greaves* in the *British Magazine* in 1761 has ever since continued to flourish, and at present through its extension to the daily press shows no evidence of decline. Again, widespread interest in reform of all kinds offered then and offers now an irresistible temptation to novelists from the first rank down to the lowest to use this popular vehicle of the novel to promulgate their ideas. Finally, a condition present in the earlier period which is not perhaps so closely paralleled today, unless in the detective story, was the vogue of a new type of romance known as the Gothic<sup>11</sup> story, a genre which had taken the world by storm.

Most of the poor novels in this period, that covered by Miss Austen's lifetime, belong to these two classes: the novel of purpose and the Gothic romance—types as yet but imperfectly mastered. Over half of the novels in Miss Austen's list and about two thirds of those in Ryland's belong to the category of romance, most of them being of the ultra romantic variety. The rest in both groups belong to the best type in the period—the novel of manners, represented by Miss Burney's *Evelina* and by the work of Miss Edgeworth; and to the other poor class, the novel of purpose, mingled with pseudo-realism and and sentiment, with a large ingredient of the latter, such as Miss Burney's later novels, and the work of Godwin, Holcroft, Day, Mrs. Opie, Hannah More, etc. Any list, whether complete or selected, of fiction of this period would show approximately the same results—the inevitable expression of the English romantic period in two of its most important aspects: reconstruction of the mediaeval past and social reform and sentimentalism.

With neither of these interests, social reform or sentimentalism, was Miss Austen as an artist in sympathy. With the satiric temper of Fielding and a meticulous feeling for form which she inherited from the classicists of the early eighteenth century, she was set down in an environment where the romantic

<sup>11</sup> See discussion of the term "Gothic novel" by C. F. McIntyre, *P.M.L.A.*, XXXVI, 644ff.

movement was approaching its zenith. A lover of novels, she was forced to read mainly romantic novels, for her letters show that the Austen family bought few books, depending largely on the circulating library for their fiction, a depot which would naturally be well stocked with Gothic story. But though Miss Austen may have been temperamentally unresponsive to romance, the reading of such books could not always have been a burden. Her letters show that she often enjoyed a poor novel, if only to make fun of it. Indeed, she seems to have derived much of her inspiration from these mediocre and worse than mediocre works. She was born in a happy hour, for hers was a genius that flourished best in discouraging soil. On trashy novels she was nourished and this nourishment helped to produce a great novelist and a sane critic. Place her in this decadent fictional environment with her utter reasonableness, her exquisite sense of humor, her unerring critical taste and the logical result is a satirist.

Miss Austen's bent towards satire appeared very early. According to the *Memoir* her first stories were of a slight, flimsy nature intended as nonsense, usually preceded by a dedication of mock solemnity to some member of the family, showing that the grandiloquent dedications of those days had not escaped her youthful penetration.<sup>12</sup> The stories of the second stage, instead of being faithful copies of nature, were generally burlesques, ridiculing the improbable events and exaggerated sentiments with which she had met in sundry silly romances. "It would seem," the *Memoir* continues, "as if she were first taking note of all the faults to be avoided and curiously considering how she ought not to write, before she attempted to put forth her strength in the right direction."<sup>13</sup> The truth of these observations is admirably illustrated by the recently published volume of *juvenilia* entitled *Love and Freindship*,<sup>14</sup> from the most important of its compositions. *Love and Freindship* is an epistolary nonsense novel taking off,

<sup>12</sup> *Memoir*, p. 42.

<sup>13</sup> *Memoir*, p. 46.

<sup>14</sup> *Love and Freindship and other Early Works* now first published from the original MS . . . with a preface by G. K. Chesterton, N.Y., 1922. See paper by the present writer, "Jane Austen's *Love and Freindship*, a Study in Literary Relations," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Jan., 1925.

frequently in sparkling fashion, the romance of sentiment. It shows competent familiarity with the earmarks of conventional romance and a faculty for detached critical and satirical comment extraordinary in so young a writer. In this precious sketchbook Miss Austen shows the direction her genius was to take as clearly as do those masters of satire and humor, Fielding and Thackeray, her kindred spirits, in their early essays in burlesque. It is inevitable then that the earliest full fledged novels should show a marked satiric vein, ridiculing the kinds of stories that seemed to her the most absurd: the story of sentiment in *Sense and Sensibility* and the Gothic romance in *Northanger Abbey*.

No novelist ever had a better right to use satire and burlesque than Miss Austen, for not only was she an adept in such work, but she was not in the position of one living in a glass house. She was easily and brilliantly superior to everyone whom she disparaged in that aspect of the novel which she sought to ridicule and which was in her day the most vulnerable: namely, technique.<sup>15</sup>

Within the province which she made her own, she worked with meticulous care. In twenty-one years she produced six finished novels. Scott's record is twenty-eight novels in seventeen years, exclusive of vast activity in other literary fields. Three of these six novels, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Northanger Abbey*, were rewritten; and a fourth, *Persuasion*, was revised. What other English novelist can show such a record? Study of the cancelled "chapter X"<sup>16</sup> published in the second edition of the *Memoir*, when compared with the corresponding chapters XXI and XXII of *Persuasion* as it now stands, shows to how high a degree she possessed the faculty of looking at her material in a hard white light and expanding to advantage or sparing nothing that upon consideration seemed inferior. And this power of self-criticism was unimpaired by

<sup>15</sup> See the oft-quoted letters to Mr. Clarke, librarian to the Prince Regent: one under date of Dec. 11, 1815 (*Life and Letters*, p. 320) and a subsequent letter—undated but written in reply to one of March 27, 1816 (*Life and Letters*, pp. 323-324).

<sup>16</sup> Chap. XXII. This error, started by the author of the *Memoir* and followed by other biographers was corrected by G. E. P. A., *Notes and Queries*, S. 12, vol. I, 1916, p. 466.

declining health, for the revision of *Persuasion* was made only a few months before her death.

Of *Pride and Prejudice* she writes:

The second volume is shorter than I could wish, but the difference is not so much in reality as in look, there being a larger proportion of narrative in that part I have lop't and crop't so successfully, that I imagine it must be rather shorter than *Sense and Sensibility* altogether.<sup>17</sup>

She will sacrifice quantity to quality: the second volume is shorter than she could wish, but the lopping and cropping has been successful.

Valuable light on her method of composition, particularly the art of motivation in which she excelled, may be had from the letters written to her niece, Anna Austen, who, evidently desirous of emulating the most distinguished member of the family, had begun a little novel writing on her own account. The criticism is so good natured, enthusiastic, and painstaking as to cast a glamour over the would-be novel, luring one into the belief that it might have been almost worth reading:

[May or June, 1814.] I am very much obliged to you for sending your MS. It has entertained me extremely, all of us, indeed. I read it aloud to your Grandmamma and Aunt Cass, and we were all very much pleased. . . . A few verbal corrections are all that I felt tempted to make. I do not like a lover speaking in the third person; it is too much like the formal part of Lord Orville. If you think differently, however, you need not mind me . . . [August 10, 1914]. I am not sensible of any blunders about Dawlish; the library was particularly pitiful and wretched twelve years ago and is not likely to have anybody's publications. There is no such title as Desborough either among dukes, marquises, earls, vicounts, or barons. These were your inquiries . . . [August 17]. My corrections have not been more important than before. . . . I have scratched out Sir Thos. from walking with the other men to the stables, etc., the very day after his breaking his arm; for though I find your papa did walk out immediately after *his* arm was set, I think it can be so little usual as to appear unnatural in a book. . . . Lyme will not do. Lyme is towards forty miles' distance from Dawlish and would not be talked of there. I have put Starcross instead. If you prefer Exeter that must be always safe. . . . I have also scratched out the introduction between Lord Portman and his brother and Mr. Griffin. A country surgeon (don't tell Mr. C. Lyford) would not be introduced to men of their rank . . . [August 18]. Let the Portmans go to Ireland; but as you know nothing of the manners there, you had better not go with them. You will be in danger of giving false representations. Stick to Bath and the Foresters. There you will be quiet at home. . . .<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Jan. 29, 1813, *Life and Letters*, p. 261.

<sup>18</sup> Extracts from several letters. *Life and Letters* pp. 354ff.

Nowhere has she shown her hand more clearly than here—her passion for the natural, the probable, for adherence to fact, for keeping within the bounds of one's own experience and knowledge, for all the nice proprieties of life.

Miss Austen's comments on her novel reading cover a wide variety of faults. With her strong dislike of publicity it is natural to find her objecting to the use of autobiographical material in a novel. Her own work is singularly free from this method of self-exploitation.<sup>19</sup> What little she has drawn from personal experience has been used so skilfully as in most cases to escape detection. Hence, her disapproval of Sir Edgerton Brydges' novel, *Arthur Fitz-Albini* (1798).

We have got *Fitz-Albini*. My father has bought it against my private wishes, for it does not satisfy my feelings that we should purchase the only one of Edgerton's works of which his family are ashamed. My father is disappointed,—I am not, for I expected nothing better. Never did any book carry more internal evidence of its author. Every sentiment is completely Edgerton's. There is very little story, and what there is, is told in a strange, unconnected way. There are many characters introduced, apparently merely to be delineated. We have not been able to recognize any of them hitherto except Dr. and Mrs. Hey and Mr. Oxenden who is not very tenderly treated.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, the other defects may be grouped under the familiar captions of weak motivation, paucity of incident, and imperfect articulation between incident and character. Possibly the pleasant relationship existing between the Austen family and Sir Edgerton spared his book on this occasion the severe chastisement it deserves.

Weak motivation, among other failings, is remarked upon in a discriminating criticism of a novel<sup>21</sup> by Mrs. Laetitia Matilda Hawkins:

We have got *Rosanne* in our society, and find it much as you describe it; very good and clever, but tedious. Mrs. Hawkins' great excellence is on serious subjects. [The book is a protest against rationalism.] There are some very delightful conversations and reflections on religion; but on lighter topics I think she falls into many absurdities; and as to love, her heroine has very comical feelings. There are a thousand improbabilities in the story. Do you remember the two Miss Ormsdens introduced just at the last? Very flat and unnatural.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Memoir*, p. 147; *Life and Letters*, p. 298 & n. 1. Wm. Price is the only probable instance of a portrait drawn from life—her brother Charles.

<sup>20</sup> Nov. 25, 1798. *Life and Letters*, p. 114.

<sup>21</sup> *Rosanne, or A Father's Labour Lost*, London, 1814, 3 vols.

<sup>22</sup> *Memoir*, p. 131.

Absurdity of incident noted in *Rosanne* is good-humoredly ridiculed in her observations on *Self Control*, a novel by Mrs. Mary Brunton:<sup>23</sup>

I will redeem my credit . . . by writing a close imitation of *Self-Control* as soon as I can. I will improve upon it. My heroine shall not only be wafted down an American river. She shall cross the Atlantic in the same way; and never stop till she reaches Gravesend.<sup>24</sup>

Later, *Self-Control*, receives further censure for its unrestraint:

I am looking over *Self-Control* again, and my opinion is confirmed of its being an excellently meant, elegantly written work, without anything of nature or probability in it. I declare I do not know whether Laura's passage down the American river is not the most natural, possible, everyday thing she does.<sup>25</sup>

To one who had never in her life crossed the English Channel the name, America, even in a drab context, might have savored of high romance, but the American scene of *Self-Control*, dressed in the author's extravagant fancy and made a background for the enactment of deeds transcending human probability deserves all of Miss Austen's disapproval and more. Perhaps had she been aware of Mrs. Brunton's letter<sup>26</sup> to Joanna Baillie wherein the aspirant confesses that *Self-Control* was her first fiction and she was so ignorant of the art on which she was entering that she formed scarcely any plan for her tale, Miss Austen might have spoken even more plainly.

Lack of restraint in style would naturally receive condemnation from Miss Austen, whose own medium of expression was, from the beginning, distinguished for reserve. The author of the *Memoir* writes: "Perhaps the most characteristic feature of these early productions is that however puerile the matter they are always composed in pure, simple English, quite free from the over ornamented style which might be expected from so young a writer."<sup>27</sup> Miss Austen writes to Cassandra, January 17, 1809:

<sup>23</sup> *Self-Control*, Edinburgh (?) 1810; also in *Standard Novels*, pub. by R. Bentley, London, 1832.

<sup>24</sup> Apr. 30, 1811, *Memoir*, 131.

<sup>25</sup> Oct. 11, 1813, *Letters of Jane Austen*, ed., Edward, Lord Brabourne, London, 1884, II, p. 173.

<sup>26</sup> Ralph Thomas ("Olphar Hamst"), *A Handbook of Fictitious Names*. London, 1868, p. 133.

<sup>27</sup> *Memoir*, p. 42.



To get over against your new novel of which nobody ever heard before and perhaps never may again we have got *Ida of Athens*<sup>28</sup> by Miss Owenson which must be very clever, because it was written as the author says in three months. [Miss Austen was no champion of rapid composition.] We have only read the preface as yet, but her *Wild Irish Girl*<sup>29</sup> does not make me expect much. If the warmth of her language could affect the body, it might be worth reading in this weather.<sup>30</sup>

Thus *Ida of Athens*, as a hotbed of inflated diction and sentimental situation, is fairly estimated merely from a perusal of the preface. But *The Wild Irish Girl*, especially in the earlier part with the descriptions of Irish country life, is a shade better than *Ida*, and Miss Austen would doubtless have found it so had she read the latter book, first.

Against the use of extraneous material, that license which disciples of Sterne from Henry Mackenzie on, have gloried in practicing, Miss Austen protests more than once. Thus, in a letter to a niece:

Uncle Henry writes very superior sermons. You and I must try to get hold of one or two and put them into our novels: it would be a fine help to a volume; and we could make our heroine read it aloud on a Sunday evening just as well as Isabella Wardour in the *Antiquary* is made to read the *History of the Hartz Demon* in the ruins of St. Ruth, though I believe, on recollection, Lovell is the reader.<sup>31</sup>

Such a stricture, inevitable where Scott is concerned, is one that would fall logically from the pen of Jane Austen. In a criticism of her own *Pride and Prejudice*, delightful in its interplay of humor and seriousness, she again satirizes this common failing:

The work is rather too light, and bright, and sparkling; it wants shade; it wants to be stretched out here and there with a long chapter of sense, if it could be had; if not, of solemn, specious nonsense about something unconnected with the story; an essay on writing, a critique on Walter Scott, or the history of Buonaparte, or something that would form a contrast and bring the reader with increased delight to the playfulness and epigrammatism of the general style.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan, *Woman: Or, Ida of Athens*, London, 1809.

<sup>29</sup> London, 1806.

<sup>30</sup> *Life and Letters*, p. 226.

<sup>31</sup> To her nephew, Edward Knight, Dec. 16, 1816, *Memoir*, p. 154.

<sup>32</sup> Feb. 4, 1813. *Life and Letters*, p. 262.

We are glad that Miss Austen did not follow these self-imposed suggestions, but preferred to stick to the policy of lopping and cropping.

We are indebted to the author of the *Memoir* for the publication of "A Plan of a Novel according to Hints received from various Quarters" which Miss Austen obligingly drew up and in the margin of which as obligingly inserted the names of those interested relatives and friends who had contributed the hints, that no credit might be with-held from any donor of ideas. The scheme is too good to suffer abridgment.

#### PLAN OF A NOVEL ACCORDING TO HINTS RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS QUARTERS

Heroine to be the daughter of a clergyman, who after having lived much in the world had retired from it, and settled on a curacy with a very small fortune of his own. The most excellent man that can be imagined, perfect in character, temper, and manner, without the smallest drawback or peculiarity to prevent his being the most delightful companion to his daughter from one year's end to the other. Heroine, faultless in character, beautiful in person, and possessing every possible accomplishment. Book to open with father and daughter conversing in long speeches, elegant language, and a tone of high serious sentiment. The father, induced at his daughter's earnest request, to relate to her the past events of his life. Narrative to reach through the greater part of the first volume; as besides all the circumstances of his attachment to her mother, and their marriage, it will comprehend his going to sea as a chaplain to a distinguished naval character about the court; and his going afterwards to court himself, which involved him in many interesting situations, concluding with his opinion of the benefits of tithes being done away with.

. . . From this outset the story will proceed, and contain a striking variety of adventure. Father an exemplary parish priest, and devoted to literature; but heroine and father never above a fortnight in one place: he being driven from his curacy by the vile arts of some totally unprincipled and heartless young man, desperately in love with the heroine, and pursuing her with unrelenting passion. No sooner settled in one country of Europe, than they are compelled to quit it, and retire to another, always making new acquaintance, and always obliged to leave them. This will of course exhibit a wide variety of character. The scene will be forever shifting from one set of people to another, but there will be no mixture, all the good will be exceptional in every respect. There will be no foibles or weaknesses but with the wicked, who will be completely depraved and infamous, hardly a resemblance of humanity left in them. Early in her career the heroine must meet with the hero: all perfection, of course, and only prevented from paying his addresses to her by some excess of refinement. Wherever she goes, somebody falls in love with her, and she receives repeated offers of marriage, which she refers wholly to her father, exceedingly angry that he should not be the first applied to. Often carried away by the anti-hero, but rescued either by her father or the hero. Often reduced to support

herself and her father by her talents, and work for her bread; continually cheated and defrauded of her hire; worn down to a skeleton, and now and then starved to death. At last, hunted out of civilized society, denied the poor shelter of the humblest cottage, they are compelled to retreat into Kamschatka, where the poor father quite worn down, finding his end approaching, throws himself on the ground, and after four or five hours of tender advice and parental admonition to his miserable child, expires in a fine burst of literary enthusiasm intermingled with invectives against the holders of tithes. Heroine inconsolable for some time, but afterwards crawls back to her former country, having at least twenty narrow escapes of falling into the hands of anti-hero; and at last, in the very nick of time, turning a corner to avoid him, runs into the arms of the hero himself, who having just shaken off the scruples which fettered him before, was at the very moment setting off in pursuit of her. The tenderest and completest *éclaircissement* takes place, and they are happily united. Throughout the whole work, heroine to be in the most elegant society, and living in high style.<sup>33</sup>

Here is an omnium gatherum of all the absurdities of which the early nineteenth century novel was guilty: Perfection, moral and physical, of the chief characters,—the hero, the heroine, the heroine's father. "Pictures of perfection make me sick and wicked," she wrote on one occasion.<sup>34</sup> The tedious recital of a character's past life,—a fault again attacked in *Northanger Abbey*, and one that is glaring enough in Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, for example. The use of propaganda—disapproval of the tithe system. Contrasts of character carried to ridiculous extremes, as expressed in the charming term, anti-hero. Poor motivation leading to absurd incident; persecuted innocence reaching a grand climax in the remoteness of Kamschatka. *Précieuse* sentiment. The attenuated death scene. And finally, the inflated diction. The scheme is complete, comprehending all the cardinal principles of narrative technique: plot and incident, character, scene, purpose, style. No better compendium of directions on how not to write a novel could be well formulated.

Sentimentality and Gothic extravaganza were Miss Austen's peculiar delight. As early as in *Love and Freindship*, she had handled with charming irony *The Sorrows of Werther*:

They said he was Sensible, well-informed, and Agreeable; and we did not pretend to Judge of such trifles, but as we were convinced he had no soul, that

<sup>33</sup> *Memoir*, pp. 190ff.

<sup>34</sup> Mary Augusta Austen-Leigh, *Personal Aspects of Jane Austen*, London, 1921, p. 91.

he had never read the sorrows of Werther, and that his Hair bore not the least resemblance to auburn, we were certain that Janetta could feel no affection for him, or at least that she ought to feel none (p. 27).

Thus is the young man disposed of who has been chosen by a certain young lady's father to be her husband. *Sense and Sensibility* contains excellent satire on the novel of feeling. Marianne Dashwood, abandoned by the young, handsome, brilliant, romantic, worthless Willoughby, indulges for days in a continuous performance of hysterics, succumbing in consequence to a dangerous fever, and finally, and not very long after her recovery, suffers herself to be led to the altar by a gentleman whose situation in life is described in the following paragraph:

Marianne Dashwood was born to an extraordinary fate. She was born to discover the falsehood of her own opinions, and to counteract, by her conduct, her most favorite maxims. She was born to overcome an affection formed so late in life as at seventeen, and with no sentiment superior to strong esteem and lively friendship, voluntarily to give her hand to another!—and *that* other, a man who had suffered no less than herself under the event of a former attachment,—whom, two years before, she had considered too old to be married,—and who still sought the constitutional safeguard of a flannel waistcoat.<sup>25</sup>

The author must have found satisfaction not only in bringing Marianne to her senses, but in placing her in what Meredith would call a genuinely comic predicament.

In her disposal of the perfidious Willoughby, Miss Austen makes a clear protest against that form of novel reader's satisfaction which most novelists of her own day and earlier were fond of administering—the meting out of justice regardless of human psychology and the law of cause and effect. Richardson is an arch offender in this practice. We recall those smiling pictures of domestic bliss, resembling steel engravings in their finish, that adorn the last pages of *Pamela* and of *Sir Charles Grandison*. Particularly do we recall the instructive conclusion to *Clarissa*, wherein the author, assuming the rôle of the All-powerful Judge of Deeds, in the Beowulfian phrase, sets up an earthly tribunal and disposes of the creatures of his little world according to a perfectly graded system of rewards and punishments. Miss Austen may have mastered Richardson's works, but she has not chosen to make them her models. Of Willough-

<sup>25</sup> *Sense and Sensibility*, p. 379.

by's state of mind and fortune subsequent to the events of the story she writes thus:

Willoughby could not hear of her [Marianne's] marriage without a pang; and his punishment was soon afterwards complete in the voluntary forgiveness of Mrs. Smith, who, by stating his marriage with a woman of character, as the source of her clemency, gave him reason for believing, that had he behaved with honour towards Marianne, he might at once have been happy and rich. That his repentance of misconduct, which thus brought its own punishment, was sincere, need not be doubted; nor that he long thought of Colonel Brandon with envy, and of Marianne with regret. But that he was forever inconsolable—that he fled from society, or contracted an habitual gloom of temper, or died of a broken heart, must not be depended on—for he did neither. He lived to exert, and frequently to enjoy himself. His wife was not always out of humor, nor his home always uncomfortable. And in his breed of horses and dogs, and in sporting of every kind, he found no inconsiderable degree of domestic felicity.<sup>36</sup>

An even stronger instance occurs in the case of Edward Ferrars in the same novel. Disinherited by his mother in favor of a worthless younger brother, because of his reported engagement to a woman in every way his inferior, he is refused the clemency of this obstinate parent even after the woman, in the shuffle of human events, becomes the wife of the worthless younger brother. Here Miss Austen is almost cynical in her protest against the improbably happy ending.

This position may, at first glance, seem contrary to the author's usual practice. In *Pride and Prejudice*, *Emma*, *Persuasion*, and *Northanger Abbey*, she must satisfy the most exacting of novel readers in his demand for happiness. *Mansfield Park* takes a very sober turn in the dénouement, but the author refuses to end upon the serious note: "Let other pens dwell on guilt and misery," the well-known passage begins.<sup>37</sup> Miss Austen had read too much of this kind of thing not to react heartily against it in her own work. Something had been saved from the wreck at Mansfield and she prefers to show her readers that something. Again, she condemns, and not unjustly, the *Olympe et Théophile* of Madame de Genlis<sup>38</sup> for its unhappy close: Writing to her niece, Caroline Austen, March 13, 1815, she says:

You seem to be quite my own niece in your feelings towards Mme. de Genlis. I do not think I could even now at my sedate time of life, read *Olympe et Théophile*.

<sup>36</sup> *Sense and Sensibility*, p. 380.

<sup>37</sup> *Mansfield Park*, p. 385.

<sup>38</sup> See below, p. 416.

*phile* without being in a rage. It is really too bad. Not allowing them to be happy together when they are married.<sup>39</sup>

Perhaps one should not look for perfect consistency in the informal, casual criticism of personal letters, and yet these remarks may not be really contradictory. What Miss Austen is probably objecting to, is the violently wrenched ending, whether pleasant or unpleasant. What she is demanding is the natural working out of cause and effect. The dénouement must be the logical consequence of what goes before, maugre the reader's sensibilities, if the writer is thinking of his art and not his means of sustenance. This is a rule which Miss Austen everywhere scrupulously observes. As she works for the most part in comedy she does like to leave her heroes and heroines happy, but she lays a firm foundation for happiness before the last page.

Perhaps the best of Miss Austen's sparkling satire has been exercised upon Gothic romance, particularly on Mrs. Radcliffe and her masterpiece, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. Not content with creating in Catherine Morland of *Northanger Abbey* a thoroughly commonplace heroine whom she sends on long, non-adventurous journeys, to whom she maliciously denies the satisfaction of ever indulging in a heroic performance, and whom she allows to be chosen in matrimony by a young man whose original motive was nothing better than gratitude, as he believed her to have a partiality for him—Miss Austen sets up for this young lady, Mrs. Radcliffe's famous romance as an idol. At this shrine the artless Catherine performs faithfully her devotions, which consist in reconstructing her own world in the terms of *Udolpho*. The entire story of how she sped is too well known to be repeated here but the latter portion cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. The humor of incongruity between the ideal and the actual; between what Catherine imagines to be taking place before her her eyes and what is happening in fact, reaches, at times, Cervantean heights.

Catherine discovers in General Tilney a Montonian villain. He is reputed a widower of nine years' standing. By what means did his wife reach her end? The desire to find a harrowing answer to this question becomes an obsession in Catherine's

<sup>39</sup> *Life and Letters*, p. 365.

mind. She learns that the general has had his wife's portrait, though an excellent likeness, removed from his own room; therefore, he must have been very cruel to her. His solitary rambles in the gardens of Northanger betoken a mind ill at ease; his postponement of a promised tour of the house increases the suspicion; there is some mystery which the monstrous man would fain keep secret. "The probability that Mrs. Tilney yet lived, shut up for causes unknown, and receiving from the pitiless hands of her husband a nightly supply of coarse food, was the conclusion which necessarily followed. Shocking as was the idea, it was at least better than a death unfairly hastened, as in the natural course of things, she must ere long be released."<sup>40</sup>

Various incidents occur to inflate Catherine's curiosity. Worked up to a frenzy, she determines to visit the baffling apartment alone, in the hope of discovering some "fragmented journal, continued to the last gasp." It is done. No irate general, no officiously friendly Eleanor, no stiffly resisting lock hinders her progress. The key turns and she stands on the threshold of her heart's desire. Like Vathek she penetrates her Hall of Eblis and like him she receives the logical answer to insatiable curiosity.

She saw a large, well-proportioned apartment, an handsome dimity bed, arranged as unoccupied, with an housemaid's care, a bright Bath stove, mahogany wardrobes and neatly painted chairs, on which the warm beams of a western sun gaily poured through two sash windows. Catherine had expected to have her feelings worked, and worked they were. Astonishment and doubt first seized them, and a shortly succeeding ray of common sense added some bitter emotions of shame.<sup>41</sup>

Her humiliation is complete, when, sick of exploring, she hastily leaves the room, only to run into her adored Henry Tilney. Henry, after the first mutual surprise of meeting in that spot has subsided, explodes the whole fantastic bubble. As with Marianne Dashwood, Miss Austen enjoys bringing Catherine to a state of sense:

The visions of romance were over. Catherine was completely awakened.<sup>42</sup> . . . Charming as were all Mrs. Radcliffe's works, and charming even as were the works of all her imitators, it was not in them perhaps that human nature, at least in the midland counties of England, was to be looked for. Of the Alps

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

and Pyrenees, with their pine forests and their vices, they might give a faithful delineation; and Italy, Switzerland, and the south of France, might be as fruitful in horrors as they were there represented. Catherine dared not doubt beyond her own country, and even that, if hard pressed, would have yielded the northern and western extremities, etc.

Thus is our heroine allowed to engage in what were probably the wisest reflections of her life: reflections which the author, as we well know, heartily endorses.

It is evident from this explanation of *Udolpho* that Miss Austen had an ardent satirical enthusiasm for tales of terror. Whether this attitude admitted of her hair standing on end for two days running when she perused them as Henry Tilney confessed his to have done when he read *Udolpho*, history does not say. But there is plenty of evidence to show that she was perfectly conversant with all the earmarks of this popular genre. She pursues Mrs. Radcliffe again in some observations on "*The Heroine, or The Adventures of Cherubina*":<sup>43</sup>

I finished *The Heroine* last night and was much amused by it. . . . It diverted me exceedingly.<sup>44</sup>

This must refer to the completing of a single volume, for shortly afterwards she writes:

It is evening. We have drank tea, and I have torn through the third volume of *The Heroine*. I do not think it falls off. It is a delightful burlesque on the Radcliffe style.<sup>45</sup>

*The Adventures of Cherubina: or, The Heroine*, happily rescued from oblivion and reprinted in our times, is excellent reading. Plain Cherry Wilkinson prepared for her romantic career by a five years' course in novel reading, rechristening herself Cherubina, refusing a husband of decent birth and education for the very reason of his decency, and, after an amazing series of adventures, allowing herself to be reformed by a sensible clergyman, the advice of the once repulsed but now accepted lover, and the reading of *Don Quixote*—such spirited burlesque was exactly suited to Miss Austen's temperament and fully

<sup>43</sup> E. S. Barrett, London, 1813. Reprinted with introd. by Sir Walter Raleigh, London, 1909.

<sup>44</sup> March 2, 1814, *Life and Letters*, p. 292.

<sup>45</sup> *Life and Letters*, p. 293.



derserves the brief but unqualified praise which she has bestowed on it.

Again she says:

We are now in *Margiana* and like it very well indeed. We are just going to set off for Northumberland to be shut up in Widdrington Tower, where there must be two or three sets of victims already immured under a very fine villain.<sup>46</sup>

The comment is significant in showing her characteristic faculty of abandoning herself to the spirit of a story at the same time that she is observing it from a critical angle.

She casts an indirect slur on Monk Lewis' masterpiece by making it the favorite of John Thorpe, the rudest of all her characters, who remarks to Catherine Morland that, with the exception of the *Monk*, there has not been a tolerably decent novel come out since *Tom Jones*.<sup>47</sup> And she brings down a whole flock of these tales of terror in *Northanger Abbey* (p. 23) in the list of novels recommended by Isabella Thorpe for the education of Catherine Morland. "*Castle of Wolfenbach, Clermont, Mysterious Warnings, Necromancer of the Black Forest, Midnight Bell, Orphan of the Rhine, and Horrid Mysteries*." This list almost lays itself open to the suspicion of being fictitious; Miss Austen was quite capable of inventing such titles. A few of them, however, I have been able to identify, though not yet to examine. *The Castle of Wolfenbach*, 1793, is by Mrs. Eliza Parsons,<sup>48</sup> and probably *Mysterious Warnings*, 1796, though the correct title is *The Mysterious Warning*. *The Midnight Bell*, 1798, is ascribed in the *Dictionary of National Biography* to Francis Lathom. The *Clermont* here mentioned, as shown later (see below, p. 417), is probably the novel by Maria Roche, 1798.

Few, indeed, are the novelists, Gothic or otherwise, who enjoy Miss Austen's esteem. It is characteristic that she should have *Tom Jones* appeal to young Thorpe, for according to her biographers, she set Fielding because of his indelicacy, below Richardson. But even so, she does not seem to be Richardson's apologist. In spite of her reputed mastery of *Sir Charles Grandi-*

<sup>46</sup> *Margiana, or Widdrington Tower*, a tale of the fifteenth century in 5 vols. Anon. London, 1808; Jan. 10, 1809, *Life and Letters*, p. 225 & n.

<sup>47</sup> *Northanger Abbey*, p. 31.

<sup>48</sup> *Dict., Nat. Biog.*

son—the author of the Memoir says that her knowledge of Richardson was such as no one was likely again to acquire. Every circumstance narrated in *Sir Charles Grandison* was familiar to her<sup>49</sup>—she shows a rather non-committal attitude towards the book in *Northanger Abbey*, in leaving it to the tender mercies of the romance worshipers, Catherine Morland and Isabella Thorpe, one of whom finds it interesting, though not like *Udolpho*; and the other, on the advice of a friend, “an amazing horrid book.”<sup>50</sup>

If Richardson is freer from coarseness than Fielding, he can not be absolved from the sin of sentimentality, a sin which, we know, Miss Austen could not brook. She gives a sly thrust at this master of sentiment in *Northanger Abbey* where she archly hopes that Catherine did not commit a certain impropriety in regard to Henry Tilney:

If it be true, as a celebrated writer has maintained, that no young lady can be justified in falling in love before the gentleman's love is declared, it must be very improper that a young lady should dream of a gentleman before the gentleman is first known to have dreamt of her.<sup>51</sup>

The allusion is to a letter of Richardson's in the *Rambler*, (No. 97, Vol. II).

One of her especial irritations seems to have been Madame de Genlis. Madame de Genlis was one of the host of educational reformers who had enlisted under the banner of Rousseau, spreading her propaganda in the form of eighty odd volumes, chiefly fiction. Miss Austen mentions three or four of these novels. Her objection to *Olympe et Théophile* a story in *Les Veillées du Château* has been already discussed.<sup>52</sup> *Les Veillées du Château, ou cours de morale à l'usage des enfants*<sup>53</sup> was translated into English by the radical Thomas Holcroft in 1814 under the title, *Tales of the Castle*; or, *Stories of Instruction and Delight* in five volumes. Miss Austen mentions in a letter to her niece, Caroline Austen, the lending of the first volume of this book, but she is silent as to its merits or demerits. Of another work she says:

<sup>49</sup> *Memoir*, p. 84.

<sup>50</sup> *Northanger Abbey*, p. 25.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>52</sup> See this study, p. 411.

<sup>53</sup> Paris, 1784.

*Alphonsine*<sup>54</sup> did not do. We were disgusted in twenty pages, as, independent of a very bad translation, it has indelicacies which disgrace a pen hitherto so pure; and we changed it for *The Female Quixote*<sup>55</sup> which now makes our evening's amusement: to me a very high one, as I find the work quite equal to what I remembered it.<sup>56</sup>

Characteristically, she turns from unpleasantness and gloom to the enjoyment of one of the best fictional burlesques of its time, a work that was said by no less a person than Fielding<sup>57</sup> in many instances to excell the original. *Adelaide and Theodore*,<sup>58</sup> a novel built on the plan of *Émile* which furnished many of its ideas,<sup>59</sup> is alluded to by Emma in praising Mrs. Weston's ability to educate her own daughter:

She has had the advantage, you know, of practicing on me . . . like La Baronne d'Almane on La Comtesse d'Ostalis in Madame de Genlis' *Adelaide and Theodore* and we shall now see her own little Adelaide educated on a more perfect plan.<sup>60</sup>

This is Miss Austen's nearest approach to commendation of Madame de Genlis, except for the reference to her usual freedom from indelicacy. The work entitled *Clermont*, mentioned in the list of wild romances recommended by that accomplished novel reader, Miss Isabella Thorpe, for the instruction of her new friend, Catherine Morland, has three claimants for the honor. *Mlle. de Clérmont* by Mme de Genlis, Paris, 1802; *The Adventures of the Prince of Clermont and Mme de Ravazan*. . . by a Person of Quality [Penelope Aubin], London, 1722; and *Clermont* by Maria Roche, London, 1798. Merit and character, for *Mlle. de Clérmont* is in the style of French heroic romance suggesting occasionally *The Princess of Cleves*, make it unlikely that this novel is intended here. Either of the others is

<sup>54</sup> *Alphonsine, ou La Tendresse maternelle*, Paris, réimprimé à Londres, 1806, 3 vols. *Alphonsine or Maternal Affection*, a novel, 2nd ed., 4 vols. London, 1807. The weaknesses of the translation are mentioned in a brief critical note in the *Monthly Magazine* (Vol. 55, 1808, p. 319).

<sup>55</sup> Charlotte Lennox. *The Female Quixote; or the Adventures of Arabella*, London, 1752, 1783, 1810.

<sup>56</sup> March 13. [1815]. *Life and Letters*, p. 365.

<sup>57</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. 22, (1752), p. 146.

<sup>58</sup> The English title of *Adèle et Théodore*, Paris, 1782, Eng. trans., 1st ed., 1783; 2nd ed., 1784; 4th ed., 1796.

<sup>59</sup> Jean Harmand, *Mme de Genlis*, Paris, 1912, p. 543.

<sup>60</sup> *Emma*, p. 375.

worthy of the place, but Maria Roche's work is the more likely both because of the exact correspondence of the title and the fact that this author is elsewhere condemned through her once highly popular *Children of the Abbey*, 1798, a long winded, tearful tale which Miss Austen makes a favorite with poor, stupid Harriet Smith.

Another novelist who acted as an irritant on Miss Austen was Mrs. Jane West, author of numerous works of fiction and drama. The following comment in a letter of 1814 upon the latest achievement of that prolific and terrific pen, implies that the author had given her considerable provocation:

I am quite determined . . . not to be pleased with Mrs. West's *Alicia de Lacy*<sup>61</sup> should I ever meet with it, which I hope I shall not. I think I can be stout against anything written by Mrs. West.<sup>62</sup>

A letter of Mrs. West's to Bishop Percy, written in 1800, proclaiming her method of composition and a part of her literary accomplishment, would seem sufficient to satisfy any doubt as to the justice of Miss Austen's broadside: "The catalogue of my compositions previous to my attaining twenty, would be formidable. Thousands of lines flowed in easy measure. I scorned correction and never blotted."<sup>63</sup> And yet *Alicea de Lacy*, beside such specimens of the historical novel as *Margiana* and *The Adventures of the Prince of Clermont*, while certainly not meriting the encomium given it in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, is deserving of some respect, for the historical imagination and historical research evidenced. Miss Austen's prejudice seems to spring from earlier and less worthy products of Mrs. West's and therefore tends here to lead her to an unfair bias.

Hannah More's *Coelebs in Search of a Wife*<sup>64</sup> called forth a serio-comic jibe at the piety and didacticism of that earnest work. She writes to Cassandra, January 24, 1809:

You have by no means raised my curiosity after Caleb. My disinclination for it before was affected, but now it is real. I do not like the evangelicals.

<sup>61</sup> *Alicia de Lacy, an Historical Romance*. London, 1814, 4 vols.

<sup>62</sup> To her niece, Anna Austen, Sept. 28, 1814, *Life and Letters*, p. 360.

<sup>63</sup> John Nichols, *Literary Illustrations*, Vol. VIII, pp. 329ff. Ref. in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

<sup>64</sup> *Coelebs in Search of a Wife. Comprehending Observations on Domestic Habits and Manners, Religion and Morals*. London, 1809.

Of course I shall be delighted with it when I read it, like other people, but till I do, I shall dislike it.<sup>65</sup>

It is highly doubtful if Miss Austen's opinion of the evangelicals could have been raised by a more intimate acquaintance with *Coelebs*, in spite of the delight of other people. In matters of taste, Miss Austen was not easily led, and *Coelebs* is a book which comprehends all the vices of Richardson without any of his virtues. A letter of a few days later, January 30, shows that *Coelebs* is still rankling. This time it is the title:

The name Caleb . . . has an honest, unpretending sound, but in *Coelebs* there is pedantry and affectation. Is it written only to classical scholars?<sup>66</sup>

This criticism, like the first one, seems to have been made before the book was read, if it ever was. The comment shows clearly her distaste for whatever savoured of insincerity. Honesty of attitude towards life and towards art was a fundamental trait in her character.

If the minor fiction writers afforded Miss Austen but small satisfaction, the major figures were scarcely more fortunate. In the novels, Byron and Scott are enjoyed by the sentimentalists—Willoughby, Marianne,<sup>67</sup> and Captain Benwick.<sup>68</sup> Patronage of Scott and Byron by these romantic young people is not, however, a wholly accurate index of the novelist's own opinion, for her favorites, Shakespeare<sup>69</sup> and Cowper,<sup>70</sup> are read by Willoughby and by Marianne and her foolish mother. And the daredevil, Henry Crawford,<sup>71</sup> also, was an admirer of the dramatist. The letters speak more unequivocally: A saucy allusion to Byron, reduces him to pitiable inconsequence:

I have read the *Corsair*, mended my petticoat, and have nothing else to do.<sup>72</sup>

It is not difficult to accept Miss Austen's strictures upon the rank and file, and if not to acquiesce in, at least to understand,

<sup>65</sup> *Life and Letters*, p. 228.

<sup>66</sup> *Life and Letters*, p. 228.

<sup>67</sup> *Sense and Sensibility*, p. 91.

<sup>68</sup> *Persuasion*, pp. 85, 91, 92, 141.

<sup>69</sup> *Sense and Sensibility*, p. 84.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>71</sup> *Mansfield Park*, pp. 279-80.

<sup>72</sup> March 5, 1814, *Life and Letters*, p. 294.

her indifference to Byron, but her behavior towards Scott, while not incomprehensible, is, to say the least, ungenerous:

Walter Scott has no business to write novels, especially good ones. It is not fair. He has fame and profit enough as a poet, and ought not to be taking the bread out of other people's mouths. -I do not like him, and I do not mean to like *Waverly* if I can help it, but I fear I must.<sup>73</sup>

Beside Scott's genial encomium of her work, the well-known entry in his diary,<sup>74</sup> unfortunately for her, not brought to light until long after her death, this petty fault finding is not becoming. Partly facetious though it may be, it contains a lurking suspicion of jealousy that is disappointing. Miss Austen, with all her good sense, does not seem to have always been able to witness the triumph of her fellow novelists with perfect equanimity. Another instance may be found in her apprehension over *Self-Control* before she had seen the book: "We have tried to get *Self-Control*, but in vain. I should like to know what her estimate is, but am always afraid of finding a clever novel too clever, and of finding my own story and my own people all forestalled."<sup>75</sup> But when the book appeared, she found it quite poor enough to allay every fear.

Her criticism of Scott is of interest, too, in showing that although living completely removed from the literary circles of her time, she was able to recognize Scott's hand in the anonymously published *Waverley*, a fact that proves her to have been a careful reader of the metrical romances. Anne Elliot and Captain Benwick discuss the relative merits of *Marmion* and *The Lady of the Lake*; the *Giaour* and the *Bride of Abydos*, the Captain showing himself to be "intimately acquainted with all the tenderest songs of the one poet and all the impassioned descriptions of hopeless agony of the other."<sup>76</sup> The letters mention *Marmion* and *The Lady of the Lake*, the latter, only casually. Of the former she writes:

Ought I to be very much pleased with *Marmion*? As yet I am not. James reads it aloud every evening.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> To Anna Austen, Sept. 28, 1814, *Life and Letters*, pp. 359-60.

<sup>74</sup> J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*. Boston, 1902, vol. IV, p. 511. See also, IV, pp. 3 and 21.

<sup>75</sup> April 30, 1811, *Life and Letters*, p. 251.

<sup>76</sup> *Persuasion*, p. 85.

<sup>77</sup> June 20, 1808, *Life and Letters*, pp. 206-7.

Again she shows herself of no mind to be carried away on the romantic current that was gathering in most of her contemporaries.

Miss Austen's views on English fiction, whether expressed with seriousness or in a spirit of railery, reveal independence and exacting critical temper. What she said of the theatre: "Acting seldom satisfies me," she found equally true of the novel. There are a few writers, however, for whom she expresses genuine admiration: Cowper and Crabbe, Miss Edgeworth and Miss Burney. The exquisite pictures of country life in *The Task*, the homely realism of the *Village* and the *Tales*, found in Miss Austen an appreciative reader, and undoubtedly encouraged her natural bent towards delineating human nature as she saw it. The delicate, but confident touch displayed in that inimitable series of sketches known as *Castle Rackrent*, could not fail to win the approval of Miss Austen's good taste and sense of artistic honesty. Though she mentions but one of Miss Edgeworth's books, *Belinda*, once in a letter and again in the passage in defense of novel writing in *Northanger Abbey*, she must have been thoroughly conversant with this author's works. "I have made up my mind," she declares, after the sweeping repudiation of Mrs. West before quoted, "to like no novels, really, but Miss Edgeworth's, yours, and my own."<sup>78</sup> This assertion need not be taken seriously except as voicing a strong reaction in favor of taste and common sense.

Among her favorite writers, Miss Burney is the one whose influence is most clearly discernible. According to the authors of the *Life and Letters*: "The appearance of Jane Austen's name among the list of subscribers to Mme D'Arblay's *Camilla* in 1796, marks the beginning of her literary career."<sup>79</sup> And they like to think, as Miss Constance Hill has suggested, that Jane may have met Mme D'Arblay at her cousins', the Cookes of Bookham, who were among the older novelist's closest friends. The early editions of *Camilla* contain an alphabetical list of subscribers among which occurs the name, "Miss J. Austen, Steventon." Approval of the book is expressed in a letter to Cassandra, dated September 15 of the year of publication.

<sup>78</sup> To Anna Austen, Sept. 28, 1814, *Life and Letters*, p. 360.

<sup>79</sup> P. 95.

There are two traits of her [Miss Fletcher's] character which are pleasing, namely, she admires *Camilla* and drinks no cream in her tea.<sup>80</sup>

But either Miss Austen, prejudiced in favor of *Camilla* from her knowledge of Miss Burney's earlier novels, expressed herself thus before she had read the book, or she came later to change her opinion, for a passage in *Northanger Abbey*, another of the author's rare intrusions, shows her agreeing with John Thorpe's blunt disgust of Miss Burney's third essay at novel writing:

Such unnatural stuff! An old man playing at see-saw; I took up the first volume once, and looked it over; but soon I found it would not do; indeed, I guessed what sort of stuff it must be before I saw it. . . . There is nothing in the world in it but an old man's playing at see-saw and learning Latin; upon my soul, there is not.<sup>81</sup>

And the author remarks: "This critique, the justness of which was unfortunately lost on poor Catherine," etc.

This opinion seems scarcely consistent with the inclusion of *Camilla* with *Cecilia* and *Belinda* in the passage in defense of novel writing, where presumably only the books which she regarded as of high order would be cited as examples. *Camilla* is certainly inferior to *Cecilia* and *Belinda* which should rank high among the minor novels of the period.

*Evelina* serves the purpose of exposing the ignorance of a new acquaintance, a Mr. Gould:

He is a very young man, just entered Oxford, wears spectacles, and has heard that *Evelina* was written by Dr. Johnson.<sup>82</sup>

The letters also mention the celebrated Captain Mervan and Madame Duval.

When the nature of Miss Austen's genius, critical and creative, is taken into account, it is not surprising that she should have been dissatisfied with even the best of the fiction accessible to her, or that she should have found the rank and file of value chiefly as a butt of ridicule, or that she should have been forced back upon her own talents and the sensible and delightful discovery that within a limited area she was doing

<sup>80</sup> Sept. 5, 1796, *Life and Letters*, pp. 102-3.

<sup>81</sup> *Northanger Abbey*, p. 32.

<sup>82</sup> June 2, 1799, *Brabourne I*, p. 213.



better work than had ever been done before. In view of the crimes that were being committed in the name of novel, when Miss Austen began to write, we should not be disposed to charge her with egotism and conceit because she fell in love with her own creation. She writes to Cassandra, January 29, 1813, on the receipt of the first copy of *Pride and Prejudice* from the publisher's in this strain:

I want to tell you that I have got my own darling child from London. She [Miss Benn] really seems to admire Elizabeth. I must confess that I think her as delightful a creature as ever appeared in print. And how shall I be able to tolerate those who do not like *her*, at least I do not know<sup>83</sup>. . . . Fanny's praise is very gratifying. My hopes were tolerably strong of her, but nothing like a certainty. Her liking Darcy and Elizabeth is enough. She might hate all the others if she would.<sup>84</sup>

Certainly, the claim which Miss Austen makes for Elizabeth Bennet can not be disputed up to the year 1813; indeed, she has not many rivals after that period.

Miss Austen's independence is seen in her pleasure in creating in Emma a heroine whom she said nobody would like but herself;<sup>85</sup> and her enthusiasm for her work is evidenced again by the carefully preserved list of opinions<sup>86</sup> on *Emma* voiced by family and friends, which is, in fact, a record of opinion on all the novels then published, for *Emma* is used here as a standard of comparison.

This survey of Miss Austen's work as an informal critic of the novel may tend to imply that her own excellence as a novelist, together with the very inferiority of the bulk of the fiction accessible to her, made the way of the critic easy, but such an inference would be untrue. Wherever literature is discussed from the point of view of a contemporary, the factor of popularity has to be reckoned with; and popularity will sometimes exert an influence, even if unconscious, upon the most wary of critics. Library catalogues, bibliographical manuals, biographical dictionaries, and literary reviews unite in testifying to the great

<sup>83</sup> *Life and Letters*, p. 260.

<sup>84</sup> Feb. 9, 1813, *Ibid.*, p. 263. Fanny was a favorite niece, the daughter of her brother Edward (Austen) Knight, who had been adopted by the Knights of Chawton.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 328ff.

vogue at one time enjoyed by these now forgotten books. The praises they received, the numbers of editions through which they passed, the foreign translations in which they appeared should convince the modern reader disposed to be skeptical that these books once led a very active life. *Arthur Fitz-Albini* by Sir Edgerton Brydges, 1798, appeared in a second edition in 1799 and a third, in 1810;<sup>87</sup> and with all its perversion of human nature and human situation was praised by the *British Critic* (XIII, 66) for its common sense "in the midst of monotonous wailing and impossible lovers." This is a dismal commentary on the rank and file. *Clarentine*, 1796, by Sarah Burney, sister of Frances, was read by the king and queen, and was, in general, well received, as were all her novels.<sup>88</sup> *Cecilia*, 1782, by Frances Burney was, like its much better predecessor, *Evelina*, a favorite with Dr. Johnson: "Sir," said he, with an air of animated satisfaction, "if you talk of *Cecilia*, talk on."<sup>89</sup> Miss Burney in the *Diary* writes of her third novel: "The essential success of *Camilla* exceeds the elders. The sale is truly astonishing . . . five hundred only remain of four thousand and it has appeared scarcely three months."<sup>90</sup> And though unfavorably commented on in the *Monthly Review* (Nov. 1796) it received a very laudatory notice in the *Critical Review* (Vol. 18, 1796, pp. 20-40). The English translation of Mme de Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore*, entitled *Adelaide and Theodore*, 1783, had reached a fourth edition by 1796.<sup>91</sup> There are recorded five English editions and two French translations of the *History of Nourjahad* by Frances Sheridan, 1767.<sup>92</sup> Mrs. Jane West's novels received warm commendation from Bishop Percy in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and in the *British Critic*, and were favorably recommended to the queen.<sup>93</sup> In fact, a review of *Alicea de Lacy* in the *Gentleman's Magazine* would place it on the shelf with our best authors. (Vol. 84, Pt. II, pp. 137-139). Hannah More's *Coelebs*

<sup>87</sup> *A Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum.*

<sup>88</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

<sup>89</sup> Birkbeck Hill, ed., *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 1904, vol. IV, p. 258.

<sup>90</sup> *Diary and Letters of Mme d'Arblay*. . . ed. by her niece, Charlotte Barrett, with preface by Austen Dobson. London, 1905. Vol. V, 1796, p. 293.

<sup>91</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books.*

<sup>92</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

<sup>93</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

made the suprising record of sixteen editions between 1809 and 1826 and a French translation, 1817.<sup>94</sup> Miss Sydney Owenson's first novel, *The Wild Irish Girl*, 1806, sold for 300 guineas and ran through seven English and six American editions in two years.<sup>95</sup> The remarkable success of the book brought its author, the daughter of an actor at the Royal Theatre, Dublin, into fashionable circles and to a titled marriage. These are only a few of the many instances that might be given to prove the high esteem enjoyed by this host of mediocre fiction in its own age. The result ought not to seem remarkable in view of the enthusiastic support which the public and the press are giving to the same grade of fiction today.

Miss Austen's way then, was not easy, for she moved against the current. As most of her personal criticism was not made for publication, she could afford to express her views freely. Accordingly, her opinion is all the more valuable in that it must have sprung from sincerity. As such, it shows an independence of mind that does her credit. She was not to be led, either by a mob of inferior novel writers or by an indiscriminating reading public. Her isolated literary position was for one of such sure judgment probably more of an advantage than a misfortune, as it enabled her to work unhampered by conventions.

The basic element in Miss Austen's critical faculty is common sense. Towards the fiction of her time she assumed an attitude not unlike that of the Meredithian Comic Spirit, though with a shade less of its kindliness. While not insensible to some of the finer aspects of romance, she warred against sentimentalism. She turned the humor of her mind upon the abnormal in fiction—bombast and pedantry, affectation, vanity, absurdity, falseness of feeling, and offense against sound reason. Thus she performed the serviceable act of pointing out to the world of the novel what ailed it.

ANNETTE B. HOPKINS

<sup>94</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*.

<sup>95</sup> Sixth American ed., Boston, 1808; *Dict. Nat. Biog*.

## XXII. THE LANDSCAPE OF BROWNING'S *CHILDE ROLAND*

In his admirable paper upon the sources of Browning's *Childe Roland*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Harold Golder shows from what a rich storehouse of nursery tale, poetry, and romance the poet drew for many of the incidents that go to make up that poem. *Childe Roland* is such a synthetic poem that the problem of finding satisfactory sources for it is not simple. Nor is it made easier by Browning's stubborn insistence<sup>2</sup> that the only true source of the poem is the line from *King Lear*.<sup>3</sup> But it has been impossible to be content with Browning's statement, and critic after critic has ransacked ballad, fairy tale and legend to find the origin of the simples which the poet has compounded in his poem. In the light of Browning's statement, the problem becomes one of "establishing a subconscious connection between Edgar's maudlin words and the material from which Browning obviously drew"<sup>4</sup>; in other words, we must find for the sources of *Childe Roland* materials so familiar to Browning at the impressionable time of his life as to have become a part of his own mental character, and further, the materials must be such as would definitely suggest the images which appear in the poem.

The necessity for such a hidden source is further emphasized by a consideration of the conditions under which the poem was written.<sup>5</sup> Browning was living in an apartment at Paris, away from his library, and on three successive days, the first, second and third of January, 1852, he wrote three poems, *Love Among the Ruins*, *Women and Roses*, and *Childe Roland*. The incidents and landscapes of two of these poems are obviously highly imaginative or reminiscent; and the third, *Women and Roses*, is the record of a vivid dream. Having no book at his hand, as Browning often did have when he was

<sup>1</sup> *P.M.L.A.*, XXXIX, 963-78.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to Miss Irene Hardy, *Poet Lore*, XXIV, 56. Golder also makes use of this fact (cf. p. 963).

<sup>3</sup> III, iv. 185: "Child Rowland to the dark tower came."

<sup>4</sup> Golder, *op. cit.*, p. 964.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Griffin and Minchin, *Life of Browning*, 1910, p. 189.

composing,<sup>6</sup> he must have drawn heavily upon his imagination and recollection for the matter of these poems.

Under these difficult conditions, the searcher for the sources of *Childe Roland* quite logically has gone to those books that must have formed the imaginative background of the poet's youth. And thus it was that Mr. Golder was able to discover many possible sources for a number of the incidents that make up Browning's poem—the quest, the huge birds, the black castle, etc.—in such books as *Jack and the Bean-Stalk*, the *Renowned History of the Seven Champions of Christendom*, and the *Faerie Queene*.

But to the student of Browning, *Childe Roland* is unique, not because of the questing knight and the dramatic incident, but because, almost alone of his poems, it depends upon, revolves about, and lives for the sake of the landscape. It is the gloom and horror of the landscape that makes the poem possible at all; the quest seems almost like an interpolation into the mood of the poem, beginning and ending enigmatically. This is unusual in Browning, for in a naturalistic age, when almost every other poet was busily engaged in painting word pictures, he was almost always dramatic, and his landscapes are generally brief and entirely subservient to narrative and character. In *Childe Roland* the landscape is everything, and through it Browning is trying to create in us an impression of horror that he himself has once experienced. Our problem, accordingly, is to find in the reading of the young poet a book, or books, that would have left in his mind such definite ideas as to what constituted the horrible in landscape. x

To find such a source, however, it is not necessary to confine ourselves to nursery tale and romance. Browning, indeed, cared little for romances in the middle years of his life or later,<sup>7</sup> and

<sup>6</sup> One needs only to remember the "square yellow book" that plays such a great part in the composition of *The Ring and the Book*, the books that are the bases of the *Parleyings*, and the prose accounts of Paracelsus, etc. It was Browning's characteristic manner of composition. Cf. Griffin and Minchin pp. 71ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Griffin and Minchin, pp. 71ff.; Orr, *Life and Letters of Browning*. Revised ed. 1908, pp. 144, 201, 232, 378f.; *Letters of R. B. and E. B. B.*, Vol. I, pp. 40, 532, Vol. II, pp. 388, 555; *Letters of E. B. Browning*, ed. Kenyon, 1897, Vol. I, pp. 420, 442. Golder also calls attention to this fact, as above, p. 976.

there is little evidence to show that he read a great deal in them when he was young. Rather, his father's library of some 6,000 volumes,<sup>8</sup> in which the poet acquired most of his education, was filled with biography, history, philosophy, books on music, science, and painting;<sup>9</sup> and it was these that profoundly influenced the mind of the growing youth.

Among these books few were read more assiduously than Gerard de Lairese's *The Art of Painting in All its Branches*.<sup>10</sup> It was on the fly-leaf of this book that Browning wrote in 1874:

I read this book more often and with greater delight when I was a child than any other: and still remember the main of it most gratefully for the good I seem to have got from the prints and wonderful text.<sup>11</sup>

and it was with the Flemish painter that Browning "parleyed" thirteen years later,<sup>12</sup>

. . . moved  
To pay due homage to the man I loved  
Because of that prodigious book he wrote  
On Artistry's Ideal.

and it is this "prodigious" book that contains the blind painter's account of the imaginary "walk"<sup>13</sup> which he took in order to show his pupils what was "painter-like" and what "unpainter-like" in landscapes. Browning tells us with what delight he used to read it:

't was a boy that budged  
No foot's breadth from your visioned steps away  
The while that memorable "walk" he trudged  
In your companionship, . . . the Book must say  
When, where, and whither, . . . "walk" come what come may,  
No measurer of steps on this our globe  
Shall ever match for marvels.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Griffin and Minchin, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Chapter I contains an excellent account of Browning's early reading. Griffin had access to the poet's library.

<sup>10</sup> Browning used the second English edition, translated from the Dutch by J. F. Fritsch, London, 1778. Cf. Browning's note to line 80 of the parleying *With Gerard de Lairese*. The present paper springs from a general study of all the *Parleyings* which I am undertaking.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Griffin and Minchin, pp. 9-10.

<sup>12</sup> *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day*, London, 1887.

<sup>13</sup> The "walk" is described in Chaps. 16 and 17 of Book VI (Of *Landscape*) of *The Art of Painting*, 1778.

<sup>14</sup> *Parleyings . . . With Gerard de Lairese*, ll. 44-50.

And farther along in this poem Browning is inspired to match the "walk" with one of his own.

For his *Parleying*, however, Browning utilizes only the first part of Lairese's "walk," *Of the Painter-like Beauty of the Open Air*. It is the second part that interests us primarily here, for it was Chapter 17, *Of Things Deformed and Broken, Falsely called Painter-like*, I believe, that fashioned the young Browning's ideas of the horrible in landscape, and it was Lairese who dictated, though sometimes in a faint and disguised speech, the landscape that the line from *Lear*<sup>15</sup> conjured up to the poet's mind.

About to begin his "walk" Lairese pauses for a moment to impress upon the minds of his pupils what is "unpainter-like" in nature:<sup>16</sup>

All these, I say, may claim the title of painter-like; but a piece with deformed trees, widely branched and leaved, and disorderly spreading from east towards west, crooked bodied, old and rent, full of knots and hollowness; also grounds without roads or ways,<sup>17</sup> sharp hills, and monstrous mountains<sup>18</sup> filling the off-scapes, rough or ruined buildings with their parts lying up and down in confusion; likewise muddy brooks, a gloomy sky, abounding with heavy clouds;<sup>19</sup> the field furnished with lean cattle<sup>20</sup> and vagabonds or gypsies: such a piece, I say, is not to be called a fine landscape. Can any one, without reason, assert him to be a painter-like object, who appears as a lame and dirty beggar,<sup>21</sup> clothed in rags, splay-footed, bound about the head with a nasty clout, having a skin as yellow as a baked pudding, killing vermin;<sup>22</sup> or in fine, any such paltry figure?

And then, the "walk" actually beginning in this "un-painter-

<sup>15</sup> One wonders, in connection with Browning's use of *Lear*, if the idea of "the bright white shaft" of lightning feeling for the adulterous Ottima and Sebald in *Pippa Passes* may not have been suggested by Lear's speech (Act. III, SC. II, ll. 49-59), "Let the great gods, That keep this dreadful pother o'er our heads Find out their enemies now" . . . "thou similar of virtue That art incestuous, . . ."

<sup>16</sup> In *The Art of Painting*, 1778, p. 252.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Childe Roland*, ll. 51-52; the safe road vanishes.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, ll. 165-66, 176-78. Browning has mountains crowding all around, "mere ugly heights and heaps," "two hills on the right, Crouched like two bulls locked horn and horn in fight; While to the left, a tall scalped mountain. . . ."

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, ll. 45-48, "the day had been a dreary one at best, and dim Was settling to its close."

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, l. 76, "One stiff blind horse, his every bone a-stare."

<sup>21</sup> Compare with Browning's "hateful cripple," *Ibid.*, l. 45.

<sup>22</sup> This may have suggested Browning's speared water-rat, *Ibid.*, l. 125.

like" land, Lairesse comes into so "strange" and "desolate" a country, "without paths or roads, that I knew not where to walk."<sup>23</sup> And after passing a ruined and shattered temple, he crosses "a morass abounding with vermin." And further in this gloomy land,

. . . near the place where he had been sitting, I found another spark, who stood and drew after a small rivulet<sup>24</sup> full of big and little clods of earth and pebbles . . .

and the whole region is one of "muddy water, decayed and broked stones, pieces of wood, barren shrubs and bushes, rough grounds, toads, snakes, etc."<sup>25</sup> And so, at length, he comes into a place—

full of open hollows and cuts, over-run here and there, with moss and barren shrubs. On the right side was a deep morassy valley . . . and on the left appeared an inaccessible ruined building, like an heap of stone, swarming with adders, snakes and other venomous creatures. Behind me, the ground was so uneven, full of ups and downs and pathless, that I thought it impossible to get from the place.

Meeting then, a man who told him "what wonderful things were to be seen on the other side," he goes through a passage, but finds only "a tomb crushed to pieces" and a "frightful pool."<sup>26</sup> Thus Lairesse goes on in his "walk," always adding to his catalogue of unlovely things regions where "everything is excessively mouldered, fouled, and over-run with wild plants and shrubs," and oaks "which had been thunder-struck; the stem cleft from top to bottom,"<sup>27</sup> until it is sunset at last,

<sup>23</sup> All of the details and quotations come from Chap. 17 of *The Art of Painting*, comprising only four pages of the 1778 edition, 258-61. All of the above details come from page 259.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Childe Roland*, ll. 109-20. "the sudden little river."

<sup>25</sup> Compare *Ibid.*, ll. 130-31, 145-50, 151-53. In Lairesse, here, are all the materials of Browning's landscape, lacking only the synthetic touch and poetic imagination of Browning.

<sup>26</sup> Roland's experience is singularly like Lairesse's. They both come into weird countries, all escape is seemingly cut off, they both pass barriers and hope for a better land, and both are bitterly disappointed. Cf. *Childe Roland*, ll. 109-38.

<sup>27</sup> Compare *Childe Roland*, ll. 154, "some palsied oak, a cleft in him." These and the following quotations are upon p. 260-61 of *The Art of Painting*, 1778.



The sun, now on the point of setting, darted his refulgent rays between some heavy clouds, the sky moreover was dark blue, and on the horizon yellowish striped; which . . . strongly glittered in my eyes.<sup>28</sup>

And yet, in spite of the similarity of detail, it would be a mistake to insist too strongly upon it. It must not be forgotten that Browning denied all sources other than *Lear*, and only later sanctioned Mrs. Orr's statement disclosing the originals for the blind, starved horse and the squat, round turret.<sup>29</sup> The background of sharp hill and scalped mountain, the little river, the starved ignoble nature, the lean cattle, the roadless land, the sunset over the waste—these things were never thought of as having an outside source, chiefly because they had become so much a part of Browning's imaginative experience that he thought they had always been his own.<sup>30</sup>

And yet, I say again, it is not the detail that finally convinces us, but rather the tone of such a passage as the following, taken from near the end of the "walk:"<sup>31</sup>

It was here so lonesome and gastly, that I was seized with a cold sweat; wherefore I mended my pace, in order to get out of it; and being got to the other side, and ten or twelve paces from it, I found myself again at the lake before-mentioned; near which lay a shattered tomb, with the corpse half tumbled out. The head and one arm rested on a large root of a tree lying near it; the lid was almost slid off, and just on the totter, and a snake, from underneath, was creeping into the tomb. A sight frightful enough.

It is such passages as these that must have impressed themselves indelibly upon the mind of the growing Browning.

Finally, though, as we have seen, Browning rarely resorted to the description of landscape for its own sake after *Pauline*,

<sup>28</sup> Compare *Childe Roland*, 45-48, and also ll. 188-89, "before it left, The dying sunset kindled through a cleft."

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Handbook to Browning's Works*, 1923, p. 274. Browning read and corrected Mrs. Orr's book.

<sup>30</sup> Browning uses many of the details that originally come from *Lairesse* whenever he wishes to create an atmosphere of horror. A few examples will suffice: cf. *Easter Day*, Sections XVIII and XIX; the *Ring and the Book*, *Giuseppe Caponsacchi*, ll. 1879-89; *Sordello*, *Book IV*, ll. 120-40; *Paracelsus*, III, 1030-41. It is interesting to note, too, that *Love Among the Ruins*, and even one or two lines from *Women and Roses*, both written within a day or two of *Childe Roland*, are reminiscent of *Lairesse* in a happier mood.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *The Art of Painting*, 1778, p. 261.

and even more rarely to forbidding landscape, what description there is generally shows the influence of Lairese. The elaborate descriptions of night, morning, noon and evening found both in *Pauline* and in the parleying *With Gerard de Lairese* and so typical of Browning when he does describe nature, are taken in all essential details from the fifth and sixth books of Lairese's *The Art of Painting*. The influence of Lairese upon Browning was both subtle and all-pervading, and it was in recognition of this fact that Browning wrote the note of gratitude in his copy of Lairese in 1874 and parleyed with the blind painter in 1887 when he was consciously summing up the imaginative pleasures of his youth.

WILLIAM C. DE VANE, JR.

### XXIII. THE REVISION OF *RODERICK HUDSON*

In an interesting paper which appeared in March, 1924, Miss Hélène Harvitt discussed "How Henry James Revised *Roderick Hudson*."<sup>1</sup> The investigations on which this article was based were made in Paris where original American editions were presumably not available, for we are told that "All quotations from the revised version of *Roderick Hudson* refer to the Macmillan edition of 1921, those from the first edition, to that of 1883 (2 vols)." If the author had been able to refer to an American edition published after 1882, she would have noticed the two copyrights (one issued to the publishers in 1875, and one to the author in 1882) and the "Note" (which has a page to itself): '*Roderick Hudson*' was originally published in 1875. It has now been minutely revised, and has received a large number of verbal alterations. Several passages have been rewritten." That is, she would have seen that the text which she quotes throughout her article as from the first edition, comes in reality from a thoroughly revised later version.

Fortunately the conclusions which Miss Harvitt has drawn are not affected by this previous revision, which, it may be hoped, she will in the near future make the subject of another study. Such a study will show that minute and fastidious correction was an early habit with Henry James, but it will not, so far as I have observed, reveal any evidence of the growth of "that introspective, analytical trait," or much "obscuring of spontaneous, natural passages, making them labored, heavy, ambiguous, and sometimes almost impenetrable," which, as Miss Harvitt shows, disfigure the final version. On the contrary, the changes were made in the interest of greater clarity and definiteness, of euphony, and of fresher, less hackneyed phrasing.

It is easy to see why an expression so flowery, so strangely unlike Henry James as "Rowland's tranquil commendation had stilled his restless pulses" (p. 28) was changed to "Rowland's intelligent praise had sobered him" (p. 25); why "I've been too absurdly docile" (p. 37) became "I've been too great a mollycoddle" (p. 31); why "It seemed to Rowland that it

<sup>1</sup> *P.M.L.A.*, XXXIX, 203-27.

[Roderick's effort in sculpture] needed only to let itself go to compass great things. Here and there, too, success, when grasped, had something masterly" (p. 34) was made into the more accurate and vivid "It seemed to Rowland that it might easily hit the mark. Here and there the mark had been hit with a masterly ring" (p. 29). There can be no question that Roderick's answer to Mr. Leavenworth's comment, "Miss Light, now, on Broadway, would excite no particular remark," is more natural and effective in the later form. In the first edition we have "'She has never been there!' cried Roderick, triumphantly" (p. 273); in the revised, "'Oh, damn Broadway!' Roderick murmured" (p. 199).

It is inevitable that not all the changes should be for the better. It seems to me that "Rowland went often to the Coliseum; he never wearied of it" (p. 232) is more easy and unaffected than "Rowland went very often to the Coliseum; he was never tired of inspecting this monument" (p. 170). In the latter part of the book there are some changes which make the dialogue more sophisticated and not so well adapted to the speakers as it was originally. For example, to the remark of the simple Mrs. Hudson, "It's this dreadful place that has made us so unhappy" (p. 397), the edition of 1882 adds "Roderick's so fearfully relaxed!" (p. 287), and, a little later, her "I'm sure I hope you'll get better there" (p. 400) is changed to "I am sure I hope you will recover your tone there" (p. 289). Roderick's answer, which stood at first: "Better or worse, remember this: I did those things!" is also preferable to the form it took later: "This is my tone just now. Once upon a time I did those things, and they are devilish good!" A more obvious difference than any of these lies in cutting each of the original thirteen chapters into two, a distinct improvement since it makes for easier reading (the average length of the original chapters being thirty-seven pages) and often introduces a break where one is needed.

In general, the changes made in the 1882 edition of *Roderick Hudson* are of considerable interest, not alone because they correct the impression that all of Henry James's revisions were towards the more involved and less effective, but because they reveal a great artist at work in the period just before he reached the zenith of his powers.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

## XXIV. JAPAN IN FRENCH POETRY

It is generally known that the timely discovery in Paris of specimens of Japanese color-prints and watercolor painting in the late sixties had an immediate influence on the French Impressionist painters.<sup>1</sup> However, it is not always noted that the writers who supported this school of painting: Baudelaire and Zola, Manet's special friends; the Goncourt brothers who admired Degas; Clemenceau and Théodore Duret, knew certain aspects of Japanese art, and were collectors of curios.<sup>2</sup> Japanese stories and legends entered Europe at about the same time as the color-prints, descriptions of Japanese life are numerous in the magazines of the period. The first poem in French about Japan appears to be this sonnet by Catulle Mendès, which he dates back in his *Œuvres complètes* to the volume *Philoméla* (1863).

### TEN - SI - O - DAÏ - TSIN

Ten-si-o-dai-tsin, Lumière souveraine,  
Tu portes un ruban d'étoiles à ton cou,  
Et le rouge soleil qui luit sur Nalkou,  
N'est qu'un de tes regards, ô prunelle sereine!

Mais tu hantes parfois la Grotte souterraine,  
Et le haut ciel revêt, sous le vol du hibou,  
La désolation sinistre d'un grand trou  
Sans bornes et qu'aucun rayon ne rassérène!

Mon âme sur qui pèse un étrange sommeil,  
Mon âme aussi, de l'ombre hôteesse coutumière,  
A des nuits sans étoile et des jours sans soleil.

Je voudrais te revoir comme à l'aube première  
Et baiser chastement ton sidéral orteil,  
Ten-si-o-dai-tsin, souveraine Lumière.

This sonnet, expressing the Japanese nature-myth based on an eclipse of the sun, reveals in the closing tercet, Mendès' ignor-

<sup>1</sup> Louis Aubert, *Les Maîtres de l'Estampe japonaise*, vii, L'Estampe japonaise et la peinture occidentale.

<sup>2</sup> Baudelaire's *Correspondance* to A. Houssaye, 1861; to Ancelle, Dec. 29, 1864, Jan. 27, Feb. 4, Feb. 25, 1865. Manet's portrait of Zola, 1865, has a Japanese actor print in the background; Goncourt and Duret wrote monographs on prints. T. Ouéda's *Céramique japonaise* was written for Clemenceau.

ance of Japanese ways by his longing to kiss chastely the "sidereal toe."

Napoleon III's government, by 1863, was competing vigorously with the British for the favor of the Japanese Shogun. Because of this interest in Japan, a course in the language was established in Paris in this year; and Léon de Rosny (1837-1916), who taught the subject, appears to be the first person who translated Japanese poetry into French. His *Anthologie japonaise* (1871) was designed as a textbook, though Rosny hoped that his translations of *tanka* would interest the general public. This *Anthologie* included twenty-five pieces from the collection *Hyakku-nin Isshu* (1235), "Single Verses by a Hundred People." Below the literal unrimed translations given by Rosny for the Japanese poems, one frequently finds French "imitations" in rime which repeat the thought of the Japanese poet lest the bare literal version should seem too prosy to stir the feelings of Europeans.

This single fact will suffice to indicate how remote Japan then was from those Frenchmen who were best acquainted with the country and its arts. More time was needed before the craze for Japanese bric-à-brac and curios, gathering headway in the seventies and eighties, could interest many poets. However, on Mar. 15, 1874, Georges Charpentier, the publisher, entertained his friends by the production in his drawing room of *La Belle Saïnara*, a one-act Japanese play in verse, the work of Ernest d'Hervilly. This is the first European play to have Japanese characters only. *La Belle Saïnara* was next given at the Odéon, and finally entered the repertory of the Comédie-française.<sup>3</sup>

The Paris Exposition of 1878 was for many visitors a revelation of the beauty produced by the laws of Japanese esthetics, and the word *japonisme* was coined about this time to apply to the study of Japanese art. With an apostolic zeal Edmond de Goncourt overfilled his dwelling, "La maison d'un Artiste," with curios, and draped its walls with Japanese embroideries or kakemonos which he used to invite Flaubert and Daudet

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Noël & Stoullig, *Annales théâtrales*, 1876, p. 276; and 1893, p. 92. Note that Saint-Saëns' first operatic composition was *la Princesse jaune*, Paris, Opéra-Comique, 1872, libretto by Louis Gallet. See Saint-Saëns' *École buissonnière*, 1908, and *Portraits et souvenirs*, 1909, which contains a sonnet by Gallet entitled *Boutique japonaise*, of uncertain date.

to admire. It is now known that such profusion and over-decoration is contrary to Japanese precepts,<sup>4</sup> so that a period, closing with the Russo-Japanese War, must be indicated during which the French were unable to appreciate the spirit of Japanese letters, prose or poetry, though a few forms of Japanese art spoke eloquently to their eyes.

In selecting Japanese themes, Mendès and Hervilly set an example that was followed by other men affiliated to the *Parnasse*. The ten *Idylles Japonaises* (1880) of Armand Renaud (1836-95) do not have the condensation characteristic of Japanese lyrics; though a piece like the *Miroir magique* bespeaks a real familiarity with Japanese metal-work. This is true of the verse of Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac who ascribed his interest in Japanese art to the influence of Sarah Bernhardt and Goncourt. His book *Les Hortensias bleus*, containing ten poems dated 1883, show that he was very sensitive to the charm of Japan's art in its most original manifestation, fine lacquer-work. But he never speaks like a Japanese poet.

#### THÉRAPEUTIQUE

Des impositions comme de mains bizarres  
 Me viennent des objets aux provenances rares;  
 Et le laque, sur moi, peut des conversions  
 Qu'exigeraient en vain les plus saintes Sions  
 Un pourtour poudroyant de bolte à médecine  
 Où la précision japonaise dessine  
 Un paon aux plumes d'or ocellé de burgau,  
 A pour moi la vertu du plus savant Ergo;  
 Et je déclare, à me guérir, bien mieux idoines  
 Que les prescriptions de cent Diafoirus,  
 Ses petits casiers d'or étoilés de pivoinés  
 D'où les remèdes sont dès longtemps disparus.

(*Les Hortensias bleus*, LXXI)

José-Maria de Heredia, the celebrated sonneteer, is mentioned in Goncourt's *Maison d'un Artiste* (I, 350) as owning splendid bits of Japanese art. It is well-known that there are two precious pictures of old Japan in *Les Trophées*. Of these, the sonnet, "Le Samourai" first appeared in print in 1884; and "Le Daïmio" only in 1893. In the opinion of Dr. Miodrag Ibrovac, both of the sonnets are "transpositions" of Japanese color-prints,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Okakura-Kakuzo, *The Book of Tea*, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Miodrag Ibrovac, *José-Maria de Heredia*, I, 351, II, 133-35.

rarities curious to look upon. Montesquiou wrote in the *Hortensias bleus*: "Je voudrais que ce vers fût un bibelot d'art." It is just such a metrical curio that Verlaine produced in the seventeen-syllable line that ends the "épigramme" dedicated to Edmond de Goncourt, where the Symbolist passes judgment on Japan's art.

Lourd comme un crapaud, léger comme un oiseau  
Exquis et hideux, l'art jamais n'effraie  
Mes yeux de Français dès l'enfance acquis au  
Beau jeu de la Ligne en l'air clair qui l'égaie.

Au cruel fracas des trop vives couleurs,  
Dieux, héros, combats, et touffus gynécées,  
Je préférerais, d'entre les œuvres leurs,  
Telles scènes d'un bref pinceau retracées.

Un pont plie et fuit sur un lac lilial,  
Un insecte vole, une fleur vient d'éclore,  
Le tout fait d'un trait unique et génial.  
Vivent ces aspects que l'esprit seul colore!

Si je blasonnais cet art qui m'est ingrat  
Et cher par instants, comme le fit Racine  
Formant son écu d'un cygne et non d'un rat,  
Je prendrais l'oiseau léger, laissant le lourd crapaud dans sa piscine.<sup>6</sup>

There are documents existing which show that Verlaine knew Japanese art, because he owned, at the time of his marriage, more than a dozen Japanese pictures, some given him by the critic Philippe Burty.<sup>7</sup>

Quite different from all this art criticism, is Judith Gautier's volume of translations: *Poèmes de la Libellule*,<sup>8</sup> where she had as collaborator a member of the old Japanese aristocracy, Prince Saionji, now an Elder Statesman, and lately Japanese plenipotentiary at the Peace Conference. Saionji, then studying

<sup>6</sup> Verlaine, *Œuvres complètes*, III, 225.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Lepelletier, *Paul Verlaine, sa vie et son œuvre*, p. 301.

<sup>8</sup> *Akitsuishima*, the land of the dragon-fly, is a name given to Japan by the semi-historical Emperor Jimmu, v. *Nippon o dai ishi ran*, trans. Titsingh, xxxvi, 3. The *Poèmes* were published by Gillot in 1884 on decorated Japan vellum, and do not seem to have been reprinted. Cario and Régismanset, in *l'Exotisme, la littérature coloniale*, p. 215, note, say that this book interprets China.



in Paris, made the selection of 85 Japanese poems (in *tanka* form) and a literal translation; which Judith Gautier put into rime in the original metre. This album is a remarkable feat of versifying. One must stop and think what it means to transform these four-score five-line verses in the *tanka* metre of 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 syllables into riming stanzas having the same number of French feet. This was accomplished, thanks to the rules of French versification, by the adroit use of feminine rimes in lines where the need of an extra syllable was felt. A few quotations will serve to show how this liberty assists a French poet; for, as a matter of fact, metrically correct rimed *tanka* that satisfy the ear are almost unknown in English translations.

Si du nouveau maître  
De mon logis bien-aimé  
Le cœur m'est fermé,  
Des fleurs je crois reconnaître  
L'ancien accueil embaumé.

(Tsurayuki)

L'oiseau chinois sème  
Dans l'air chaque mot saisi.  
Ah! faites ainsi!  
Quand je vous dis: "Je vous aime."  
Dites: "Je vous aime" aussi.

(Kageki)

Vous par qui je meurs,  
Un autre homme vous possède!  
Tel cet arbre en pleurs  
De mon champ, sous le vent tiède,  
Au clos voisin tend ses fleurs.

(Chikage)

Sans route connue  
Les amants vont sous la nue:  
La nuit est venue . . .  
Doux rossignol, garde-leur  
Un abri sous quelque fleur.

(Iyetake)

Since the eighties, minor poets have continued to write on the Japanese and their art. A privately printed plaque, deposited at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1893, entitled *MI-KI-KA, Japonaiserie Rouennaise rimée par Eugène Brioux*, "pour les seuls amis japonisants," is a memorial of the dramatist's enthusiasm for Japanese figurines. He was then over forty, but wrote these verses to express a romantic nostalgia for Japan. Unfortunately "Mikika" is not even a real Japanese name. Ary Renan, (1857-1900), artist, grandson of Ary Scheffer and son of the philosopher, was a more talented poet. His posthumous *Rêves d'Artiste* (1901) include a "Sonnet japonais," and this pantoum "Extrême-Orient," which evokes the twilight hush of Old Japan:

Les cloches des couvents ont tu leur plainte lente;  
La brise a détaché des pétales de fleurs;  
Le sommet du Fuji se perd dans les vapeurs,  
La paix du soir descend sur la vierge indolente.

La brise a détaché des pétales de fleurs,  
 Souffles tièdes et doux, chargés d'odeurs de menthe!  
 La paix du soir descend sur la vierge indolente,  
 Mais d'où sort ce parfum aux subtiles langueurs?

Souffles tièdes et doux, chargés d'odeurs de menthe!  
 O grand nymphéa blanc, aux troublantes pâleurs,  
 De toi sort ce parfum aux subtiles langueurs!  
 Le disque de la lune argente l'eau dormante.

O grand nymphéa blanc, aux troublantes pâleurs,  
 Oscille doucement sur ta feuille nageante;  
 Le disque de la lune argent l'eau dormante  
 Et ta corolle ouverte où s'égrène des pleurs!

In 1901, a volume of *Sonnets* by Chapron de Chateaubriant included one entitled "Le Dernier des Samouraïs," where the influence of Heredia's work is to be discerned.<sup>9</sup> Again, a sonnet by Émile Blémont, reproduced in fac-simile, will be found as an epigraph for a print by Harunobu, illustrated in F. Régamey's *Vers le Japon*.<sup>10</sup>

It was in the late eighties that the real French poet of Japan appeared, when Pierre Loti published *Madame Chrysanthème* in 1887, and *Japoneries d'Automne* in 1889. Though chronology shows that Loti was not a pioneer in writing up Japan, the success of *Madame Chrysanthème* probably explains why hack-writers turned to Japanese themes, and suggested to F. Champ-saur the writing of *Poupée Japonaise* (1900). Loti's books became part of the baggage of every tourist in Japan, and certainly have had great influence in forming the world's opinion about the Japanese. He has made the port of Nagasaki redolent of romance, and set a remarkable personal example. Hence when three French poets are found at the opening of the twentieth century who actually visit some part of the Far East, it is not surprising to see that the "mousmés" preoccupy Jean de la Jaline, a naval officer who gives a score of pages in his *Tourmentes*, (1904), and in *Brindilles et Feuilles Mortes*, (1910), to memories of visits to Japan:—

<sup>9</sup> Cited by M. Ibrovac in *José-Maria de Heredia*, I, 542.

<sup>10</sup> Blémont's *Poèmes de Chine*, rimed versions of Chinese poetry, appeared in 1887. Pseudonym of Léon-Émile Petitdidier (1839).

## A une Japonaise

Te souvient-il du soir où sur le balcon rose  
 Nous regardions tous deux Nagasaki dormir? . . .  
 Tu me disais parfois quelque timide chose  
 Qui tombait sur mon cœur et le faisait frémir.<sup>11</sup>

Henry J.-M. Levet, (1874-1906), was in the French consular service at Manila when his verses "Japon—Nagasaki" were published by *La Grande France* (Sept. 1902). He was the inventor of "Sonnetts Torrides," "Cartes postales" as L.-P. Fargue and Valéry Larbaud, who collected Levet's verse, chose to name them. "Japon—Nagasaki" expresses the honorable grief of the Harbor-Master of Nagasaki, sorrowing over the death of a daughter, (who has the Chinese name of "Yu-len"), lost in the latest cholera epidemic. The idea of seeking poetry under a prosy harbor-master's epaulettes and gold-lace is a whim appealing, certainly, more to strangers than to residents of Japan. Paul-Jean Toulet, another dead writer now receiving special attention in Paris, knew Saigon, and was a sarcastic critic of modern Japan. Two stanzas in the *Princesse de Colchide* (1910) suggest that the Japanese might enjoy the sparkle of patent leather with more comfort if they were to wear their shoes on a stick. Toulet's volume of rich *Contrerimes*,<sup>12</sup> includes an ironic reference to Lafcadio Hearn, whose name will be noted crossed with the slang word *loufoque*, crazy.

J'ai beau trouver bien sympathique  
 Feu Loufoquadio,  
 Ses Japs en sucre candiot,  
 Son Boudha de boutique;

J'aime mieux le subtil schéma,  
 Sur l'hiver d'un ciel morne,  
 De ton aérien bicorné,  
 Noble Foujiyama,

Et tes cèdres noirs, et la source  
 Du temple délaissé,  
 Qui pleurait comme un cœur blessé,  
 Qui pleurait sans ressource (XLIX, p. 61).

<sup>11</sup> *Tourmentes*, p. 67. "La Jaline" is Henri Joubert (1875).

<sup>12</sup> 1921. The name was selected with reference to the rime scheme employed, 8A, 6B, 8B, 6A.

From what has gone before, it will have been observed that Japanese subjects, until fifteen or twenty years ago, were treated at some length in sonnets or longer pieces. During the Russo-Japanese War Europe learned a great deal about Japan, and soon began to think of writing, no longer about the Japanese, but as the Japanese write poetry. The first Frenchman to feel the literary influence of Japan appears to be the traveler and man of letters Paul-Louis Couchoud.<sup>13</sup> He had learned in Japan to appreciate the *haikai*, the three-line, 5, 7, 5 "comic stanza" of the Japanese.<sup>14</sup> During the leisure of a canal-boat cruise in France, 1905, Couchoud and two companions wrote 72 unrimed three-line stanzas in free metres in which they attempted to imprison the spirit of the Japanese poems: "A picture in three strokes of the brush," "a sketch, sometimes only one line, a note whose harmonics die out slowly within us," (Couchoud). These stanzas are quoted from the collection privately published in 1905, *Au fil de l'eau*:

|  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| Les joncs même tombent de sommeil,       | Avec sa petite faucille, |
| Je rôtis délicieusement.                 | Comment pourra-t-elle    |
| Midi.                                    | Faucher tout le champ?"  |
| D'une main elle bat le linge             |                          |
| Et de l'autre rajuste                    |                          |
| Ses cheveux sur son front. <sup>15</sup> |                          |

A study by Couchoud, *Les Épigrammes lyriques du Japon*, appeared in April, 1906, in *Les Lettres*, then edited by Fernand Greggh. One result was that Greggh, becoming interested, composed and published in the *Revue de Paris*, Nov. 1906, a dozen *Quatrains à la façon des Haikai japonais*,<sup>16</sup> all in rime. In spite of the rimes and the verbiage, Japanese feeling for nature is to be found in this work.

<sup>13</sup> Consult the bibliography, *Le Haikai français* by René Maublanc, double number of *Le Pample*, (Rheims, 12 rue Chabaud), for October, 1923.

<sup>14</sup> Best studied in B. H. Chamberlain's monograph, *Bashō and the Japanese Poetical Epigram*, Trans. of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1902, and C. H. Page, *Japanese Poetry*, 1923.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Bashō's picture of a rustic maiden, attending to business but not unmindful of her appearance.

*Chimaki yuu* She wraps up rice-cakes, while one hand

*Kata-de ni hasamu* Restrains the hair upon her brow.

*Hitai-gami* (Bashō, 1644-1694). (Chamberlain, *op. cit.* N° 7).

<sup>16</sup> Reprinted in *La Chaîne Éternelle*, 1910.

## XI. ODEUR

J'aime, aux matins glacés et purs des beaux décembres  
 Où, las enfin du feu, l'on ouvre la fenêtre,  
 Quand le froid comme un fleuve aérien pénètre,  
 L'odeur fine qu'a l'air du dehors dans les chambres.

Couchoud's article on the *haikai* also suggested to Albert Neuville the composition of 163 *Haikais & Tankas, Épigrammes à la Japonaise*, published under that title in 1908.<sup>17</sup> Neuville clings to rime but uses free stanzas. He does not often attain verbal felicity. The quotations are from a revised second edition. The first stanza will show how Neuville treats a well-known Japanese poem; the others are purely French.

## III

Tombé dans le sillon,  
 Le pétale d'une fleur blanche  
 Se ranime soudain, et remonte à sa branche . . .  
 Ah! c'est un papillon!

Fallen flower returning to the branch,—  
 Behold! it is a butterfly!

(Moritake, 1472-1549, trans. by Chamberlain, N° 51)

## XLVIII

Nous voilà donc  
 Sous la tonnelle parfumée,  
 Seuls, ô ma bien-aimée!  
 —Pardon, dit la guêpe, pardon.

## CLXXXIV

Il aime la comtesse, hélas!  
 Et lui sert le homard d'un geste pathétique  
 Le domestique  
 Qui vient d'entendre Ruy Blas.

The publication, in 1910, of an *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise, des Origines au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* in the well-known pocket-size "Collection Pallas" of Delagrave, has certainly helped to reveal the characteristics of Japanese literature. The compiler, Professor Michel Revon<sup>18</sup> not only outlined the development of Japanese literature, he also illustrated its peculiarities by many translations. The influence of this very practical introduction to Japanese esthetics can be proved by the disappearance of long pseudo-Japanese poems. Of these, perhaps the latest in date, are the *Estampes* (1909) of Louis Sureau. Thus, Marguerite Burnat-Provins abandons rime in her "transpositions"

<sup>17</sup> Maublanc's bibliography of the French *haikai* only lists Neuville's second edition, *Épigrammes à la Japonaise*, (1921) enlarged to 249 pieces; but without the preface and bibliography of the first edition.

<sup>18</sup> *Chargé du cours* of the history of Far Eastern civilizations at the Sorbonne.

called *Dix gardes japonaises*,<sup>19</sup> where she competes with the Japanese sword-smith making gold and silver inlays in the iron hilt of the broadsword. This is her treatment of the rat *motif*:

Le Rat veut percer les balles de riz bien entourées de cordes et les ronger jusqu'au cœur.

La Douleur entre comme lui, elle pille et dévore,  
Mais la blessure faite par où le sang fuit, qui peut la guérir?

In 1912, the novelist Gilbert de Voisins travelled extensively in the interior of China, and appears to have then grown interested in Japanese poetics. In that year he published a suite of verses in the *Mercure de France* reminiscent of the technique of Japanese painters or of Claude Monet: *Vingt-Cinq Quatrains sur un même motif*. In March, 1914, Voisins contributed *Cinquante Quatrains dans le goût japonais* to the same magazine. He has a gift for the epigram, developed by the teaching of the Japanese poets. Voisin's poetry has been collected in the substantial volume *Fantasques* (1920). He is partial to rime and writes his original *haikai* in riming tercets, though he has paraphrased some true Japanese *haikai* in distichs or quatrains.

#### LXII. Attention délicate

Je vais me fournir d'eau chez mon voisin depuis  
Qu'un liseron retient la corde de mon puits.<sup>20</sup>

#### LIX. Regard indiscret

Par sa gueule, on peut voir, quand la grenouille baille,  
(Comme peut-être, chez la femme, par les yeux),  
Le cœur et ses pensers, le ventre et ses entrailles,  
Mais on les voit, chez la grenouille, beaucoup mieux.<sup>21</sup>

#### CX. Quelques Haikai japonais

##### 1.

Trois vers et très peu de mots  
Pour vous décrire cent choses . . .  
La nature en bibelots.

<sup>19</sup> *La Fenêtre ouverte sur la Vallée*, Paris, 1912, 109-19.

<sup>20</sup> After the poetess Chiyo, who, finding that a vine was clinging to her well-rope, preferred to beg water from a neighbour, leaving the flowers undisturbed. My account of Gilbert de Voisins' publications completes the data given in Maublanc's bibliography.

<sup>21</sup> Chamberlain, *Bashô and the Japanese poetical Epigram* No 205: "Behold the frog, who, when he opens His mouth, displays his whole inside! (Anon.) Proverbial in the sense of 'Do not blurt out your secret thoughts.'"

## 4.

Petite scène au Japon:  
 La poule blanche que j'aime  
 Gonfle son plumage et pond.

In the third year of the War, a soldier named Julien Vocance, who had read Couchoud's *haikai* of 1905 bethought himself of expressing aspects of his life in such a poignant form. His first collection of *haikai* appeared in the *Grande Revue*, May 1, 1916, under the heading *Cent Visions de Guerre*. Couchoud, in republishing his essay on the "lyrical Japanese epigram" in *Sages et Poètes d'Asie* (1917), made some quotations from Vocance and commented on his work; and in that May the *Grande Revue* published another series of *haikai* by Vocance, on varied themes. His work was much appreciated for its sincerity, power of evocation, and rhythm freed from rime. The *Nouvelle Revue française* (Sept. 1, 1920) also printed a collection of *haikai* by a group of "*haijins*" that formed a school about Couchoud and Vocance, and the latter next published a curious *Art Poétique*, in *La Connaissance* for June, 1921, under the double influence of Arthur Rimbaud and Japan. These attempts to establish the *haikai* in France attracted the attention of Jules Romains<sup>21</sup> and Jacques Boulenger,<sup>22</sup> in 1920 and 1921.

Intensity, unity of impression, and rhythmic variety mark the work of Vocance:

Deux levées de terre,  
 Deux réseaux de fil de fer:  
 Deux hommes. (1916)

Occasion unique, ou rare,  
 De bien mourir, même sans gloire . . .  
 Que tu regretteras plus tard. (1916)

A leur table frugale  
 Un saucisson noir s'est invité . . .  
 Il a défoncé trois poitrines. (1916)

Le bobo  
 Du bébé  
 A remué cinq étages. (1917)

Murs calcinés par les barbares,  
 Tu seras plus belle, ma cathédrale!  
 Éternelle malgré tout. (1917)

Dans un trou du sol, la nuit,  
 En face d'une armée immense,  
 Deux hommes. (1916)

<sup>21</sup> *L'Humanité*, "Chronique, Poésie," Nov. 16, 1920, Jan. 3, 1921, articles mentioned by Maublanc in *Le Haïkai français*.

<sup>22</sup> *L'Opinion*, Jan. 29, 1921, "Divers Poètes." Boulenger also mentions *haikai* favorably in *Mais l'art est difficile* . . . 1921, 1st series, pp. 162 and 167.

The *Art Pottique*<sup>24</sup> is hostile to rhetorical eloquence in poets. Word color, tone color, suggestion, these are all-important.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| i. Le poète japonais<br>Essuie son couteau;<br>Cette fois l'éloquence est morte.                 | iv. Dégagé de la chair<br>Ne conserve<br>Que l'os médullaire.                                 |
| v. Tu me demandes une règle:<br>Que le mot colle à ta pensée<br>Comme au cou du buffle le jaguar | vii. Purs de ligne et lourds de nombre<br>Zébus, girafes, élans,<br>E, i, a, o, u, paissants. |
- xiii. Lettres, vous avez l'éclat des gemmes!  
Fais crépiter tes p, mousser tes s,  
Fuser les f et tes r râler.
- xxv. Haikai, coup de poing sur l'œil,  
Tu me fais voir trente-six fusées.  
Tu dois être aussi, je pense, coup de poing sur ma pensée.
- xxxiii. O vous, tous les raseurs, tous les pédants,  
Qui répandez, le tartre aux dents, vos propos lourds et vos odeurs,  
Et toi, douce simplicité, ma sœur, aux yeux ardents.

The reading public in France has become familiar with the name *haikai*, and with the Japanese word *haijin* applied to the persons who compose them. In René Lalou's *Histoire de la littérature française contemporaine* (1922), the word *haikai* is used in its technical sense without explanation, though in quotation marks (1st edition, p. 422; revised ed., 1924, p. 434). The genre has gained prestige because some of the *haijin* already had a standing in the world of letters: Jean Paulhan, Jean Breton (pseudonym of Camille Bouglé), Jean-Richard Bloch, Pierre-Albert Birot, René Maublanc, R. Druart, Paul Eluard, and Victor Goloubeff. Interest in Japanese verse is also shown by the way Paul Fort contributed a eulogistic essay as a preface to the volume of *Tankas* (1921), by Nico D. Horigoutchi, poems composed in Japanese and put into French by their author. Some of them appeared in the *Mercure de France* for June 15, 1921. *Haikai* series are to be found in several recent collections of verse, like *Scaferlati pour Troupes* (1921), by Maurice Betz, or the *Poèmes* (1922) of René Morand. Paul Valéry wrote a *lettre-préface* for *Sur les Lèvres japonaises*,

<sup>24</sup> *La Connaissance*, June 1921, 489-91.



by Kikou Yamada, 1924, probably the first French book by a Japanese lady.

Further quotations will illustrate the *haikai* in French, without considering a coarser side which it shares with Japanese comic verses. Most of them are taken from the instructive articles by René Maublanc, who is trying to found the genre for its value as a means of refining the taste of amateurs. Two articles by Maublanc appeared in *La Grande Revue*, (February and March, 1923) with the title: *Un Mouvement japonisant dans la Littérature contemporaine; I. Les Origines et les Principes; II. Les Réalisations*. Maublanc's study of the French *haikai*, with a bibliography, in which he published 283 specimens from forty pens, appearing in *Le Parnasse* for October, 1923, has already been mentioned.

Elle croit que je ne le sais pas.

Je sais qu'elle le croit.

Chut! (C. Bouglé).

Crotte de papier par ci,

Crotte de papier par là.

Tiens! mon mari est rentré! (C. Bouglé)

Oh! le beau papillon de nuit!

Il va se brûler les ailes . . .

Vite, je souffle sur la bougie! (V. Goloubeff).

Veillée solitaire:

L'heure où les chenêts renoncent

A nous consoler (J-R. Bloch).

Tu est trop petit, chaton, pour savoir.

Ne mords pas là-dedans;

C'est ta queue. (René Maublanc).

Mes amis sont morts,

Je m'en suis fait d'autres

Pardon . . . (René Maublanc).

Ils étaient six dans la cave.

Ils y sont encore.

Mais où est la cave? (R. Druart).

De la pluie pour une heure!

Rapprochez-vous, maisons,

Vous serez moins mouillées! (R. Druart).

Un trou d'obus

Dans son eau

A gardé tout le ciel.

(M. Betz).<sup>25</sup>

Holà ma pipe couleur de rêve,

Ma tendre pipe,

D'images quelle débauche, ma sœur!<sup>26</sup>

(M. Betz).

Nico Horigoutchi, though he does not attempt to disguise his race, has the Japanese anxiety to be up to date, "European":

<sup>25</sup> *Scaferlati pour troupes*, p. 24.

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*, p. 22.

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Je suis né le jour             | Souffrance d'être vivant . . .                |
| Où Eve fut chassée du Paradis: | Souffrance d'être homme.                      |
| Je suis né la nuit             | Souffrance d'être Japonais.                   |
| Où Salomé barbouilla la lune   | Voilà ce qui cause ma maigreur. <sup>27</sup> |
| Du sang du prophète.           |   |

On the other hand, there is in contemporary French letters a current of favor for writings that wake the imagination by poignant surprises and brief evocation. Jules Renard struck this note in French prose by his *Histoires naturelles* (1896 and 1904), and Max Jacob sometimes writes in such a key (*Le Cornet à dés*, 1917). Some poets whose artistic goal is the same as that pursued by the *haijin* are Jean-Marc Bernard (d. 1915), Jean Pellerin (d. 1920), Francis Carco (*Petits Airs*), Jules Romains (*Voyage des Amants*), Vincent Muselli (*Les Travaux et les Jeux*), and now Francis Jammes (*Premier Livre des Quatrains*, March 1923; *Deuxième Livre des Quatrains*, Nov. 1923; *Troisième Livre des Quatrains*, Oct. 1924).

## V. ESPACE

Un ciel de soie  
Azure l'cau.  
Un chien aboie  
Sur le coteau.

## XX. LES DEUX PLAINTES

Tu t'écriais: heureux cet homme qui n'a rien  
Que lui-même à traîner avec ses espadrilles!  
Et cet homme pensait: que le pain quotidien  
Même trempé de pleurs est suave en famille!

## XXXVI. LA CHARMANTE REPARTIE

Quand on disait au plus grand poète de Chine,  
Sa robe était de soie avec des roses fines,  
Qu'un critique trouvait ses vers défectueux,  
Il menaçait du doigt son petit chien frileux.

(*Le Premier Livre des Quatrains*).

## XIII. PORTRAIT DE FRANÇOISE FRANCIS-JAMMES

Ventruée ainsi que rose encore close,  
Ma plus petite enfant dans le jardin  
A de gros bas qui retombent et cause  
Avec le banc, la poupée et le chien.

## XXIV. LE BRASIER

Nul n'a vu le secret des hommes dans leurs yeux,  
N'a reçu l'abandon de leur sombre franchise,  
Et pas même, souvent, un ministre de Dieu,  
Autant que le foyer qu'une pincette attise.

(*Le Deuxième Livre des Quatrains*).

<sup>27</sup> *Mercury de France*, "Tankas" par Nico D. Horigoutchi, June 15, 1921.

Jammes' preface, and André Fontainas' comment in the "Chroniques" of the *Mercure de France* make it appear unlikely that Jammes is a professed follower of the Japanese.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the foreign influence of the *haikai* is supporting a tendency already apparent in French *belles lettres*. The effort has been made to fix a few dates in this paper, and to mark the disappearance of Japan as a local color subject for Parnassian poets. It should be noted that the growth of the *haikai* seems to have been stimulated by the War;—that it should now flourish in Rheims and Champagne is an index of the vitality of contemporary poetry. From the few *haikai* by French writers quoted in the last part of this article it may appear to a Japanese reader that the spirit of Japanese poetry is now better understood in France than in the United States, where a "Japanese" vein has been recently worked in a form very much resembling that which the Japanese call *bi-bun*, mere elegant prose.<sup>28</sup>

WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ

<sup>28</sup> Partial bibliographical supplement, to April, 1925. Lalou, in his *Littérature française contemporaine*, new ed. p. 501, note, says that Paul Claudel's *Sainte Geneviève* (Tokio, 1923, now out of print) contains "douze brèves évocations japonaises." Collections of French *haikai*: R. Maublanc, *Cent Haïkaï*, 1924, Jean Baucomont, *Goutelettes (Haïkaï et Oula)*, 1924; Marc Adolphe Guégan, *Trois petits tours et puis s'en vont*, Nov. 1924. Magazine articles: *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 29 mars, 1924, *Du Haïkaï français*, by B. C. (Benjamin Crémieux), *idem*, 12 avril, *Les Haïkaïs de nos Lecteurs*, 39 poems selected from about 1000 received by B. C. *Les Annales littéraires et politiques*, 4 mai, 1924, *Les Livres*. Here G. de Pawlowski comments on the *haikai* published in *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, stating that the first duty of the modern poet is to be brief.

## XXV. MODERN USES OF *SER* AND *ESTAR*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In the preparation of this article I have had the help and advice of my friend Dr. Robert K. Spaulding. Professors Clarence Paschall, E. C. Hills and C. C. Marden had the kindness to read the MS and offer some suggestions. For the convenience of the reader I have appended to the article a tabular summary of the contents with page references to the several sections.

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## INTRODUCTION

The distinction in use between the verbs *ser* and *estar* constitutes one of the thorniest points in Spanish grammar. It is not discussed in a thoroughgoing way in any treatise. Most of

the native Spanish grammars, as Bello-Cuervo, are weak on this particular subject. Users of language are always guided primarily by instinct, not by rule, and we shall see that in the present case the instinct of Spaniards is delicate and especially difficult to reduce to formal law.

The following works and articles discuss the use of *ser* and *estar* with some fullness:

- Fernando de Arteaga, *Practical Spanish*. London, 1902, II, 31-36.  
 Manuel J. Andrade, *The Distinction between SER and ESTAR*, in *Hispania* (California) 1919, II, 19-23.  
 G. Cirot, "*Ser*" et "*estar*" avec un *participe passé*, in *Mélanges Brunot*, Paris, 1904, pp. 57-69.  
 F. Diez, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1872, III, 203.  
 V. García de Diego, *Elementos de Gramática histórica castellana*, Burgos, 1914; §260.  
 F. Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana*, Halle, 1913, §§470, 597.  
 F. Hanssen, *La Pasiva castellana*, in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, CXXXI, 1912, pp. 97-112 and 507-14.  
 Maréca-Dubois, *Grammaire espagnole*, Toulouse, 1911, §§256-66.  
 M. M. Ramsey, *Spanish Grammar*, New York, 1902, *passim*.  
 M. M. Ramsey, *Text-Book of Modern Spanish*, New York, 1894, *passim*.  
 La Real Academia española, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, Madrid, 1917, §§196-99.  
 V. Salvá, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, Paris, 1897, 12 ed., pp. 201-3.

Andrés Bello (I use the 14th edition of the well-known *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, Paris, 1911) is unduly brief on this head. In §583 and note he appears superficial: "*Ser* se aplicó a las cualidades esenciales y permanentes: *estar* a las accidentales y transitorias." Later (§1087) he anticipates Cirot's views on the past participle with *ser* and *estar*. Diez is of use only for the formation of passives, and Meyer-Lübke adds nothing of value.

Many of these works attempt to discover a single underlying principle which governs all the cases observed. The commonest theory declares that *ser* expresses what is permanent or inherent; *estar* what is temporary or accidental. Salvá preferred to say that *estar* denotes a state, whether transitory or permanent, accidental or essential, while the complement of *ser* is not regarded as expressing an idea of state. Following the same line of thought, Cirot demonstrated that "*La casa estaba edificada*"

expresses a concept not at all transitory; *ser* with a past participle often neither implies nor excludes the idea of temporariness. Here the distinction is between act and state.

✓ All the grammarians are aware that *estar* expresses position, and that a predicate noun may not be used after that verb. That *ser* in its various tenses is derived from the Latin *esse*, "to be," and *sedere*, "to be seated"; that *estar* comes from *stare*, "to stand", are commonplaces. The knowledge explains some facts, but fails to help in many details.

The chief stumbling-block seems to have been the phrases *es rico*, *es joven*, *es viejo*, which do not fit with permanence, or non-state. (See below, I, *SER*, B, 2.) It was, I judge, in an attempt to cover this category that Sr. Andrade evolved his theory, one of the most original contributions to the subject. He sees in *ser* an expression of a mental concept, in *estar* an expression of sensory perception. In other words, though he does not use this parallel, the relation is akin to that between *saber* and *conocer*. I shall consider his theory in detail later (IV).

Hanssen finds other words (*Gramática*, §597): "Creo que podemos decir que *estar* es perfectivo, y *ser* imperfectivo." His use of these words will be discussed below (see p. 472, note 8).

Hardly less varied are the rules of thumb suggested to guide actual practice. Thus, Salvá says that one should use *estar* whenever *hallarse* could be substituted for it, but he notes many exceptions. Sr. Andrade recommends the trial substitution of "to feel" or "to look" for "to be." Maréca-Dubois proposes the substitution of *hallarse*, *mostrarse*, or *parecer*. The same authors give an excellent rule for the use of *estar* with a past participle, which I shall note below, with Cirot's modification of it.

In the present study I do not venture to lay down a single principle by which to explain all examples. My intention is rather to attempt a classification of modern uses, and to give examples illustrating them. I have tried to document the rarer cases more fully than the common ones. Pure idioms, that is, stereotyped phrases, each of which constitutes a class apart, have been excluded.

No examples are selected back of the nineteenth century, and no attempt is made to cover the field of historical development. It has not been studied thoroughly, but one may consult

Hanssen, García de Diego, and J. D. M. Ford, "*Sedere, \*Essere and Stare in the Poema del Cid*" (Mod. Lang. Notes, XIV. 8-20, 85-90).

### GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The distinction between *ser* and *estar* involves three, possibly four, different antitheses, which are at times mutually exclusive, at times coalescent.

#### SER

- I. Duration,<sup>2</sup> inherence.
- II. Mere existence.
- III. With past participles, act.
- IV. Mental concept.

#### ESTAR

- Transiency, accidentality.
- Definite location in space.
- State (with past participles or adjectives).
- Sensory perception.

Let each of these antitheses be stated in the words of an authority.

I. "*Ser* se emplea actualmente para atribuir al sujeto cualidades inherentes, características, y *estar* cuando se trata de cualidades adquiridas, accidentales." (Hanssen, *Gramática*, §470.) "The fundamental distinction is that *ser* expresses an inherent, essential or lasting quality; *estar*, an accidental or temporary quality or condition" (Ramsay, *Text-Book*, §132).

II. "Es notable en el verbo *ser* la significación de la existencia absoluta, que propiamente pertenece al Ser Supremo, . . . pero que se extiende a los otros seres, para significar el solo hecho de la existencia." (Bello, *Gramática*, §1088.) "*Estar*, being derived from the Latin *stare*, to stand, is used to denote the location of a person or thing, even though it be a permanent one" (Ramsey, *Text-Book*, §136).

III. "The passive is formed with *estar* as auxiliary instead of *ser* when the state or condition of the subject is described without reference to any action. The past participle is then merely an adjective" (Ramsey, *Text-Book*, §813).

IV. "The basis of distinction . . . is that *estar* is associated with the characteristic feelings which attend immediate perceptions and their representations, while *ser* is likewise related to concepts and judgments. . . . 'Warmth and intimacy' finds expression in *estar*, and the colder logical relations, in *ser*" (Andrade, *Hispania*, II, p. 22).

### PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES STATED

#### I. SER (DURATION, INHERENCE)

A. *Ser* and not *estar* is always used with a predicate noun, even when the relation indicated appears temporary. This is

<sup>2</sup> The words "permanent," "permanency" are most generally used in this connection. But strictly speaking, *ser* implies only "sensible duration," not "indefinite duration" (=permanency).



because "a thing is never temporarily something else" (Ramsey, *Text-Book*, §134).

*Examples:*

Escobar y Apolonio habían llegado a ser amigos (R. Pérez de Ayala, *Belarmino y Apolonio*, p. 321).

A estas horas ya debo ser padre (M. Echegaray and Vital Aza, *Boda y bautizo*, 2º cuadro, 1ª esc.).

*Remark:* When a noun indicating a temporary function is used after *estar*, the preposition *de* is inserted.

Mi padre estaba de ingeniero jefe en Guipúzcoa y Álava (Baroja, *Páginas escogidas*, p. 122).

*Exceptions:* 1. There is a rather modern slangy idiom, used generally in direct address, in which a noun is in the predicate after *estar*. The phrase is nearly always, perhaps always, ironical, meaning the opposite of what it seems to say. In this respect it may be compared with other common ironical phrases, such as "¡Cualquiera te cree!"; or, with *estar*, "Seguro está" (cf. Hanssen, *Gramática*, §644).

*Examples:*

Direct address:

¡Buen par de majaderos estáis los dos! (Tamayo, *Lo positivo* (1862), I, 4).

Tú sí que estás buena moza (Narciso Serra, *Las dos hermanas* (1869), 6).

¡Buen huésped está usted! (*id.*, *Sin prueba plena*, (1857?) III, 8).

¡Buen peje estás! (Ganivet, *Pío Cid*, I, 170).

¡Buen pájaro estás tú! (Galdós, *Los condenados*, II, 3).

¡Valiente alcornoque estás tú! (Quinteros, *Los galeotes*, I, 2).

¡No estás tú mala pájara! (Ricardo de la Vega, *Pepa la frescachona*, I, 3).

¡Buenos mozos están ustedes! (*ibid.*, I, 4).

¡Valiente par de zánganos están ustedes dos! (Vital Aza, *La marquesita*, 3).

Not in direct address:

No están malas conferencias (Benavente, *El automóvil*, I, 2).

¡No está mala viveza! (*id.*, *Por las nubes*, II, 5).

Sí, no está mala inocencia la suya (Vital Aza, *Las codornices*, 10).

That the same ironical sense may be conveyed by *ser* is shown by these examples:

¡No es mal peje! (Galdós, *El abuelo*, (drama) I, 3, end).

¡No es una mala vergüenza! (Benavente, *La gobernadora*, I, 7).

No es floja habilidad (R. Pérez de Ayala, *La pata de la raposa*, 42).

It will be noted that every phrase begins either with the word *no*, or with *bueno* or an equivalent.

This usage with *estar* is mentioned, I believe, by no grammarian save Maréca-Dubois (*Grammaire*, §261), who, with hesitancy, offer the explanation that perhaps the meaning, if *ser* were used, would be less precise and would apply less well to the circumstances which call for these exclamations. This probably explains the origin of the idiom, but all sense of temporariness has now been lost.

The use is foreshadowed in Lope de Vega (*El villano en su rincón*, III, 17); ¡A fe que estás gentilhombre! The element of irony is present here, also.

2. Rarely, the idea of changeableness belonging to an adjective conquers the idea of permanency properly associated with a predicate noun.

*Examples:*

¡Está un día tan hermoso! (Benavente, *Lo cursi*, I, 8).

Está un día espléndido (Periodical).

Buen vino está éste (Trueba, *Lo que es poesía*, III; *Cuentos campesinos*).

Cf. ¡Sabrosísimo pan está, dijo, por Dios! (*Lazarillo de Tormes*, III).

One may regard these phrases as the result of a contamination with the common type "El día está espléndido."

3. Apparent, not real, exceptions are:

Ella está en Burgos monja (Lope de Vega, *El bastardo Mudarra*, III, 496b).

Todos los españoles que estábamos prisioneros en su poder . . . (Pedro de Alarcón, *El extranjero*, III).

In these sentences *estar* expresses location; *monja* and *prisioneros* are in apposition with its subject.

B. An adjective is construed with *ser* when it expresses a durative, inherent, or customary quality, or when one of those elements is stressed. Some grammarians say that the adjective is, in these instances, "assimilated to a noun"; this is often, but not invariably, true.

Here, for convenience and contrast, may be placed examples with *estar*, which connote the opposite qualities, the temporary, accidental or unusual.

*Examples:*

*SER*

En España es barato el pan.

Su hermana es hermosa.

Soy ciego, guíame (Pérez de Ayala,

*ESTAR*

Este año está barato el pan.

Hoy está hermosísima su hermana.

¿Tan ciego estás que no me cono-

*La pala de la raposa*, p. 101).

Soy capaz de estar cenando dos horas y media (Vital Aza, *Parada y fonda*, 7).

La temperatura de Burgos es tan fría . . . (Trueba, *Pico de oro*, I; *Narr. pop.*).

[El caballo] era blanco, con grandes crines venerables (Valle-Inclán, *Sonata de otoño*, p. 139).

Aquel mozo era maniático por el canto (Trueba, *El ruiseñor y el burro*, II; *Narr. pop.*).

Estoy pesimista: mejor dicho, lo soy (Galdós, *La estafeta romántica*, p. 36).

ces? (Tamayo, *Un drama nuevo*, II, 7).

Pero Musarelo había bebido tanto, que no estaba capaz para cumplir mi mandato (Valle-Inclán, *Sonata de primavera*, p. 191).

No la he traído antes [agua] porque estuviera más fresca (Bretón, *La Independencia*, II, 14).

La cabellera de oro estaba negra de sangre (Valle-Inclán, *Sonata de primavera*, p. 216).

Pónmela al cuello, que quiero estar santa (Benavente, *Señora ama*, I, 6).

**Remark:** It is, in general, possible to supply a noun (with, in English, the indefinite article) when *ser* is used; *es hermosa* equals "she is a pretty woman." Sometimes the noun is expressed in Spanish: *Soy hombre perdido* (Palacio Valdés, *La alegría del Capitán Ribot*, VI). But there are cases where it is not possible: *Él será responsable de ello en este mundo y en el otro* (Trueba, *El cura nuevo*, IV; *Narr. pop.*).

1. Nevertheless, there are hundreds of cases in which it is hard for us to see the reason for the Spaniard's use of one verb or the other. His feeling differs from ours.

#### Examples:

In expressions of weather:

#### SER

La tarde fué triste (Blasco Ibáñez, *La barraca*, V).

El crepúsculo era oscuro (*ibid.*, V).

La mañana era espléndida y fresca (Palacio Valdés, *El idilio de un enfermo*, p. 280).

#### ESTAR

Están estas tardes tan hermosas (Pérez de Ayala, *La pala de la raposa*, p. 293).

La noche estaba muy oscura. (Trueba, *La mujer del arquitecto*, IV; *C. pop.*).

La noche estaba suave y tibia (Baroja, *Aurora roja*, III\*, V).

In some cases one may suppose *estar* to emphasize the transiency of the quality named, but that notion cannot hold for the example from Pérez de Ayala.

¿De qué color está el cielo? Está azul. ¿De qué color son esas nubes? Son blancas. (*Monitor de Buenos aires*, quoted by P. B. Burnet, in his edition of Fernán Caballero's *Familia de Alvarada*, p. 180.)

One might argue that the sky, being always the same sky, changes color, whilst these clouds are white clouds. But any clouds may change color.

*Examples:*

In expressions other than of weather:

Y ¿estaba hermosa todavía? — ¡Hermosa! ¡Hermosa! . . . Lo había sido, señor (Alarcón, *Dos retratos*, IV).

Yo doy mi palabra de contenerme, y hasta de ser amable [durante esta visita] (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero*, p. 66. Cf. "Oye, niña, procura estar amable con ese joven," Vital Aza, *La marquesita*, 12).

Padre, dijo Pericañas, yo voy siendo ya grande para monaguillo (Trueba, *Las orejas del burro*, II; *Narr. pop.* Cf. "Pepe ¡pero qué grande estás!" Galdós, *Doña Perfecta*, IV).

Aprendí a usar la ballesta, en que fui luego diestrisimo (Escalante, *Ave Maris Stella*, p. 145).

. . . con haber sido fuerte contra la obediencia de la sangre, dócil a la obediencia del cariño, estaba pesarosa (*ibid.*, p. 291. Cf. "Y basta de asuntos económicos, en los que estoy poco fuerte," Galdós, *Obras inéditas*, IV, 84).

Es que, mientras la acción del tiempo no labra las gruesas capas de olvido, el silencio y la paz favorecen el reverdecimiento de las penas, cuando éstas no son muy próximas ni están aún muy distantes (Galdós, *La estafeta romántica* p. 49).

Próximo está el abismo, y uno de los dos forzosamente caerá en él (*ibid.*, p. 60).

A estos percances están sujetos todos los hombres, aun los más fuertes (Galdós, *Gloria*, I, 240).

Sí, todo está igual: yo solo soy diferente (Baroja, *Páginas escogidas*, p. 322).

La seña está terminante: / aquí es (Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio*, I, 8).

¿No sabes que ya mi primo no es ciego? (Galdós, *Marianela*, XVII).

It will be found that the adjectives construed with *ser* in these examples can all be rendered by an English noun and the indefinite article; but it is not always clear why the substantive quality should be stressed in a given case. Examples of a plainly substantive use, though the time element is a short one, could be multiplied.

Quiero ser serio, y no lo consigo (Galdós, *La estafeta rom.* p. 266).

Si una mujer deja de ser honrada . . . (Benavente, *La Gobernadora*, II, 2).

Días hace que la salud del tierno príncipe no es buena (Galdós, *Obras inéditas*, IV, 196).

¿Has sido tú cautivo? (Martínez de la Rosa, *Conjuración de Venecia*, V, 9).

2. The difference in feeling referred to in 1 is nowhere more evident than in the treatment of certain adjectives which seem at first glance to express conditions necessarily temporary, and which are, however, in Spanish usually construed with *ser*.

Such are *joven*, *viejo*, *rico*, *pobre*, *feliz*, *infeliz*, *dichoso*, *desdichado*, and in general words meaning "happy" and unhappy" (but not *alegre* and *contento*). To these one may add *soltero*, *casado* and *viudo*.

*Examples:*

Era mucho más joven que el marido (Pérez de Ayala, *Belarmino y Apolonio*, p. 129).

A mí, que ya soy viejo, no me importa (Palacio Valdés, *El Idilio de un enfermo*, p. 177).

Era ya bastante vieja (García Gutiérrez, *El trovador*, I, 1).

Yo . . . seré rico con el tiempo (N. Serra, *El último mono*, 4).

¿No ves que esta noche soy más pobre que tú, más miserable que tú? (Galdós, *Gloria*, II, 98).

Tu padres no desean otra cosa sino que estés contenta y seas feliz, ¿verdad? (Pérez de Ayala, *La pala de la raposa*, p. 336).

Hoy soy completamente feliz (Vital Aza, *El señor gobernador*, I, 5).

Señorita, | si fuese tan venturoso | que bailase usted conmigo . . . (Bretón, *La escuela del matrimonio*, II, 13).

Yo seré dichoso con veros dichosos (Benavente, *La fuerza bruta*, I, 10).

Usted fué muy desdichado en su juventud (Tamayo, *Un drama nuevo*, I, 1).

¡Qué desgraciada soy! (Benavente, *La gobernadora*, II, 4).

Tan fatal, | tan desventurado soy, | tan desesperado estoy . . . (Bretón *Me voy de Madrid*, I, 3).

Yo no sé todavía si es soltera, casada o viuda; según la portera, es casada y está separada de su marido (Vital Aza, *El señor cura*, I, 12).

Pero Eloísa es casada (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero*, p. 36).

. . . la viejecita que había asistido en casa de Lorenzo cuando éste era soltero (Trueba, *Los borrachos*, III; *Cuentos campesinos*).

It will be noticed that in many of these cases a time adverb is present which would seem to demand the use of *estar*, and yet does not. Logical explanation is difficult, and it was largely to explain this class of words that Sr. Andrade worked out his theory. Nevertheless I am, after some hesitation, convinced that in the idea of duration, though only relative, lies the true reason for *es joven*, *es feliz*, *es rico*, *es casado*, etc. Hills and Ford (*First Spanish Course*, p. 47, n. 1) explain *es joven* by saying: "Youth is, in a sense, temporary, but it is, after all, relatively permanent as compared with illness or fatigue." So Wagner (*Spanish Grammar*, Ann Arbor, 1918, p. 27): "The Spaniard takes a different viewpoint from our own. . . . We look upon youth as a temporary quality." But A. Coester is also telling the truth when he says (*Spanish Grammar*, Boston, 1917, p. 17) that the adjective is used in these sentences with the meaning of a noun: *es joven* equals "he is a young man."

One may still better say, perhaps, that the Spanish mind, unlike ours, conceives these qualities as inherent, and hence associates the words normally with *ser*; this fixed association overpowers the feeling of transiency which would naturally demand, in a special case, the use of *estar*.

These same words are, to be sure, occasionally found with *estar*. One might suppose that then a far more temporary condition, i. e., the result of sudden change, would be expressed, but one must confess that the examples are not easy to interpret in that light.

*Examples:*

Hoy ya estoy viejo (Javier de Burgos, *Los valientes*, 9).

El mundo está ya viejo (Benavente, *Los intereses creados*, *Prólogo*).

Rockefeller y los demás millonarios trabajan, por viejos que estén, un *máximo* de diez horas al día (J. Camba, *Un año en el otro mundo*, p. 51).

Dicen mis conocidos que estoy joven para mi edad (Palacio Valdés, *La hija de Natalia*, p. 26).

No basta estar joven. Es preciso serlo también (Jacinto Grau, *Don Juan de Carillana*, p. 107). Here one may render *estar* by "feel" or "appear."

[Don Matías] estaba riquísimo y muy bien relacionado en Granada (Pedro de Alarcón, *Moros y cristianos*, III).

. . . supe que Mundideo ha pagado todas sus deudas. Vamos, que está rico (Galdós, *Gloria*, I, 255).

Peñarcal está tan feliz que se ha hecho chancero (Cited by Maréca-Dubois, §262).

Sólo hacía dos años que estaban casados (Palacio Valdés, *La alegría del capitán Ribot*, II).

Estoy soltero (*ibid.*).

. . . como si estuviera viuda (E. Blasco, *Moros en la costa*, 3).

The cases with *viejo* are especially perplexing, since they seem to differ in no essential from examples with *ser*. One can only say that the speaker in one case envisaged the temporary aspect of the quality, in the other its duration.

3. The contrast between duration or inherence and transiency or accidentality causes certain adjectives and past participles to assume different meanings according as they are used with *ser* or *estar*. Most grammarians place in this list the words *malo* (bad, sick), *bueno* (good, in good health), *cansado* (tiresome, tired); Wagner (*A Spanish Grammar*, Ann Arbor, 1918, p. 27) adds *triste* (dull, sad); Knapp<sup>3</sup> adds *alto* (tall, high), *callado*

<sup>3</sup> W. I. Knapp, *A Grammar of the Modern Spanish Language*, 2 ed., Boston, 1910, p. 201.

(close-mouthed, silent), *loco* (crazy, frantic): De Arteaga adds *listo* (clever, ready). All of these except *loco* appear to be correctly placed in this category, though the rule should not be interpreted too rigidly. A complete list would perhaps be quite extensive. For the present I would add *alegre* (joy-giving, full of joy; some exceptions are noted below), *vivo* (lively, alive), *cierto* (true, certain), *limpio* (cleanly, clean), *seguro*. And there are other past participles besides *cansado* and *callado* which have an active sense when construed with *ser*.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to *loco* and *seguro*, see below, V.

Examples of the less known words:

#### SER

[Mis pensamientos] pocas veces habían sido tristes (Palacio Valdés, *La alegría del Capitán Ribot*, IV).

La tarde fué triste (Blasco Ibáñez, *La barraca*, V).

El conjunto estético de tal fábrica era triste (Galdós, *Gloria*, I, 92).

Era mi vida alegre (Benavente, *La fuerza bruta*, I, 9).

El trabajo será alegre (*ibid.*, II, 5).

[El asilo] no era mucho más alegre que ahora (Pilar Sinués, *La florecita azul*).

Eres alegre, expansiva (E. Blasco, *Moros en la costa*, 7).

Tú ya sabes lo burlón y alegre que es Juan (Trueba, *La felicidad doméstica*, IV; *Cuentos campesinos*).

Era su cuerpo alto y no fornido. (Galdós, *Gloria*, II, 12).

Bueno, bueno; mira, Pascasio, tú eres hombre callado (Larra, *No más mostrador*, III, 1).

#### ESTAR

¡Qué triste estoy sin ti! (Campoamor, ¡*Quién supiera escribir!*!).

El cielo estaba ya desvaído y triste (Pérez de Ayala, *Belarmino y Apolonio*, p. 260).

Alegre estás (Galdós, *Gloria*, I, 193).

Su figura negra no era favorable a la armonía del risueño paisaje: diríase que después que él pasaba, todo volvía a estar alegre (*ibid.*, I, 229).

La rectoral estaba más alta que el pueblo (Palacio Valdés, *El idilio de un enfermo*, p. 81).

¿No ves yo qué callada me estoy?<sup>5</sup> (Benavente, *Al natural*, I, 10).

<sup>4</sup> Such are *divertido*, *entendido*, *entretenido*, *pesado*, *reservado*, *sentido*. A few examples: Era entendido en hierbas (Blasco, *La barraca*, VI); No sea usted pesado (Trigo, *La primera conquista*); Soy muy sentida (=sensitive) (Frontaura, *Memorialista*; *Las tiendas*).

<sup>5</sup> But cf. "el resto [de la ciudad] es callado, tranquilo, limpio, lleno de flores" (Martínez Sierra, *Tú eres la paz*, p. 268). In this sentence, which breaks custom in the case of each adjective, the durative condition is clearly emphasized.

. . . preciarne de tan lista, serlo efectivamente . . . (Galdós, *La estafeta rom.*, p. 270).

Mi sentimiento era muy vivo (Galdós, *ibid.*, p. 11).

No seas tan viva de genio (Galdós, *Gloria*, I, 48).

. . . luz inextinguible, cuyo resplendor, no por sernos oculto, es menos vivo (*ibid.*, II, 362).

Si la historia de D. Lorenzo es cierta, que lo dudo (Echegaray, *O locura o santidad*, II, 2).

¿Será cierto? (*ibid.*, II, 3).

Ciertos son los toros.

Hay criaturas que son limpias necesariamente, y sin darse cuenta de ello (Pereda, *Sotileza*, p. 20).

No eran tan limpios en el comer Carpia y su hermano, aunque sí tan voraces (*ibid.*, p. 63).

¿Estamos listos ya? (Pérez de Ayala, *La pata de la raposa*, p. 209).

"¡Pero ya estoy vivo!" exclamé [He had been reported dead] (Galdós, *La estafeta rom.*, p. 45).

Y crujía la descarga, y yo estaba vivo (Alarcón, *La corneta de llaves*, V).

Cuando la hoguera esté muy viva, echaremos en ella rosas deshojadas (Galdós, *Barbara*, III, 2).

Esté usted cierto de ello (Pardo Bazán, *El tesoro de Gastón*, XIII).

y, a poder ser, estad ciertos/que cenaréis con los muertos (Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio*,<sup>2</sup> I, 6).

Tú estás limpia<sup>3</sup> (Pérez de Ayala, *Belarmino y Apolonio*, p. 285).

**Remark:** 1. *Estar bueno* does not always mean "to have good health." The transiency may, naturally, be referred to other fields than that of health.

*Examples:*

Te advierto que Tomasa ha sido una real moza.—No; y todavía está buena. — ¡Pche! Ahora está regular (Vital Aza, *Las Codornices*, 3). -

Pero luego, si te toca el gordo: "Chica, has estao buena" (Quinteros, *Pepita Reyes*, I).

Dame otro merengue. ¿Porqué no tomas uno? Están buenos. (Frontaura, *Las tiendas, Conflertta*).

But just afterward, in the same dialog, we find:

¡Ay! [Yemas] ¡De coco! Éstas sí que son buenas.

The first example might be rendered: "These are fine meringues": the second: "Yemas are a fine candy." Cf. below, I, *ESTAR*, A, 1.

In like manner, *estar malo* need not mean "to be ill."

Los tiempos están muy malos (=times are very hard) (Trueba, *El Judas de la casa*, VII; *Cuentos de color de rosa*).



Especially frequent is an ironic use of *estar bueno*, which may be compared with the modes of speech noted above under I, *SER, A, Exception 1*.

¡Está buena la juventud dorada! (Quinteros, *Los Galeotes*, I, p. 20).

¡Estuvo bueno el chiste! (Gorostiza, *Contigo pan y cebolla*, IV, 1).

¿No hay quien despache aquí? Pues está bueno esto (Ricardo de la Vega, *El señor Luis el Tumbón*, 3).

¡Bueno está su Lucas de usted! (Alarcón, *El sombrero de tres picos*, XXIV).

The same ironical use is sometimes found with *ser*, however.

¡Ésta es buena! (Bretón, *Marcela*, II, 2).

Bueno es el clero para consentir que se le indulte (R. Pérez de Ayala, *La pata de la raposa*, p. 184).

*Remark: 2.* Without doubt the other adjectives in this list may also be found with *estar* in the sense they ordinarily possess when construed with *ser*, but examples are infrequent.

¡No están ustedes poco cansados y machacones en gracia de Dios! (Fernán Caballero, *Un servilón y un liberalito*, V).

Ya serán unas mujeres [tus hijas].—Sí. Están muy altas (Valle-Inclán, *Sonata de otoño*, p. 114).

Vamos, tú también estás pesado; ¿es cosa de que no almorcemos hoy? (Larra, *No más mostrador*, II, 4).

*Remark: 3.* It will be observed that in the case of some of the adjectives listed above under *B, 3*, the meaning, and the use with *ser* or *estar* depend partly on whether the subject is sentient or non-sentient. Thus one may say that ordinarily the following are used with *estar* when the subject is a sentient being, with *ser* when it is not: *vivo*, *alegre*, *triste*, and *cierto*. Probably *dudoso* should appear in this class also, but I have no examples. The exceptions, which will be observed even among my examples, are easily accounted for. *Alegre*, in particular, will be found with personal subject in the meaning "of merry disposition."

4. Certain adjectives are always construed with *ser*, because they describe a moral or mental quality which may be supposed unchanging. Such are *cruel*, *culpable*, *justo*, *injusto*, *razonable*, *responsable*. Except for the different class of concepts which they express, these words might be placed with those in *B, 2*, above; and, like them, their use with *ser* defies logic at times. There is, I submit, no rational explanation of the fact that *estar*

may not be used with *cruel* in the sentence given below, whereas if *amable* were substituted, *estar* would be allowed (though not required). The explanation, based on instinct, not on reason, may be that the Spanish mind regards cruelty as a quality more bound up with man's character than amiability.

*Examples:*

Realmente he sido cruel con él (Trueba, *La zorra y el lobo*, II; *Cuentos populares*).

No era ya culpable (Galdós, *La estafeta rom.*, p. 86).

Seamos razonables y justos (Trueba, *El camino torcido* VI; *Cuentos populares*).

Injusto he sido, | injusto para ti (García Gutiérrez, *El trovador*, III, 5).

La verdad era que Dios había sido injusto con él (Palacio Valdés, *El idilio de un enfermo*, p. 240).

Has de ser razonable (*ibid.*, p. 158).

Federico, tú estás demente, tú no eres responsable de las graves palabras que has pronunciado (Galdós, *Realidad* (drama), IV, 6).

5. García de Diego (*op. cit.* p. 260) forms a class of most adjectives in *-al*, *-ario*, *-az*, *-ble*, *-dor*, *-ero*, *-esco*, *-ico*, *-iego*, *-ista*, *-ivo*, *-izo*, *-orio*, *-oso*; in short, derivatives of a noun or verb in which the derivative sense is stressed. So broad a classification would, I believe, entail many exceptions.

C. *Ser* is used in most impersonal expressions where the predicate is an adjective.

*Examples:*

Es necesario.

Es preciso.

Es temprano. Etc.

Exceptions are:

Claro está.

Seguro está (for the meaning, see Hanssen, *Gramática*, §644).

For *claro está*, as well as *está bien*, *está visto*, see below, V. Other participles besides *visto* are found with *estar*, impersonally.

# I. *ESTAR*. (TRANSIENCY, ACCIDENTALITY.)

A. Any adjective which admits of the notion of transiency or accidentality may be used with *estar*. Many examples were given above, under I, *SER*, B.

*Additional Examples.*

¿Conque tú has estado celoso de una mujer? (Tamayo, *Un drama nuevo*, I, 3).

¡Qué expresivo estuvo ayer! (Alarcón, *El afrancesado*, I).

Está hoy | esa mujer intratable (Bretón, *Me voy de Madrid*, II, 3).

Yo no la puedo sufrir | cuando está tan habladora (*ibid.*, II, 5).

Tales eran y estaban [los teatros], que para hacerlos tolerables se les aplicó el remedio casero de demolerlos [i. e. they were of such construction and in such a condition] (Bretón, *Arte de la Declamación. Obras escogidas*, Paris, Baudry, n. d., I, p. xxxviii).

Pues tienes que ponerte la levita, | porque va a venir gente | y así no estás decente (R. de la Vega, *El señor Luis el tumbón*, 4).

... esta noche, | Quevedo, estáis matador. (Sanz, *Don Francisco de Quevedo*, II, 1151-52).

1. One of the commonest cases occurs when the taste of food is described. The idea is, of course, that the article possesses a particular flavor at a given moment, regardless of the one it may have had or may soon have just before or just after that time.

For *bueno* in this sense see above, I, *SER*, B, (3), *Remark 1*.

*Examples:*

¡Volován! Debe de estar delicioso (Vital Aza, *La marquesita*, 12).

[El café] está exquisito (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero*, p. 13).

... la tortilla maternal, que debía estar tan rica (Trueba, *El príncipe desmemoriado*, I; *Cuentos pop.*).

¿Es bueno este manjar? ¿Está sabroso? (Campoamor, *El drama universal*, Escena XXXIX; cited by Maréca-Dubois). Here the distinction is clear. "Is this dish one that is, in general, good eating? Is it, on this occasion, well prepared?")

2. With adjectives of size, meaning "to fit."

*Examples:*

Te regalaré unos zapatos en buen uso que me están grandes (Alarcón, *El sombrero de tres picos*, XXII).

¡Ahora, conque me esté ancho el frac de don Emeterio! (Taboada, *¡Carlitos!*)

... otras prendas que a la edad de ocho años había desechado Mariquita, porque la estaban ya chicas (Trueba, *Lo que es poesía*, II; *C. camp.*).

3. The figurative use of *feo* or an analogous word seems, idiomatically, to demand *estar*. The rendering "appears" fits here.

*Examples:*

Eso ya está feo (Benavente, *La gobernadora*, I, 2).

Sólo vas desde casa al Ateneo, | y eso debes saber que está muy feo (Ricardo de la Vega, *El señor Luis el Tumbón*, 4).

¡Padre, no zuene usted les deos azín, que ezo está mu basto! (Quinteros, *La zagala*, III).

**B. *Estar*, with the meaning "to be in a (temporary) state," is used with adverbs.**

1. Often with *bien*, *mal*, *mejor*, *peor*.

*Examples:*

Está bien. (But see also below, V.)

Aunque esté mal la propia alabanza (Benavente, *La gobernadora*, II, 3).

[Juan] no está del todo mal [=is not very sick] (Trueba, *Juan Palomo*, X; *C. de color de rosa*).

En mis brazos estaréis mejor (Tamayo, *Un drama nuevo*, I, 6).

En Madrid mis asuntos están peor que aquí todavía (Pardo Bazán, *El tesoro de Gastón*, XII).

**With indirect object, and meaning "to suit," "befit":**

Nada te está mejor (Hartzenbusch, *Juan de las iñias*, I, 4).

Mejor os estaría ceder (Tamayo, *Un drama nuevo*, III, 8).

2. Similarly, with any adverb denoting temporary state.

*Examples:*

A la sombra de este cerezo estamos perfectamente (Trueba, *Las dudas de San Pedro*, II; *Narr. pop.*).

Estoy ya hasta la coronilla (Pérez de Ayala, *La pata de la rapsa*, p. 139).

¡Cómo ha estado Su Ilustrísima! ¡Qué sermón! (Benavente, *La gobernadora*, I, 9).

Dejo los hechos como están (Galdós, *Realidad* (drama), II, 9).

Tu cuarto está lo mismo que lo dejaste (Galdós, *La estafeta rom.*, p. 145).

Cuando estemos despacio, te contaré un sucedido (Galdós, *Doña Perfecta*, XVIII).

¡Cómo está ese hombre esta noche! . . . ¡Si es mejor que vos! [Of an actor] (Tamayo, *Un drama nuevo*, III, 4). (That is, "That man is acting wonderfully tonight. . . . He is a better actor than you.")

En los ensayos habéis estado mucho mejor (*Ibid.*, III, 2).

3. With adverbial phrases, or even absolutely (= "in a finished state").

*Examples:*

Estoy que no sé lo que me pasa (Echegaray, *O locura o santidad*, III, 2).

Para todo estabas menos para enamorar (Benavente, *La gobernadora*, II, 2).

Pues de convites está el día (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero*, p. 29).

No está el horno para bollos.

No está la Magdalena para tafetanes.

En cuanto esté la cena [= "is ready"], tráela (Trueba, *El Judas de la casa I*; *C. de color de rosa*).

**Remark:** Not to be confused with this use is the idiom *ser para*, "to be of use." As in:

¡Eh, que no son ustedes para nada! (Trueba, *Lo que es poesía*, V; *Cuentos campesinos*).

¿Para cuándo son los brazos? (Bretón, *La escuela del matrimonio*, III, 25).  
Cf. below, II, *SER*, D.

C. I should place under this general heading (TRANSIENCY) the use to form progressive tenses: *Estoy escribiendo*.

## II. *SER*. (EXISTENCE).

A. *Ser* expresses mere existence, as in the well known line of Luis de León: "los pocos sabios que en el mundo han sido."

### Examples:

De los mundos que han sido en los despojos  
la mano está que crea (García y Tassara, *Meditación religiosa*).

¿quién no ha oído  
desde cualquier región, ecos de aquella  
donde niñez y juventud han sido? (Florentino Sanz, *Epístola a Pedro*).

En cualquier momento de la ejecución la obra 'es,' pero sólo en uno 'está' (Ganivet, *Idearium*, p. 78).

Las verdades geométricas son o no son: en ellas no cabe término medio (Martínez Sierra, *El palacio triste*, I).

Aquí fué el puente de San Martín [=once existed, has ceased to exist] (Trueba, *La mujer del arquitecto*, III; *Cuentos pop.*).

Da tus gracias a Dios, oh sapo, pues que eres. (R. Darfo, *Filosofía; Cantos de vida y esperanza*).

These modern examples show that Bello was mistaken when he wrote, §1088, "Este uso de *ser* es enteramente desconocido en prosa, y apenas se encuentra en verso."

Analogous is the use of *ser* in certain phrases of location, treated, for convenience, below, under II, *ESTAR*, C.

B. Bello (*ibid.*) assimilates to the foregoing such turns as "Es que no quiero."

### Examples:

¡Es que no hay modo de reñir con este hombre! (Benavente, *El marido de su viuda*, 9).

Es que cada día hay mujeres más guapas (*id.*, *La gobernadora*, I, 5).

No es que le importe él (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero*, p. 127).

C. Derivative uses are those to express ownership, origin, material and destination.

*Examples:*

Aquella olla es de mi madre.

Aquella olla es de Méjico (mejicana).

Aquella olla es de barro.

Aquella olla es para usted.

*D.* *Ser* is used, in general, when the predicate is formed by a word or phrase not an adjective of transiency or accidentality, or when it is not a question of one of the cases treated under I, *ESTAR*, *B* and *C*, II, *ESTAR* and III, *ESTAR*. *Ser*, in short, is the everyday translation of "to be." One should not employ *estar* without a special reason for it.

*Examples:*

El deber es antes que todo (Tamayo, *Un drama nuevo*, III, 10).

. . . pensando en cómo será o cómo no será este señor Don José (Galdós, *Doña Perfecta*, II).

¿Para cuándo son los brazos? (Bretón, *La escuela del matrimonio*, III, 25).<sup>4</sup>

Es de día.

¿Qué será de ella?

Etc.

## II. *ESTAR*. (LOCATION).

*A.* *Estar* expresses literal physical location or position in space, regardless of its duration, when the subject is a material thing.

*Examples:*

España está en Europa.

El libro está sobre la mesa.

Bajé a buscar la ropa que está en el cuarto de la calle (Galdós, *Doña Perfecta*, XXIII).

Orbajosa . . . no está muy lejos ni tampoco muy cerca de Madrid (*ibid.*, XVIII).

*B.* The same rule applies when the idea of position is figurative, whether the subject is material or not.

*Examples:*

Muchos de estos documentos históricos están en francés (Galdós, *La estafeta romántica*, p. 20).

En tus cartas estás como eres (*Ibid.*, p. 148).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I, *ESTAR*, *B*, 3, *Remark*. This sentence shows the correct idiom. In "¿Para cuándo están los imperios?" (Benavente, *La gobernadora*, I, 8) I see a contamination with such sentences as "No está el horno para bollos" (I, *ESTAR*, *B*, 3), and an example of the increasing use of *estar*.

Eso está en duda (Hartzenbusch, *Juan de las Viñas*, I, 5).

En el término medio está la virtud (Martínez Sierra, *El palacio triste*, I).

Mi salvación está en no amarte (Tamayo, *Un drama nuevo*, I, 5).

En ello estoy [=I understand] (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero*, p. 19).

Podrá estar el mal tan hondo como dice, mas no está la salud muy por de fuera (Escalante, *Ave Maris Stella*, p. 81).

Así como tú estás en la obligación de conservar la paz en tu casa, . . . así lo está el Rey en la de . . . procurar la paz de sus estados (*ibid.*, p. 99).

Estoy muy lejos de creer . . . (Galdós, *Doña Perfecta*, XIX).

C. But if the subject is not material, and the sense of position is literal, *ser* is used. (Cf. above, II, *SER*, A.) It is easier to sense this usage than to reason it. Probably, however, the verb is felt to express existence rather than a distinctly visualized locality.

*Examples:*

La acción, la escena, es en [Madrid] (Stage direction in plays, e. g., (Moratín, *El sí de las niñas*, first page; Gil y Zárate, *Guzmán el Bueno*, beginning, etc.).

Batíos hasta morir . . . ; pero que sea en el campo de batalla (Alarcón, *El extranjero*, II).

Allí es el piar triste (Benavente, *Por las nubes*, II, 9).

Parece un niño o una niña que se queja.—Y debe ser muy cerca (Pérez Escrich, *Fortuna*, III). (Not the child, but the complaint, is near).

Averiguas dónde el duelo debe ser (Echegaray, *El gran galeoto*, II, 3).

Algo del muerto bien será contigo (Florentino Sanz, *Epístola a Pedro*).

Aquí es ella [trouble] (Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio*, I, 12).

Allí era el dialogar por señas (Galdós, *Gloria*, II, 156).

Often the subject is supplied from what precedes, and is rather vague.

¡Ah! ¡Si fuera en mi casa! [where the Frenchmen are to come] (Alarcón, *El afrancesado*, I).

Aquí es—decía [the place he was seeking] (Pardo Bazán, *El tesoro de Gastón*, XIV).

¿Conque era en Francia? [the scene of the story about to be told] (Alarcón, *Viva el papa*, II).

Si no he llegado todavía. Es más lejos [the spot sought for] (Galdós, *Gloria*, II, 330). Contrast: Mi hijo debe quedar al cuidado de mi familia.—Y ¿porqué no al cuidado mío?—Porque estará demasiado lejos (*ibid.*, II, 338).

*Exceptions.* (1). The use of *ser* is sometimes carried over into phrases where the subject is, or seems to be, a material thing. In most of the examples the verb is introduced by *¿Dónde?* and in all of them *estar* could be substituted. In some *estar* would sound less strange to the ear of a present-day Spaniard.

The actual use of *ser* is hard to explain rationally; one may perhaps say that the locality is vaguely visualized.

*Examples:*

¿Altona?—dijo Su Ilustrísima. ¿Dónde es eso?—Es sobre el Elba, cerca de Hamburgo—manifestó don Juan (Galdós, *Gloria*, I, 133).

¿Un verdadero palacio! ¿Sabe usted dónde es? (*ibid.*, I, 188).

¿Pero a dónde has de ir?—A donde mi alma me llama.—Pero ¿dónde es eso? (Trueba, *Desde la patria al cielo; Cuentos de color de rosa*).

¿Señora, conocéis a la reina Sol? — Conózcola. — ¿Dónde es su reino? (Martínez Sierra, *Teatro de ensueño, Tiempo de rosas*.)

Vamos, ya está usted en salvo. Ye le llevaré a su casa. ¿Dónde es? (Galdós, *Ángel Guerra*, II, 131).

Una noche . . . dirigióse a los campos de Santullán, que son media legua de Castro (Trueba, *La puerta de Brazo-mar*, IV; *Cuentos pop.*).

2. The idiom *soy con*, meaning "attend to," is an archaism. Cf. the Academy Grammar, §199b.

*Examples:*

Soy contigo en seguida (Quinteros, *Los galeotes*, IV, 5).

Soy con usted en seguida, don Ruperto (Vital Aza, *El señor cura*, II, 20).

3. A few sentences with phraseology imitated from Biblical language may be regarded as archaisms.

. . . los pobres de espíritu de quien ha dicho mi Padre que serán con él en el reino de los cielos (Trueba, *Las dudas de San Pedro VI; Narr. pop.*).

Él [Dios] sea en tu compañía (Escalante, *Ave Maris Stella*, p. 106).

*Remark:* Such a sentence as "En este lugar fué donde le vi a usted" is basically of the same character as those discussed under C. Here the subject is the clause "donde le vi a usted," and logically one could read "Este (lugar) fué (el lugar) donde le vi a usted." In other words, this type of sentence belongs with those in which a superfluous, anticipating preposition is placed before the subject of the verb *ser*, as in "Es con la justicia con lo que se debe gobernar a los pueblos."<sup>7</sup>

The connection between this type and those of C is well shown in the following dialog:

*Isidora.* ¿Es aquí lo de la sal?

*Oficial 1º.* ¿Lo de la sal?

*Isidora.* Vamos, que si es aquí donde se deja lo de la sal (Ricardo de la Vega, *Sanguijuelas del estado*, 14).

<sup>7</sup> See Cuervo, *A puntaciones críticas*, §460, 2°. Such a sentence as "En este lugar fué donde le vi a usted" is sometimes, wrongly, rated a gallicism; as by Juan Cano, "Errores más comunes de Sintaxis española" (*Hispania* (Calif.) IV, 1921, p. 235).



D. 1. A derived meaning is that of "stay," remain"; in this sense a reflexive pronoun often accompanies *estar*.

*Examples:*

Estáte quieto.

Estáte aquí un momento (Quinteros, *Los Galeotes*, I, 3).

Y se estuvo cerca de un mes encerrada en las habitaciones . . . (Pardo Bazán, *El tesoro de Gastón*, II).

Y ¿estuviste mucho tiempo? (López de Ayala, *Consuelo*, II, 1).

. . . se acostumbra usted a estar sin él (Benavente, *Señora ama*, I, 6).

Allá se estarán unos días cazando y hablando mal del gobierno. (Galdós, *La estafeta romántica*, p. 116).

2. Another derived meaning is that of "be present."

*Examples:*

No está [=he is not at home].

Aun no estaba todo [=was not yet there] (Blasco Ibáñez, *La barraca*, VIII).

¿Para qué estamos nosotros más que para dar amparo a los fieles? (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero*, p. 102).

No está la suerte para quien la busca (Trueba, *La resurrección del alma*, II; *C. de color de rosa*).

In this sense *estar* usurps at times the place of *ir*, just as, historically, *ser* did in the preterite and derived tenses.

Anoche estuvo a vernos (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero*, p. 30).

### III. SER. (ACT.)

A. *Ser* with the past participle forms the true passive, with either perfective or imperfective verbs.<sup>8</sup> In this case the time

<sup>8</sup> Diez (*Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1872, III, p. 203) classified transitive verbs as *perfective*, "deren Thätigkeit entweder auf einen Moment eingeschränkt ist, wie in Ergreifen, Überraschen, Wecken, Überwinden, Verlassen, Endigen, Töden, oder doch ein Endziel voraussetzt, wie in Machen, Herstellen, Schmücken, Bauen, Schlagen, Beladen"; their past participles "zeigen die Handlung als eine vollzogene, vollendete an"; and *imperfective*, as one which "eine Thätigkeit ausdrückt, welche nicht begonnen wird um vollendet zu werden, wie in Lieben, Hassen, Loben, Tadeln, Bewundern, Verlangen, Sehen, Hören und ähnlichen." M. G. Cirot (*op. cit.*, p. 61) would modify the definition of the imperfective verb to read, one which expresses "une action qui est toujours envisagée forcément en elle-même, et non dans ses suites, toujours en tant qu'imparfaite par conséquent." If a verb used in the perfect tense does not imply the idea of any real result, it is an imperfective (p. 62). Cirot remarks also that verbs of seeing, hearing and asking ought not to be included in the list of imperfectives, while knowing (*savoir*, *saber*) should. The list is hard to establish precisely; I should not include in it *conocer*.

of the past participle is the same as the time of the auxiliary (Cf. Bello, *Gramática*, §440).

*Examples:*

La casa fué edificada por mi padre (=Mi padre edificó la casa).

Él es querido de todo el mundo (=Todo el mundo le quiere).

Esta locución es desusada en el día (Bello, *Gramática*, §201).

Poco después fué vencido por el Califa (Altamira, *Hist. de España*, I, 243).

Será muy bien recibido (Linares Rivas, *El abolerigo*, II, 16).

Si el amor tuviera su Inquisición, serías tú condenado a la hoguera (Galdós, *Realidad* (drama), II, 9).

Yo no había sido visto (Valle-Inclán, *Sonata de primavera*, p. 137).

*Remark:* In the present and imperfect tenses the true passive is often used instead of one of the common substitute turns of speech, when continuing or customary action, a general truth or (in the historical present) a narrative sense, is to be denoted. According to Hanssen, perfective verbs may not be employed in those tenses except in such senses.<sup>9</sup> It may be said of Spanish syntax in general, however, that the use of the imperfect instead of the preterit is frequently baffling.

*Examples:*

Perfective verbs.

El tiempo, el silencio, el espacio es pinchado y requetepinchado por la aguja de la máquina Singer (R. Gómez de la Serna, *España*, April 7, 1923).

Por esta razón la sátira siempre es acogida alegremente (R. Pérez de Ayala, *La pala de la raposa*, p. 173).

Los tiros, según dijeron, no eran disparados por los ladrones, sino por la guardia civil (Galdós, *Doña Perfecta*, II [= were not being fired]).

Aquel día de gloria era pintado por el anciano con tan vivos colores y tal entusiasmo que nuestro corazón latía violentemente (Trueba, *Lo que es poesía*, III; *Cuentos campesinos*).

Hanssen (*Gramática*, §597) applies the words perfective and imperfective to *estar* and *ser* themselves. He means, I take it, that past participles or adjectives when used with *ser* express an act or state continuing over a more or less indefinite period of time ("durative"), while with *estar* the act or state is definitely summed up and regarded as completed. I do not believe (nor, I judge, did Hanssen) that such a classification of *ser* and *estar* will serve in all cases.

Cirot's illuminating article should be consulted for further detail upon this section.

<sup>9</sup> For fuller discussion and more examples see Hanssen, *Gramática*, §595, and especially *La pasiva castellana*, pp. 508-511.

## Imperfective verbs.

Nunca se había preguntado por qué era odiado, por qué era perseguido (Baroja, *Aurora roja*, 2ª Parte, IX).

En Río, además, donde el Sr. G. M. era bastante querido . . . (Valera, *Genio y figura*, XIX).

¡Soy joven y soy querida! (Avellaneda, *Baltasar*, IV, 6).

*B.* By insensible gradations, a past participle comes to be used as an adjective, without verbal force. Such an adjective may be construed with *ser* as well as with *estar*. The distinction then holds, just as with most adjectives, that *estar* indicates a temporary or passing condition, and *ser* a relatively durative one.<sup>10</sup> Some examples with *ser* (*casado*) have already been given under I, *SER*, *B*, 2. For the adjective use of past participles with *estar*, see below, III, *ESTAR*, *B*.

I shall present here first (1) examples in which the verbal and adjectival sense run close together; then (2) the purely adjectival cases.<sup>11</sup> With *ser* both perfectives and imperfectives are found.

*Examples:*

## (1)

Me di a pensar en que si mi existencia había sido hasta allí frustrada, podía ya no serlo en lo sucesivo (Galdós, *La estafeta rom.*, p. 124).

Ésta [carta] es mía, sin que tenga con aquella otra semejanza que el ser también escrita para distraerte (*ibid.*, p. 245).

Es verdad, declaró Morton confuso, que mi conversión era fingida (Galdós, *Gloria*, II, 340).

¡Yo que soy tan conocido! (Javier de Burgos, *El restaurant de las tres clases*, 6).

. . . para quien eran tan conocidos aquellos parajes como los rincones de su nativa casa (Menéndez Pelayo, introd. to *Ave Maris Stella*, p. xxi).

La casa era, como el corto número de las que componían la aldea, construida con muros de piedra (Fernán Caballero, *Más honor que honores*; *Cuadros de costumbres*).

Yo, que soy criado y enseñado por el pueblo (Fernán Caballero, quoted by Hanssen, *Gramática*, §597).

<sup>10</sup> See Cirot, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>11</sup> I shall not include here examples, which might be multiplied indefinitely, of past participles whose original verbal meaning has practically been lost sight of, like *honrado*, *reservado*, *aficionado*, *enamorado*, etc.; nor of those which, when used with *ser*, have an active sense, like *cansado*, *pesado*, *divertido*, *confiado*, *determinado*, etc. To the latter may be added this curious example: Creció el terror en todos, creídos que a la ruina del palacio seguiría la del torreón. Escalante, *Ave Maris Stella*, p. 359.

(2)

Todo el mundo apreciará la situación de usted, como es debido (Benavente, *El marido de su viuda*, I).

Esta carta es falsificada (Galdós, *La estafeta rom.*, p. 244).

Sus temores no eran infundados (Trueba, *Tragaldabas*, IV; *Narr. pop.*)  
 . . . como todas las nulidades de suerte, que son hechas de esta manera, careciendo de materiales propios para hacer algo regular siquiera, tomaba los que le ofrecían en cualquiera parte (Pereda, *Solileza*, p. 160).

pues cuantos te son amados | serán objetos sagrados | para esa vil multitud (Avellaneda, *Baltasar*, III, 4).

¿No te soy aborrecida? (García Gutiérrez, *El Trovador*, I, 4).

Era tan reñido el empeño . . . (Escalante, *Ave Maris Stella*, p. 9).

Son sus sentidos limitados y flacos (*ibid.*, p. 33).

Y envió a Rosalía que con sigilo averiguase si los señores eran ya recogidos en sus estancias (*ibid.*, p. 314).

Si eres escogido de Dios . . . baja del altar (*ibid.*, p. 329<sup>12</sup>).

Era su rostro curtido y surcado de arrugas como pergamino (Galdós, *Gloria*, II, 95).

Mi palabra está empeñada;

sin el conde soy perdido (Eguílaz, *El molinero de Subiza*, II, 4).

**Remark:** Past participles, whether having verbal force or adjectival, sometimes take superlative endings.

El gobernador es elogiadísimo por su conducta. (Cited by Cirot, p. 68).

Las dudas que yo tengo . . . son fundadísimas (Trueba, *Las dudas de San Pedro*, I; *Narr. pop.*).

Sus tertulias eran animadísimas (Valera, *Genio y figura*, II).

C. Exceptionally, *ser* is used as the auxiliary of certain intransitive verbs, a use which was frequent up to the 17th century. Today one finds examples with *entrar*, *pasar*, *llegar*, *morir*, *nacer*, and even other verbs, as will be noted from the examples.<sup>13</sup>

*Examples:*

Cuando despertó era ya bien entrada la tarde (Blasco Ibáñez, *La barraca*, cited by Hanssen, p. 109).

Aunque era algo pasada la oportunidad (*La barraca*, IX).

. . . porque sabía que era ya llegada la hora de ir al colegio (Azorín, *Confesiones de un pequeño filósofo*, VII).

<sup>12</sup> The examples from Escalante may with some reason be regarded as suspicious, for he writes with notably archaic diction.

<sup>13</sup> Some examples and additional discussion may be found in Hanssen, *La pasiva castellana*, p. 109, Cirot, *op. cit.*, p. 65, and Cirot, "Quelques remarques sur les archaïsmes de Mariana," *Rom. Forsch.* XXIII, 902-904.

Cuando aun no eran llegados los que habían de ofrles (Escalante, *Ave Maris Stella*, p. 290).

Temieron todos que era ya muerto (*ibid.*, p. 320).

Si das un grito, eres muerto (Baroja, *Páginas escogidas*, p. 417).

¡Mi hijo es muerto porque teme! exclamó Herrera con terror, observando a su hijo desde la plaza (Trueba, *La felicidad doméstica*, IV; *Cuentos campesinos*).

Luego ¿es muerto? No, que vive (Zorrilla, *A buen juez mejor testigo*, V).

Cuando enterraron a su padre, aun no era nacido (Valle-Inclán, cited by Hanssen, p. 109).

El tiempo es venido . . . (Eguílaz, *El molinero de Subiza*, I, 8).

A tiempo venido [sic] somos (*ibid.*, III, 2).

Cuando murió ese inocente, | Julián, ¿adónde erais ido? (Eguílaz, *El salto del pasiego*, II, 9).

Cuando la gente salió de la iglesia, era ya anochecido (Palacio Valdés, *El idilio de un enfermo*, p. 249).

Un año es ya transcurrido (Larra, *Macías*, I, 1).

**Remark:** 1. *Muerto* needs additional comment. One must distinguish carefully between *muerto* the intransitive and *muerto* the transitive, used as substitute for *matado*. Of the former examples have been given. For the latter, used as a true passive, the following will serve:

. . . siempre que es muerto un cristiano, | . . . donde el hombre muerto fué | clavan una cruz bendita. (Sanz, *Don Francisco de Quevedo*, II. 1182-88).

Si todos los que han sido muertos y robados al pasar por ahí resucitaran, podría formarse con ellos un ejército (*Doña Perfecta*, II).

In some of the examples given *muerto* is the adjective participle of the intransitive verb (= "dead"); in others it is the verbal participle (= "died") and is normally conjugated with *haber*. *Estar muerto*, according to the grammarians, is said only of a person not yet buried (Salvá, p. 202: Maréca-Dubois, §262). I have not observed any transgression of this rule.

For convenience, examples with *estar* may be placed here.

Debía de estar ya muerta (Baroja, *Páginas escogidas*, p. 156). (Of a criminal about to be executed.)

Bien es verdad que ya estaba muerto para el mundo hacía muchos años (Cotarelo, *Tirso de Molina*, p. 75).

No puedo más. Estoy muerta (Galdós, *Bárbara*, III, 11).

Muere, muere para el mundo si quieres salvar el alma. — ¡Muerta estoy! murmuró Gloria en un gemido . . . (Galdós, *Gloria*, II, 67).

De hecho el rigorismo seudo clásico estaba muerto, y fué menester que Luzán . . . viniera a resucitarle (Menéndez Pelayo, *Ideas estéticas*, 2ª ed., III, 474).

Yo estaba muerto por tí, | mas no osaba declararme (Bretón, *Ella es él*, 2).

All of these cases show the adjective participle; in none is *estoy muerto* equal to *me han muerto*.

The exclamation "¡Muerto soy!", spoken by one just mortally injured, occurs often (e. g. Rivas, *Don Álvaro*, I, end; Bretón, *¿Quién es ella?*, II, 12). Three interpretations are possible; it may be the perfect of the intransitive verb (= *he muerto*, "I have died"); or the past participle may be regarded as from the transitive verb, in time prior to that of the auxiliary (= *me han muerto*, "they have killed me"); or we may regard the participle as an adjective (= *estoy muerto*, "I am dead").<sup>14</sup> If the second or third conception is the correct one, (and the third seems the most fit meaning) then *estar* should, regularly, be employed, and one must regard the phrase as an archaism. It occurs in earlier centuries (as, *La vida es sueño*, II, line 680; there plainly with adjective use).

*Remark: 2. Perdido*, in an archaic use with *ser*, is in a similar case with *muerto*. Thus:

¡Perdidos somos! (M. de la Rosa, *Conjuración de Venecia*, II, 4).

Somos perdidos. Estamos descubiertos. (Rivas, *Don Álvaro*, I, 7).

### III. *ESTAR*. (STATE.)

*A. Estar* is used with past participles of perfective verbs only, to denote a state. The past participle then has its true verbal meaning, and its time is usually prior to that of the auxiliary.

#### *Examples:*

La puerta está cerrada (= *Cerraron* or *Han cerrado la puerta*).

La casa estaba edificada en un cerro (= *Habían edificado la casa*).

Estos tres sujetos . . . aun pueden estar comprendidos en una sola substancia como partes del todo (Lenz, *La oración y sus partes*, p. 81).

Estás hecho un guapo mozo (R. Pérez de Ayala, *Belarmino y Apolonio*, p. 257).

Don Agustín será puesto al instante en libertad, si ya no lo está (Bretón, *La independencia*, IV, 3).

La Naturalcza visible está sentida y representada de un modo muy diverso que en sus relaciones de viajes . . . (Menéndez Pelayo, introd. to *Ave Maris Stella*, p. xxiv).

. . . siempre estaría legitimado su empleo [de la lengua arcaica] en un argumento del siglo XVII (*ibid.*).

<sup>14</sup> According to the rule given above, III, *SER*, *A*, *Remark*, *soy muerto* may not be the true passive in present time (= *me matan*, "they are killing me," "I am being killed").

Sólo hacía dos años que estaban casados (Palacio Valdés, *La alegría de capitán Ribot*, II).

Por la misma razón el papel de la gitana ha estado mal dado (Larra, criticism of *El Trovador*).

Yo no sé de qué materia estarán construidas las paredes de nuestras prisiones (Taboada, *Fugas*).

En grandes cuidados habrá estado puesta [esta costa] . . . (Escalante, *Ave Maris Stella*, p. 7).

*Remark: 1.* The *state* is often lasting, while the act (rendered with *ser*) is often, and indeed usually, transient.

*Remark: 2.* Maréca-Dubois (§259, 4º) gives the rule that *estar* is to be used when the verb cannot be turned into an active of the same tense: *La puerta está cerrada* does not equal *Cierran la puerta*. Cirot points out ("*Ser*" et "*estar*," 58-59) that while this test is a safe one for the exclusion of *ser*, *estar* must sometimes be employed when the same tense of the active voice would be obligatory. It is better to make *act* or *state* the criterion. Thus:

Los muebles de que está adornada la casa = los muebles que adornan la casa.

La parte de la izquierda está alumbrada por una lámpara. La claustra está bañada por la luz de la luna (Eguílaz, *El molinero de Subiza*, III, 1, stage direction).

*Remark: 3.* The agent may be expressed in this case as well as when *ser* is the auxiliary. This fact proves the verbal force of the past participle.

*Examples:*

Un elemento secundario puede estar acompañado de un elemento subordinado (Lenz, *La oración y sus partes*, p. 55).

Estaban invitados por el Gobernador y por don Baldomero (Benavente, *La gobernadora*, III, 4).

Antes de erigirse Castilla en estado independiente y soberano, estuvo regida por condes (Menéndez Pelayo, *Antol. de poetas líricos cast.* XI, 217).

*Exception:* An archaism is the set phrase *Esto es hecho*, found often; e. g. Bretón, *¿Quién es ella?* II, 4; López de Ayala, *Consuelo*, I, end, etc. The meaning is "It's all over," "The game is up," "I'm done for." In that sense the phrase was current in the seventeenth century: Rojas, *Entre bobos anda el juego*, I, line 396, *Esto es hecho*; *Del rey abajo ninguno*, II, line 1493, *Ya es hecho*; and the last words, according to tradition, of the Conde de Villamediana.

In modern Spanish, with the same meaning, the auxiliary is always *ser*. Examples have been given. When the exact wording is altered, or when the sense is more literal, *estar* appears nearly always.

Todo está hecho como lo mandasteis (Galdós, *Barbara*, IV, 5).

Está muy retebién hecho (*Doña Perfecta*, II).

Si usted tiene el resguardo aquí, con que lo endose a nombre de mi principal, está todo hecho (Pérez de Ayala, *La pata de la raposa*, p. 107).

Esto está muy mal hecho (*ibid.*, p. 290).

There are, however, a few cases of the archaic *ser* where the sense is literal.

Ya, pero eso es muy mal hecho (Trueba, *Lo que es poesía*, IV; *Cuentos campesinos*).

Pues eso es muy mal hecho (Larra, *Felipe*, I, 2).

And, with a curious anacoluthon:

La real orden, es bien hecho (Serra, *El amor y la gaceta*, III, 9).

*B.* As with *ser*, so with *estar*, the past participle at times, by barely perceptible stages, loses its verbal force and becomes to all intent an adjective.<sup>15</sup>

*Examples:*

All past participles which "no longer awaken the idea of the initial act" (Cirot), as *estar satisfecho, cansado, enamorado, helado*, etc.<sup>16</sup>

Verdad es que estás mal casado (Galdós, *Gloria*, I, 101).

Estaba muy reñida . . . la elección (*ibid.*, I, 125).

El divertirse honestamente en una verbena no está reñido con los mandamientos (Ricardo de la Vega, *La verbena de la paloma*, I; cf. "era tan reñido el empeño," under III, *SER*, *B.*).

Santiago estuvo largo tiempo embelesado en la contemplación de aquellos árboles (Trueba, *La resurrección del alma*, VI; *Cuentos de color de rosa*).

Desde entonces Andresillo está completamente desconocido [= "a different person"] (Trueba, *Juan Palomo*, IX; *Cuentos de color de rosa*).

<sup>15</sup> Cirot (*op. cit.*, 67-68) denies, in principle, that a past participle after *estar* may be assimilated to an adjective, and prefers to see a verbal use in all adjectives construed with *estar*. His reasoning appears to me oversubtle, and not confirmed by the facts. Most grammarians, as Maréca-Dubois, §259, take for granted the frequent adjectival use of the past participle with *estar*.

<sup>16</sup> As with *ser*, examples of past participles with active meaning could be multiplied, as *acertado, confiado, determinado, necesitado*, etc.



*Remark:* As with *ser*, the participle may take a superlative termination. I have no example in which the verbal force is clear.

Estoy cansadísimo de la vida de soltero (Pardo Bazán, *El tesoro de Gastén*, XII).

El paseo estaba animadísimo (Trigo, *La primera conquista*).

El lugar estaba animadísimo (*Pepita Jiménez*, ed. Heath, p. 102).

Hoy estás acertadísimo (Linares Rivas, *El abolengo*, II, 19).

... decidió que estaba justificadísimo el mandar que le hicieran media docena de camisas nuevas (Valera, *Juanita la larga*, VIII).

The distinction in use between *ser* and *estar* with past participles, and especially with adjectival past participles, constitutes one of the most delicate, untranslatable and often, to a foreigner, unexplainable points in the Spanish language. The attentive reader will not have failed to note that in many of the examples already given the reason for the author's choice of auxiliary is anything but clear. One may consult Hanssen, *La pasiva castellana*, and Cirot, *op. cit.*, 59-60 for further light. The former sees in the use of *ser* an expression of "permanent state" (p. 507): the latter, a stress laid upon the action.<sup>17</sup>

As with adjectives, examples may be found which seem to indicate merely a desire for variety. Thus:

Cada día come en una casa distinta. Es muy buscado y está convidado a las mejores mesas (Valera, *Genio y figura*, p. 204).

Why not *es* in both clauses? *Buscar* is imperfective, *convidar* perfective, but with either an habitual act should be expressed with *ser*.

<sup>17</sup> M. Cirot (*op. cit.*, p. 62) asserts that imperfective verbs may be conjugated with *estar* to denote "un état passif conçu comme nouveau par rapport à un état antérieur. 'À présent je suis connu à Madrid' se dira en espagnol 'Ahora estoy conocido en Madrid,' et de même il se présentera des cas où il faudra dire *estoy querido, estoy esperado*." I must say that I have found no clear example of an imperfective verb conjugated with *estar*, and that until convincing examples are offered, I doubt that a Spaniard would use the phrases cited. He would employ the verb in an active form—*me quieren, se me quiere*.

M. Cirot (p. 63) justly points out that the same concept (a passive state relatively novel) often explains the use of *estar* with a past participle where *ser* might be expected. See, e. g., the first sentence from Menéndez Pelayo under III, *ESTAR, A*.

C. Rare examples may be found of an intransitive verb conjugated with *estar*.

*Examples:*

Aquella cabeza de don Diego está ida (*Ave Maris Stella*, p. 302).

Este pescado está pasado (Larra, *El castellano viejo*).

Cuando está subido en una escalera vienen a llamarlo (Azorín, *Antonio Azorín*, X).

D. Certain adjectives which, from their nature, denote a state, are almost always construed with *estar*, and that even though the state be lasting or permanent. Such are *conforme*, *contento*, *despierto*, *harto*, *junto*, *lleno*, *solo*, *tranquilo*, and their opposites where such exist. This usage can hardly be called logical, for there is no obvious reason why *contento* should demand *estar*, and *feliz*, *ser*. No sufficient historical ground is apparent; to say that contentment is less bound up with a person's character than happiness is a quibble. It is nearer the truth to say that to the Spanish mind these words connote accidental state, not inherence.

Ordinary examples will occur to anyone, and need not be cited. Important, but naturally more rare, are cases where permanence is expressed or implied. Sr. Andrade gives: Los santos estarán contentos por toda una eternidad. Equally clear is the following:

— ¿Estamos en efecto solos? — Solos. ¡Ay, si pudiéramos estar así toda la vida! (Galdós, *Gloria*, II, 346).

*Implied:*

Las crónicas y la historia están llenas de los milagros que ha hecho (*Doña Perfecta*, IX).

Las palabras de los gentiles . . . interiormente están vacías de virtud y sabiduría (Ménendez Pelayo, *Ideas estét.* I<sup>o</sup>, 38).

¡Esto de que en el mundo no ha de estar nadie contento de su suerte (Tamayo, *Un drama nuevo*, I, 1).

*Exceptions:* In this: Metiéronse en el primer vagón que vieron, sin pensar en buscar un departamento donde fuesen solos (Pardo Bazán, *Temprano y con sol*), we are probably dealing with a tense of the verb *ir*. Another example shows *solo* in the meaning "without a rival." . . . un favorito |que en la dicha y el poder |solo ambicionaba ser (Sanz, *Don Francisco de Quevedo*, II. 1693-95).

Prof. A. L. Owen (*Hispania*, Calif., VI, 1923, pp. 73-74) calls attention to Valle-Inclán's archaic style, as shown, for example, in the use of *ser* for *estar*. Thus:

[Ella] era llena de gentileza, con movimientos de pájaro. *Sonata de primavera*, p. 202).

But where the state is plainly temporary, he uses *estar*.

Los ojos del prelado estaban llenos de lágrimas (*ibid.*, p. 40).

See also the sentence quoted in note 5.

Los niños son despiertos de espíritu (Valdés, *José*, 1).

shows the adjective used in a metaphorical sense.

The Academy grammar (§199,b) gives *soy contento* as an archaism in current use. I have noted no example of it.

#### IV. (CONCEPT — PERCEPTION).

In his article already named, Sr. Andrade sets forth the following theory: "The basis of distinction . . . is that *ESTAR* is associated with the characteristic feelings which attend immediate perceptions and their representations, while *SER* is likewise related to concepts and judgments. According to William James, 'Remembrance is like direct feeling; its object is suffused with a warmth and intimacy to which no object of mere conception ever attains.' This 'warmth and intimacy' finds expression in *ESTAR*, and the colder logical relations, in *SER*. Thus we may account for their difference in affective elements. There is also a difference in their ideational elements. *SER* is well-nigh void of image contents, while *ESTAR* preserves much of the original meaning of *stand*, taking stand in its abstract sense of existing in a particular place or condition."

These words are stimulating. There can be no doubt that in many cases *estar* does connote sensory perception, but it appears to me a secondary, not a primary, characteristic. Of the examples given by Sr. Andrade I do not find any which demand his interpretation in order to be explained. "¡Qué buenas están estas peras!" expresses, not the idea 'that I have tasted them before,' as he indicates, but the idea that they have been before in a different condition, and may soon change. "Yo era muy

delgado cuando niño," equals "El niño, que era yo, era (un niño) muy delgado." Such a sentence connotes appearance just as much as it does temporary condition, no less. The truth is that it connotes neither. It declares a fact which was permanent so far as that child was concerned.

On the other hand, many cases are not made clearer by the "perception-concept" antithesis. "Ya está casada su hija" does not mean that his daughter either feels or appears married, but that she has recently entered that state, which is new to her. Any state is just as much a concept as is an act, and just as much (and no more) an object of perception.

Whatever principle one adopts to explain idiomatic uses, a certain amount of subtlety—or sophistry, as the reader chooses—is needed to interpret them. I cannot see that a less degree is demanded in order to interpret the practical rules given by Sr. Andrade on p. 23 of his article in the light of "perception-concept" than in the light of "temporary-permanent" or "state-act."

#### V. (INDIFFERENT USE.)

Are there any cases in which *ser* and *estar* may be used interchangeably, with practically no difference of meaning? Foulché-Delbosc<sup>18</sup> declares that there are, but the only example which he gives is "ser, estar del mismo parecer," "et dans d'autres analogues." But Salvá (p. 201) cites *Yo soi de tal parecer* and *Estoi de tal parecer* among examples giving evidence of non-state and state. On p. 202 Salvá does declare that "a veces apenas hacemos alto en si aplicamos o no la idea de estado a la expresión; por lo que decimos indistintamente, *Eso está*, o, *es claro*, para manifestar la evidencia de una cosa." He presents no other example of a phrase in which either verb may be used without distinction. De Arteaga (p. 34) adds *es visto* or *está visto*. Cirot, however, (p. 60) indicates that *es visto* means "on voit" ["it is evident"], while *está visto*, in one instance at least, equals "voilà une affaire entendue" ["I see their game"].

Other words which ought to be considered in this connection are *seguro*, *libre*, *bien* and *loco*. I shall present examples of each, arranged, when it seems advisable, in parallel pairs.

<sup>18</sup> *Grammaire espagnole*, Paris, 1889, §452.

## DE PARECER

This phrase seems to have been almost entirely supplanted in modern Spanish by others of similar import. The reading of many thousand pages has yielded only the following, all with *ser*.

... un caballerete fué de parecer de que ... (Larra, *Modos de vivir que no dan de vivir*).

Él es de parecer que alguna vez se ha de decir que ... (*Ave Maris Stella*, p. 216).

Francisco, soy de parecer que ... (*ibid.*, p. 306).

[mi primo] era de parecer que [yo] no fuera a América. (Baroja, *La Ciudad de la niebla*, p. 128).

Felicita era de opinión que ... (R. Pérez de Ayala, *Belarmino y Apolonio* p. 261).

No soy de la opinión de usted (Trueba, *Juan Palomo*, III; *Cuentos de color de rosa*).

Ni Percopo ... ni tampoco B. Croce son de esa opinión (Menéndez Pelayo, *Tratado de los romances viejos*, II, 311).

The seventeenth century, on the other hand, is richer, no difference in meaning between *ser* and *estar* being apparent.

De esse parecer estoy, *La verdad sospechosa*, III, line 2212.

Mas, si conmigo partiera, | de parecer, prima, soy | que, pues yo de negro voy, | de color no se vistiera (*Las paredes oyen*, I, line 549).

## CLARO

Don Cipriano venía, claro es, a saludar al señorito (Pardo Bazán, *El tesoro de Gastón*, VI).

Estos cirios eran, claro está, mis compañeros (R. Pérez de Ayala, *Belarmino y Apolonio*, p. 244).

¿Es esto claro? (*ibid.*, p. 170).

¿Está claro esto? (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero*, p. 86).

Si se cruza usted de brazos, claro es que acabarán por llevárselo todo (Pardo Bazán, *El tesoro de Gastón*, XI).

¡Una carta! Claro está

que debe ser para mí

cuando la ponen allí.

¡Es claro! (E. Blasco, *Moros en la costa*, 6).

¡Claro está! exclamaron todos los vecinos (Trueba, *El primer pecado*, X; *Narr. pop.*).

Claro es que algunas veces me equivoco (Galdós, *La estafeta romántica*, p. 164).

Si son cien personas las que cada día vienen a la iglesia ... , claro está que la pérdida de todos es de cincuenta horas al día (Trueba, *El cura nuevo*, III; *Narr. pop.*).

La cosa era bien clara (Galdós, *Realidad*, (drama) II, 4).

No estaba muy clara la estirpe canina de Azor (Pérez de Ayala, *La pala de la raposa*, p. 46).

Seamos claros (*ibid.*, p. 162).

These typical examples, selected from many, show no appreciable distinction in use between the two verbs. Only the last case, where *claro* means "plainspoken," would not admit of *estar*. It is also the only case with sentient subject.

### VISTO (impersonal use)

Aquí Bello innova, pues es visto que el uso uniforme no sanciona su regla (M. Fidel Suárez, *Estudios gramaticales*, Madrid, 1885, p. 361).

Ya está visto que la forma *hube cantado* . . . denota anterioridad inmediata (*ibid.*, p. 218).

Es visto que *todo*, sustantivo, significa *toda cosa* o *todas las cosas* (Bello *Gramática*, §354).

Pues, señor, está visto que no se puede dormir (Vital Aza, *Parada y fonda*, 12).

Está visto que mi sistema es bueno, y no hay más que seguirlo (Hartzenbusch, *Juan de las Viñas*, I, 4., end).

It appears that both *es visto* and *está visto* may usually be translated "it is evident, plain." Sometimes, not always, *está visto* carries in addition the implication that the matter in question has already been discussed and settled.

### SEGURO

#### 1. With *ser* and non-sentient subject.

Es seguro que ahora se repondrá en breve tiempo (*Gloria*, II, 244).

¡Ah! ¡La calumnia es segura: | va derecho al corazón! (Echegaray, *El gran galco*, 1, end).

. . . cuando el triunfo es ya seguro (Eguílaz, *El salto del pasiego*, II, 9).

Esta hipótesis es posible, pero no es segura (Hanssen, *La pasiva castellana*, p. 107, n. 1).

Esta repetición es muy segura: como que costó seis mil reales (Trueba, *La obligación*, IV; *Cuentos populares*).

. . . y hacer que los caminos del mundo . . . sean libres y seguros para todas las gentes de bien (Periodical: *España*, Nov. 10, 1923).

#### 2. With *estar* and non-sentient subject.

Como el pueblo no eche a andar, | seguro está que él se mueva (Javier de Burgos, *La boronda*, 3).

Si alguien viene a verla, seguro está que ella no lo insulte y lo haga salir a espetaperros por las escaleras (Quinteros, *Doña Clarines*, I<sup>9</sup>).

La vida de mi señor no está segura (*Los intereses creados*, II, 3).

La cabeza de don Lorenzo no está segura [=D. Lorenzo's mind is shaky] (Echegaray, *O locura o sanidad*, II, 2).

Como [la estantería] no estaba muy segura, solían caerse los estantes (Baroja, *Pág. escogidas*, p. 68).

El viento arrancando todas las tejas que no estaban seguras . . . (*Gloria*, I, 88).

### 3. With *estar* and sentient subject.

Caramba, palsa, ¿estaremos seguros? [=“Are our lives safe?”] (Ramón Armada, in *España*).

Mientras Inés esté aquí, | segura está, don Gonzalo (*Don Juan Tenorio*, III, 8).

. . . gracias a que estamos seguros de que tenemos siempre una cama, aunque dura (*Belarmino y Apolonio*, p. 138).

Escapamos sólo para estar seguros de casarnos, padre (*ibid.*, p. 220).

¿Estás segura de que nadie nos oye? (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero* p. 104).

Si estás segura de ti misma, como dices . . . (*La pata de la raposa*, p. 359).

From these examples I conclude that in group 1 *seguro* has the meaning “certain (assured, unerring),” “safe (not dangerous),” or “reliable”; in group 2, “safe (protected)” or “firm”; only in the idiomatic impersonal use does it mean “certain (assured),” and then with an implication precisely the opposite of *es seguro*; in group 3, it means “safe (protected)” or “certain (assured, positive, confident).” I have found no example of *ser seguro* with sentient subject, and hence, of the examples in hand, there is not one in which the auxiliaries are interchangeable.

Most of the distinctions in sense can be traced to the principle of inherence *vs.* accidentality.

## LIBRE

### 1. With *ser* and non-sentient subject.

¿No tiene usted mil pruebas de que mi corazón es libre? (Hartzenbusch, *La coga y el encogido*, I, 6).

<sup>19</sup> *Seguro está*, impersonal, has always an ironic sense, and in practice one supplies a *no* in the dependent clause; or, when one is found there, it is cancelled. See Bello-Cuervo, §1141, and Hanssen, *Gramática*, §644.

Allí era enteramente libre el ejercicio de la medicina (Trueba, *Tragaldabas*, III; *Narr. pop.*).

... y hacer que los caminos del mundo ... sean libres y seguros para todas las gentes de bien (Periodical: *España*, Nov. 10, 1923).

No siempre la voluntad | es libre (Bretón, *La batelera de Pasajes*, II, 9).

## 2. With *ser* and sentient subject.

Pero si Dios ha querido ya que [ella] sea libre ... (her husband has just been reported dead) (Galdós-Quinteros, *Antón Caballero*, p. 41).

Mi mujer ha muerto. Soy libre (Galdós, *Realidad* (drama), V, 4).

El plazo de mi compromiso con el Rey de Sicilia ha espirado ya. Desde ayer soy libre (Galdós, *Bárbara*, II, 4).

Si en eso solo consiste, | yo la [multa] pago. Libres sean (Bretón, *A Madrid me vuelvo*, II, 4).

Ella es libre [= "not engaged to be married"] (Javier de Burgos, *Los valientes*, 10).

Todos somos libres [= "free to do as we like"] (Baroja, *Pág. esc.* p. 173).

Pero soy libre | y fuerte para vengarme (*El trovador*, IV, 8).

Supongo que seré libre de escoger mis amistades (Linares Rivas, *El abuelo*, I, 3).

El inquilino es libre para pagar o no (Frontaura, *Las tiendas. Café*).

Soy libre para pensar como pienso (Ganivet, *Cartas finlandesas*, I).

Libre es usted, y yo también lo soy de querer a quien se nos antoje (Valera *Genio y figura*, XIX).

## 3. With *estar* and sentient subject.

Estamos libres. *El trovador*, III, 7).

Aquí estás libre | de esas incomodidades (Bretón, *A Madrid me vuelvo*, I, 4).

¿Quién en este mundo está libre de una mala lengua y de un testigo falso? (Valera, *Juanita la larga*, II).

[Nadie] está libre de que alguno le calumnie (Trueba, *La yesca*, IV; *Narr. pop.*).

Las personas francas están libres de estos malos pensamientos (Taboada, *Los desesperados*).

These examples show that in the sense "not captive," "disengaged", *libre* is construed with either verb, the distinction being slight or none.<sup>20</sup> With personal subject, "to be at liberty (to do)" is rendered by *ser libre*, followed by either *de* or *para*. "Exempt from" or "rid of" is *estar libre de*.

<sup>20</sup> Hills and Ford, *A Spanish Grammar*, §46, indicate that the meaning "disengaged" is always to be rendered with *estar*. They give *ahora estoy libre* as an example. But the cases I have cited from *Bárbara* and *Los valientes* prove that their statement is not entirely correct.



I have noted no instance of *estar libre* with non-sentient subject. It is probable that such exist, *libre* having the meaning "not occupied," "to let," of a room or cab.

### BIEN (impersonal use)

#### 1. With *ser*.

Bien es que se le estimule mediante el interés personal (Ganivet, *Idearium*, p. 120).

No es bien que yo me muera (Galdós, *La estafeta romántica*, p. 243).

No es bien malgastar el tiempo (Tamayo, *Un drama nuevo*, I, 1).

#### 2. With *estar*.

Está bien [= All right].

Y como no está bien que yo trate con hombres indignos, me marchó (Galdós, *Realidad*, II, 9).

No está bien que en mes y medio haya habido trece evasiones y dos conatos (Taboada, *Fugas*).

Ha estado bien no decir la historia del disfraz allá en la sacristía (Valle-Inclán, *Sonata de invierno*, p. 50).

Here we find that at times the two usages run close together in meaning; yet one can say that *es bien* means "it is right," and *está bien*, "it looks well," "it is proper." *Es bien* is never used without a following clause.

### Loco

#### 1. With *ser*.

¡Qué loco eres! (Pérez de Ayala, *La pala de la raposa*, p. 97).

¡Eres loco! (Eus. Blasco, *Moros en la costa*, 7).

¡Loca, mil veces loca soy! (Galdós, *Gloria*, I, 81).

No ser loco, no ser loco, joven (Valdés, *El idilio de un enfermo*, p. 17).

The meaning in all these cases is "foolish," "silly."

#### 2. With *estar*, in literal sense ("mad," "crazy").

Dice el mundo que estoy loca,

y es el mundo quien lo está (Eguílaz, *El salto del pasiego*, III, 5).

Ese hombre desarrapado está tan loco como el zapatero (Belarmino y Apolonio, p. 188).

Doña Clarines está loca; doña Clarines está como un cencerro (Quinteros, *Doña Clarines*, I).

¡Yo estoy loca! No sé lo que digo ni lo que pienso (*Realidad*, V, 3), Etc., etc.

3. With *estar* in figurative sense ("wild," "frantic," "infatuated").

¡Yo estoy loca de alegría (Vital Aza, *La marquesita*, 18).

Están locas con ese drama (*La estafeta romántica*, p. 39).

¿No ves que estoy loca, loca de felicidad? (*La pata de la raposa*, p. 332).

Es tonto, perdido, feo; y sin embargo estoy loca por él (*Realidad* II, 5.) Etc., etc.

The rare examples with *ser* show only a figurative sense. *Estar loco* admits of both literal and figurative meanings, but the latter are not the same as those with *ser*. The verbs are never interchangeable.

It seems probable that to a Spaniard no one of these words conveys exactly the same mental image when used with one verb as with the other. But as nearly as one can compass the distinction by means of verbal definition, there are cases, as pointed out above, of indifferent use.

### CONCLUSIONS

No one underlying principle suffices to explain all the uses of *ser* and *estar*. Usually, however, the contrast is between durative and transitory, or between act and state. *Estar* possesses in addition its proper and original sense, of location. The conceptual and perceptual undoubtedly enter in as secondary connotations.

Emphasis is laid now on one point of view, now on another. In some uses two ideas coalesce. Some examples are quite idiomatic and without rational explanation. Language is a creature of feeling, not of reason.

Since the seventeenth century, as before it, *estar* has invaded the field once held by *ser*, and there is reason to believe that the invasion has not entirely stopped.

The possession and current use of two verbs "to be" undoubtedly confers on the Spanish language a delicacy and variety of expression superior, in this particular respect, to that of other tongues. It is a genuine asset. Obviously, only the closest study and wide reading can allow a foreigner to approach a native in ability to catch the shades of meaning.

In the reluctance of the language to subject itself to fixed rules, in its responsiveness to individual feeling, one may see illustrated

what is in fact the characteristic feature of Spanish syntax as compared with the other major Romance tongues. In the latter it is possible generally to formulate exact rules of usage, which may serve as definite guides to the learner. The student of French, for example, is told that *avant que*, *bien que*, *quoique*, are always followed by the subjunctive; but in Spanish one must be content with saying that *aunque*, *antes que*, and other conjunctions take the subjunctive under such and such conditions, a variable factor.

This freedom from restraint may perhaps, without too great forcing, be taken to typify in turn the racial independence of the Spanish people. The untrammelled exuberance of the literature, the variety of lyric meters employed in the national drama, the disinclination of the Spanish author to employ the file of autocriticism, all exemplify, as well as the licenses of Spanish syntax, the same individualism, the same resentment of restraint, which is the well recognized dominant trait of the Spanish nature.

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY

## XXVI. A NOTE ON PETERLOO

Since reading Professor A. Stanley Walker's article in the *March Publications* on "Peterloo, Shelley and Reform,"<sup>1</sup> I have come across a somewhat similar article by F. A. Bruton, M.A., Litt.D., "The Story of Peterloo,"<sup>2</sup> to which Mr. Walker makes no reference. Dr. Bruton writes in general from the point of view of the historian and in particular from the point of view of a citizen of Manchester. He draws material from several contemporary sources to which Mr. Walker does not direct us; and his narrative is illustrated with several portraits and contemporary prints and has, moreover, a valuable "Plan of Peterloo" which makes clear the position of the crowd and the disposition of the military forces. The effect of the "Peterloo Massacre" on Shelley does not, however, fall within the scope of Dr. Bruton's paper. Hence it does not anticipate or render nugatory the results of Mr. Walker's inquiries but is, rather, a parallel discussion along somewhat different lines. Students of Shelley will find the article of interest. It may be added that Dr. Bruton's paper was originally delivered as a lecture at the University of Manchester on the occasion of the centenary of the Massacre, August 16th, 1919.

SAMUEL C. CHEW

<sup>1</sup> *P.M.L.A.* XL, 128-64.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester*, V (April-Nov. 1919), 254-95.

## REGULATIONS ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting are expected to prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical treatises may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten minutes. The papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than twenty (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not, shall submit to the Secretary, by November 1, with its title, a typewritten synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the programme.

3. The Secretary shall select the programme from the papers thus offered trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

4. The question of publication is to be decided for each paper on its merits as a contribution to science, without regard to the form in which it has been presented at the meeting.

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The next annual meeting of the Modern Language Association  
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XXVII. BEAUMANOIR AND FIFTEENTH-CENTURY  
POLITICAL ETHICS

"La pitié est souvent un sentiment de nos propres maux dans les  
yeux d'autrui."—La Rochefaucauld, *Maximes*.

"Le meilleur serait de prendre conseil de la raison."

Pascal, *Lettres Prov.* 9.

Philippe de Rémi, Sieur de Beaumanoir, of Clermont County in Picardy, author of narrative and lyrical Poems, and of the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, though scarcely among the inédit,<sup>1</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the notice by G. Lamoureux in Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, Nouv. Ed., Tome III, p. 394:

Beaumanoir, (Philippe de), chevalier, l'un des plus anciens jurisconsultes français, naquit dans le Beauvaisis, vers le milieu du 13<sup>me</sup> siècle.

St. Louis, ayant fait don à Robert son cinquième fils, du comté de Clermont, celui-ci choisit Beaumanoir pour conseiller et bailli; et ce fut ainsi qu'on le vit remplissant pour ce prince la charge de chef de la justice dans ses domaines, se transporter successivement où il en était besoin, et présider les plaids de Clermont en 1280, et ceux de Vermandois en 1283. Il devint bailli de ce dernier comté en 1289; et ce fut alors qu'il entreprit le voyage de Rome par ordre du roi. Il mourut en 1296. *Les Coutumes de Beauvaisis* recueillies par li en 1283, sont le monument le plus précieux de notre ancien droit. . . . Beaumanoir a ressemblé presque toutes les lois qui régissent les hommes et le territoire. On y trouve jusqu'à des réglemens qui depuis ont formé la matière de la branche de l'administration appelée police. . . . L'auteur de l'*Esprit de Lois* (Montesquieu) a dit qu'on doit regarder Beaumanoir comme *la lumière de ce temps-là et une grande lumière*. (liv. 28, chap. 45). . . . Les historiens français et anglais, Robertson, Stuart, Hallam, etc. qui ont tracé le tableau des progrès de la société en Europe, s'aident à chaque pas du témoignage du Bailli de Clermont.

Mais l'honneur de le mettre au jour était réservé à Thaumac de la Thaumassière, qui, ayant eu communication de trois manuscrits, dont l'un appartenait à Colbert fit paraître une excellente édition du texte avec des notes, des observations, etc. . . . Bourges et Paris, 1690. Cf. too, *Nouvelle Biog. Univ.* 1853, T. IV, col. 940.)

still little known to general literary history. He is, as his first modern editor, the Count Beugnot, quoted from Nicolle, of those "qui laissent des traces et savent ce qu'ils manient." As Beugnot adds, "le sillon qu'il a creusé dans la jurisprudence française, pour ne pas être visible à tous les yeux, n'en a pas eu moins de profondeur."

It seems possible that what Beugnot says of French jurisprudence may be true also of the somewhat large division of French literature in which political ethics of Classic stamp is a chief preoccupation. The *Livre de Policie* of Christine de Pisan, with the other works of the early fifteenth century that influenced it or that were influenced by it, seems especially likely to have found some of its form and spirit in the *Coutumes*. Whether or not the relation is direct, or due to a general Renaissance<sup>2</sup> atmosphere prevailing, with temperaments somewhat

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This edition of Thaumassière has not been regarded in the last century as a good one. In 1840 appeared that of Beugnot, (*Collection des Textes pour servir à l'Etude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire*. This, in turn, has been followed by that of A. Salmon, Tome I, and Tome II, A. Picard, 1900. The poems were edited by Hermann Suchier, *Les Œuvres Poétiques de Beaumanoir* (S. A. T. F.), 1884-85.

Bordier, (Introduction, p. 28) estime qu'il a visité l'Angleterre et l'Ecosse de 1261-65, et M. Suchier a fortifié cette conjecture par des raisons tirées du thème de la *Manekine* et du conseil qu'il donne aux jeunes gens en *Jehan et Blonde*, de s'expatrier.

Cf. Suchier's Introduction, p. xiii.

*Mout petit sai de clergie*

*Ne onques mais rime ne fis.*

Suchier lists the works as follows: *La Manekine*; *Jehan de Dammartin et Blonde d'Oxford*; *Salut d'Amours*; *Conte d'amour*; *Conte de fol largece*; *Falrasies*; *Lai d'amours*; *Ave-Maria*, *Salut*; *Coutumes du Comté de Clermont en Beauvoisis*.

<sup>2</sup> Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, Liv. XXVIII. Chap. XLV, *Des coutumes de France*, par. 3:

Sous le regne de S. Louis & les suivans, des praticiens habiles, tels que Défontaines, Beaumanoir & autres, rédigerent par écrit les coutumes de leurs bailliages. Leur objet étoit plutôt de donner une pratique judiciaire, que les usages de leur temps sur la disposition des biens. Mais tout s'y trouve; & quoique ces auteurs particuliers n'eussent d'autorité que par la vérité & la publicité des choses qu'ils disoient, on ne peut douter qu'elles n'aient beaucoup servi à la renaissance de notre droit François. Tel étoit, dans ces temps-là, notre droit coutumier écrit. . . .

Quoique le droit coutumier soit regardé parmi nous comme contenant une espece d'opposition avec le droit Romain, de sorte que ces deux droits divisent les territoires; il est pourtant vrai que plusieurs dispositions du droit Romain

resembling, in the thirteenth century jurist and the fifteenth century court tutor, the constant repetition with both of the word, and sense of, the *commun proufit* seems of some significance.

There may be in all this type of idealistic discourse a certain tendency to see *en beau*. The same mood perhaps survives with Beaumanoir in the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, as with Christine in the *Vision*, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, and the prose works of Robert Ciboule. But if idealistic in temper this polity is not Utopian. Its genuinely Classic prototype is possibly the Economy of Zenophon.<sup>2</sup> Its positive and practical simplicity

sont entrées dans nos coutumes, sur-tout lorsqu'on en fit de nouvelles rédactions, dans des temps qui ne sont pas fort éloignés des nôtres, où ce droit étoit l'objet des connoissances de tous ceux qui se destinoient aux emplois civils; dans des temps où l'on ne faisoit pas gloire d'ignorer ce que l'on doit savoir, & de savoir ce que l'on doit ignorer; où la facilité de l'esprit servoit plus à apprendre sa profession, qu'à la faire; & où les amusemens continuels n'étoient pas même l'attribut des femmes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., too, the chapter, "L'Evolution politique d'Athènes" in *Les Démocraties antiques* of M. A. Croiset, p. 53:

"Solon avoit raison de dire, dans de beaux vers conservés par Aristote:

J'ai donné au peuple le pouvoir qui convenait, sans attenter à sa dignité ni l'étendre à l'excès. Quant à ceux qui détenaient la puissance et brillaient par leurs richesses, j'ai pris soin qu'ils ne souffrissent rien non plus qui fut contraire à l'équité. Sur les uns comme sur les autres, j'ai étendu l'abri d'un bouclier puissant, et je n'ai permis à aucun des deux partis de triompher contrairement à la justice.

Ou encore:

J'ai écrit mes lois pour le pauvre et pour le riche fixant à chacun une règle droite et juste. . . .

Entre les deux fronts de bataille, je me suis tenu comme une borne infranchissable."

It might indeed be said of the constitutional tendencies of St. Louis, Philippe-Auguste, and of Charles V what M. Croiset says of the constitution of Athens under Pisistratus:

Pisistrate mit tout le monde d'accord en s'emparant du pouvoir, et le rêve, un instant entrevu, d'une cité à la fois libre et disciplinée, se dissipa brusquement pour ne reprendre sa force efficace que longtemps après sous une forme d'ailleurs assez différente.

Cf., too, in the "Conclusion" of M. Croiset's book, (p. 333):

La "vertu" d'une cité, suivant Aristote encore, consiste dans la recherche intelligente et active du bien public; non du bien de quelques-uns, ni même du bien des plus nombreux au détriment de la minorité, mais du plus grand bien possible pour tous les citoyens. C'est là ce que Platon appelle la "justice," et c'est ce que nous nommons aujourd'hui la "solidarité." Cette vertu est la loi suprême de tous les gouvernements.

recalls the modern description prefixed in 1915 for the San Francisco Exposition by Lucien Poincaré to the volume, *La Science Française*, which is itself a kind of modern parallel:

La Science française se pourrait se comparer à ces monuments grecs, dont les lignes hardies et sûres excitent l'admiration par leur fermeté gracieuse et leur pureté élégante; rien d'inutile, rien de disproportionné; tout est simple, tout est intelligible, et les éléments donnent, par leur harmonieux assemblage, l'impression d'une chose solide et voisine de la perfection. . . . Elle a le goût du général, mais elle sait que ce qui est nuageux et obscur n'est pas nécessairement profond, elle reste sage et prudente dans ses conclusions; la modération et la modestie lui plaisent et ajoutent encore à sa force; elle n'a pas l'outrecuidante pensée qu'elle connaît tout et qu'elle a le droit de s'imposer même par violence. . . .

Comme telle autre elle pourrait accumuler les faits, les cataloguer, les réunir, mais elle ne saurait se contenter d'une telle besogne et elle veut trouver au milieu de la gangue le métal fin qu'il convient de travailler, et par une habile présentation elle le fait briller en pleine valeur. . . . Le souci qu'elle a de la forme est-il vraiment le signe qu'elle n'attache pas assez au fond? Il semble bien, au contraire, que ce besoin impérieux de ne rester dans le vague, et cette obligation d'arriver à une exposition nette et précise, entraînent la nécessité d'entrer très profondément dans le sujet pour y asseoir solidement la construction que l'on veut édifier.

There is a Classic openness of composition about these ethico-political essays, which if visibly and confessedly Ciceronian in the fifteenth century, has in the thirteenth a curious sort of general Classical reminiscence.

If a kind of "Pagan blitheness," similar to the tone of the Goliardic lyrics, runs through the poetic tales of Beaumanoir the direct Classic reminiscence is stronger and more definite in the *Coutumes*. Here it has a touch of the sort of imaginative archaeology sometimes labelled "romantic" and modern, never perhaps quite lacking to the minds that had visually before them the Roman roads that

. . . . Julien César fit fere, et cil quemin furent fet a droite lingne, es liex ou ligne se pooit porter sans empeequement de tres grant montaignes de rivières ou de mares et de soixante quatre piés de largue. Et le cause por qui il furent fet si large doit estre entendu que toutes cozes terriennes et vivans, dont hons et feme doivent vivre, y puissent estre menées et portées, et cascuns aler et venir et soi porveier de toz ses aismens en la larguece de quemin, et par chastiax porcacier ses besongnes (Chap. XXV, ed. Beugnot, I, 356).

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Cf., too, page 104, of M. Croiset's book, as to the *Republic of Athens* preserved under the name of Zenophon, the work of an "aristocrate inconnu," itself a close parallel of the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*.

With this romantic Classic imagination goes, however, the bonhomie that we are apt to call peculiarly Christian and mediaeval, though its modern equivalent of genuine and dominant modesty would not be looked for in vain in modern France:

Tout soit-il ainsi que il n'ait pas en noz toutes les graces qui doivent estre en homme qui s'entremet de baillie, por ce ne lairon noz pas a traitier premiers en cest capitre de l'estat et de l'office as baillis, et dirons briement une partie des vertus qu'ils doivent avoir, et comment ils se doivent maintenir si que cil qui s'entremetront de l'office y puissent aprendre aucun exemple. Il noz est avis que cil veut estre loiax baillis et droituriers doit avoir en li dix vertus, esqueles, l'une est et doit estre dame et maistresse de toutes les autres vertus governés, et cele vertus est appelée sapience, qui vaut autant comme estre sages. Donques disons noz que cil qui s'entremet de baillie garder et de justice fere, doit estre sages ne autrement il ne saroit pas fere ce qui appartient a l'office de bailli.

To the loyal modesty of his self-estimation corresponds his idea of the French monarchy represented by a King who is a "Saint" as Charles V will be a "Sage" for the writers of his entourage.

But when Beaumanoir proclaims with brevity "que le roi peut faire tels establissemens, comme il lui plaist, pour le commun pourfit, et cela d'une manière obligatoire," he is not only, as Du Cange wrote in 1668, treating "plus clairement qu'en nul autre, des véritables maximes de notre droit coutumier et de l'ancien ordre des procédures judiciaires," he is also defining the long tradition from the Codes of Ulpian and Justinian of the royal power transmitted from the people to the Prince. This is essentially the mystic idea of the *Commande* which Jean of Arc in her generation will interpret to and for the Dauphin.

As Viollet puts it,—

Les écrivains les plus instruits connaissent les Institutes et le Digeste, et c'est de là qu'ils tiraient le principe de la puissance absolue du roi: présent funeste de la renaissance des études de droit romain. Mais ceux qui étaient doués d'un esprit exact et d'une bonne mémoire avaient soin de rappeler, après Ulpian et Justinien, que le pouvoir législatif du prince lui avait été transmis par le peuple. . . . Saint Thomas,<sup>4</sup> toujours solide . . . connaît la fiction, mais il

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Le Christianisme médiéval et moderne*: Charles Guignebert, Bibliothèque de philosophie scientifique, Paris, 1922, p. 76:

La principale originalité de saint Thomas réside précisément dans l'adresse avec laquelle il a opéré sa synthèse de doctrines souvent divergentes et en a fait un système d'apparence cohérente.

n'a pas peur de la réalité . . . . Il reconnaît et il attribue le pouvoir et l'activité législatif, ici au peuple, si le peuple exerce directement ses droits, là au prince en tant que procureur et représentant du peuple.<sup>6</sup>

The immediate action of this transmitted royal power in Beaumanoir's generation was the creation of the bailiffs "en cascune bone vile, là ù on tient assize, a deux prodomes eslis por oir les marciés et les convenances dont on veut avoir letres de baill lie." (Tome I, ch. XIV.) As M. Henri Pirenne describes the new office in his *Anciennes Démocraties des Pays-Bas*, (p. 93) "le bailli n'a plus rien de féodal". . . "Entre le bailli et les échevins, le contraste est éclatant. Ceux-ci sont les représentants de la commune, celui-là est l'instrument du prince." As such the bailiffs pass naturally into such general advisers as Charles le Sage placed about him in the *gens de lettres*.

In the case of Beaumanoir and this group the poetry is a point of fairly close resemblance in its special note of somewhat positive idealization. The novels in verse have a tang of observation. The ethical abstractions that haunt Beaumanoir's more lyrical productions:—Loialté, Franchise, Debonaireté, Sens, Pitié, et Espérance, join hands with Alain Chartier's eloquent conversationalists of the *Quadrilogue invective*, by more than the common relation to the *Romance of the Rose*. Whether or not these figures are found insipid, relatively, may depend on our bringing to bear upon them a criticism somewhat less prim or prejudiced than allegory in the Middle Ages has latterly tended to receive. Like allegorical sculptured figures of the time the literary abstractions vary enormously.

Beaumanoir, like Christine de Pisan and Alain Chartier, in their praise of their beloveds, the King or of the popular ideals of the time, has more than a touch of the mental self-portraiture

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p. 77: La scholastique procède de cette conviction, très moderne en effet, que la raison a des droits partout et qu'il n'est aucune affirmation, pour si autorisée qu'elle se dise et paraisse, qui soit dispensée de subir l'examen de la connaissance humaine. Aujourd'hui que le thomisme se présente comme l'obstacle au progrès de l'esprit moderne dans l'Eglise, nous avons du mal à nous représenter qu'il a été en son temps un *modernisme* et toute la scholastique avec lui. C'est pourtant un effort tout moderniste que celui qui cherche à concilier la culture philosophique et scientifique de l'époque où il se développe avec la foi que la tradition du passé lui impose.

<sup>6</sup> *Histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France*, II, 227

which is so often, curiously, the unconscious work of the generous idealist:

A tant, bele, tres douce amée,  
Cent mile fois douce clamée,  
*Courtoise et sage, pure et fine.*

In the *Coutumes* de Clermont, the abstractions begin it and the first of the virtues is considered just after the Prologue, which is a kind of layman's summary of the just beginning Victorine, or French Augustinian, doctrine:

La grans esperance que nous avons de l'ayde celi par qui toutes cozes sont fetes et sans qui riens ne pot estre fet, ch'est li Peres, li Fiex, et li Sains Esperis, lesqueles trois tres saintes cozes et tres precieuses sont un seus Dix en Trinité, noz donnent talent de metre nostre cuer et notre entendement en estude et en pensée de trouver un livre, par lequel cil qui desirent vivre em pais soient ensaignié briement comment il se deffendront de cix qui a tort et par malvese cause, les assaudront de plet, et comment il connoistront le droit du tort, uzé et acoustumé en le conté de Clermont, en Biauvoisis.

There follows, then, the list of the ten parts of the wisdom required,—not one of the half cabalistic assortment or the "cardinal" numbers, it may be noted, but apparently a somewhat fresh positive analysis:

Le seconde vertus que li baillis doit avoir, si est que il doit tres durement, de tout son cuer, amer Diu nostre pere et nostre sauveur, et por l'amor de Diu, sainte Eglise, et non pas de l'amour que li aucuns des sers ont a lor seigneurs, qu'il ne les aiment fors porce qu'il les crient et doutent, mais d'amor entiere, si come li fix doit amer le pere; car de li amer et servir vienent tuit li bien, ne cil n'a pas sapience en soi par dessor totes cozes n'otrie son cuer a l'amor de Dieu. Et moult trouverions de matiere a parler des raisons pourquoi on doit amer Diu et des biens qui en vienent, mais il noz convenroit issir une grant piece de la matiere que noz avons emprise, et meesment sainte Eglise le noz monstre et enseigne toz les jors.

The peculiar Pagan-Christian ethical fusion of the age or man appears to special advantage in the account of Virtue III, which characteristically goes by definition rather than by name:

La tierce vertus que li baillis doit avoir, si est que il doit estre doz et deboneres, sans vilonie et sans rancune, non pas deboneres envers les felons, n'envers les creux, n'envers cix qui font les messès, car a tex maniere de gent doit on monstrar semblant de cruauté et de felonie et de force de justice, por lor malice estre menée, car tout ainsi comme li mires qui por pitié de maladie de celi qui est entre ses mains, laisse bien a ataindre le plaie por lequel il le doit garir, et le met en peril de mort: tout aussi li baillis qui est deboneres vers les

malfesans de se baillie, met cex qui veulent vivre en paix en peril de mort, ne nus plus grants biens uns por un ne pot estre bailli, que s'essarter les malvès hons des bons, por radeur de justice. Donques ce que nos avons it, qu'il doit estre deboneres, nos l'entendrons ver cex qui bien voelent et vers le commun pueple, et es cas qui avienent plus par mesqueance que par malice. Et porce que noz avons dit que sapience est le souveraine vertus de toutes celes qui doivent estre en bailli, on ne doit pas tenir le bailli por sage, qui vers toz est fel et cruels. Et souvent avient que les simples gens qui ont bonnes queeles, et loiax, laissent perdre lor querelles porce qu'il ne les ozent maintenir pardevant tex baillis, por lor felonie, par doute de plus perdre.

La quarte vertu si est qu'il soit soufrans et escoutans sans li couroucier ne mouvoir de riens, car li baillis qui est trop hastix de reprendre, ou qui se tourmente et courrouce de ce qu'il oit, n'a pooir de bien retenir ce qui est proposé devant li en jugement; et puisqu'il ne pot bien retenir et sans bien recorder, nul ne se doit entremetre de baillie garder.

La quinte vertus si est qu'il doit estre hardis et vigueroux, sans nul parece, que baillix qui est pareceux laisse moult de besognes a fere et passer qui fussent bones a retenir, etc. Et ce que noz disons qu'il soit hardis, c'est une vertu sans lequele li bailli ne pot fere ce qui appartient a son office. . . . Et toutesvoies quant il fera aucunes cas là ou il apartenra hardement, qu'il le face sagement, cas deus manieres de hardement sont, l'un sage, l'autre faus. Li sages hardis, si est cix qui sagement et apensément monstre son hardement, li faus hardis, si est cix qui seprend garde a quel fin il puist venir de ce qu'il entreprend, et cil qui fet son hardement en point et en tans qu'il n'en est mestiers: si comme se j'aloie tout seus et dessarmés assalir plusors personnes là u mes hardement ne porroit riens valoir et ce apel on fol hardement.

Le sisime vertus qui doit estre en bailli, si est larguece, et de ceste vertu descendent deus autres qui grant mestier poent avoir a maintenir son estat et a li avancier et fere amer en Diu et du siècle, c'est courtoisie et neetés, et larguece ne vaut riens sans ces deus ne ces deus sans larguece. Et grant mestier est que le larguece soit dominee sagement et atemprement, car deus manieres de largueces sont dont l'une est gouvernée par le vertu de sapience, et l'apel on sage larguece. L'autre maniere de larguece si est si meslée avec sotie, que l'une ne se pot partir de l'autre. . . . Car li cuers avariscieus aquiert ne li caut comment et ne pot estre assaciés s'avoir: et en tex maniere de cuers ne se pot loiatés herbergier. Et souvent voit on qu'il amasse d'une part avoir et d'autre part emmenuisse lor, si que quant la roe de fortune lor torne, il descendent plus en une hore que il ne sont monté en dix ans, et si en perdent Diu et le siecle.

La septieme vertu qui doit estre en bailli, qui il obeisse au commandement de son segneur en toz ses commandemens, exceptés les commandemens par les quix il porroit perdre l'ame s'il les fesoit.

L'uitisme vertu si est que il soit tres bien connisans. Premièrement il doit connoistre le bien du mal, le droit du tort, les pesivles des mellix, les loiax des triceurs, les bons des malvès, et especialment il se doit connoistre les volontés et les manieres de son segneur et de cex de son conseilg, et si doit connoistre le soie meisme et penre garde moult soigneusement quel il sont; car tout soit il ainsi que li bailli de soi ne face ne ne vaille se bien non, si pot il recevoir vilonnie et damace par le meffet d'aucuns de cex de sa meisnie. Et en dire le mesnie du



bailli, entendons noz les prevos et les sergens qui sont desoz li et le mesnie de son ostel. Et des biens qui poent venir au bailli d'avoir les connaissances dessus dites, toucerons noz briement. Se li baillis connoist le bien du mal, il en sara mix le bien fere et le mal esquiver, et par ce pot il maintenir son estat et venir a l'amor de Diu et du siecle.

La neuvieme vertu qui doit estre en cheli qui s'entremet de baillie, si est que il ait en li soutil engieng et hastiv de bien exploitier, sans fere tort a autrui, et de bien savoir conter. De bien exploitier: c'est à entendre que le valor de le tere son seigneur n'apetice pas par se negligence, ainçois croisse toz jours par son sagement maintenir; car cil n'est pas bon baillie, en qui main le tere son seigneur croist, sans autrui fere tort. Et si li convient moult qu'il sace bien conter, car c'est un des plus grans perix qui soit en l'office de bailli que d'estre negligens ou poi soigneus de ses contes, por deux raisons: le premiere si est, porce que s'il mesconte sor li, li damaces en est siens; le seconde, porce que s'il mesconte sor son seigneur, . . . et on s'en aperchoit, il pot estre mescreus de desloiauté; et por soi escuser de son blasme et de son damace, li est bien mestiers qu'il sace bien conter.

Le disisme vertu qui doit estre en celi qui s'entremet de baillie, si est le mellor de toutes, ne sans li ne poent les autres riens valoir; car c'est cele qui enlumine toutes les autres, c'est cele qui est si conjointe avec la vertu de sapience, que por riens sapience ne pot estre sans sa compagnie, et ceste vertu si est apelée loiatés. Car quiconques est loiaus, il est sages en maintenir loiaté; et por noient doit estre prisies li sens de celi en qui desloiatés est herbégiée. . . . Et por ce pot on veir que loiatés vaut mix, a part li, que toutes les autres vertus sans loialté. Et meesmement desloiatés pot plus nuire, quant ele est herbégiée en home qui doit droite justice maintenir, que en autres personnes. Car il est assez de basses personnes desloiax qui, por lor desloiaté, ne poent pas moult de mal fere, parce qu'il ont petit pooir. . . . Et por ce loons noz a toz cex, et especialment as baillis, qu'il soient loial, et s'il ne le voelent estre, nos loons a lor seigneurs que sitost qu'il les connistront a desloiax, qu'il soient pusni selon ce qu'ils aront ouvré desloialment, ne nus ne soit si hardis qu'il s'entremete d'autrui servir, se loiatés n'est en li herbégié.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, fusing many kinds of reminiscence, from the self-knowledge of active Platonic tradition, to the new science of arithmetic in the theory of wisdom, which is to be the theme of so many mediaeval treatises, Beaumanoir begins his code. He remarks in his Prologue

. . . Mais on a souvent veu avenir que maint home ont commencié bonnes œuvres qui n'avoient pas le sens en aus de furnir; mais Dix, qui connoissoit lors cuers et lor entendemens, lor envoioit sa grace si que cil parfesoient legierement ce qui lor senloit grief commencier. . . . Et se aucuns a faim de savoir qui cil fu qui commencha cest livre, noz ne le volons pas nommer devant le fin du livre,

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Beugnot, I, 17ff. Cf. M. Alfred Croiset, *Les Démocraties antiques*, p. 58. Débonnaire is the word by which M. Croiset translates the φιλόανθρωπος of the Greek social ideal, as shown by Pisistratus.

se Dix done que noz le metons a fin, car aucunes foiz sont li bon vin refusé quant on nomme le terroir où il ont crut, porce c'on ne croit pas que tex teroires puist tel vin porter et aussi noz doutons noz se on savoit si tost nostre nom, que por le petit sens qui est en noz, nostre euvre ne fust mains prisé (page 13).

The *petit sens* is not slow in finding its instances, without the schematic rigidity, however, of most mediæval ethics. The positive origin and end of the *Coutumes* constrain a reality of analysis which appears perhaps to special advantage in the section on judicial summons:

Se on voit qu'aucuns sires ait haine à aucun de ses sougès, et que por li grever il le voist adjornant es jors que il doit labourer et fere ses labors, se ceste coze est fete savoir au conte, il ne le doit pas souffrir, ainçois doit contraindre son home qu'il face a son povre souget hastif droit et a tel jor qu'il n'en perde son labour. . . . Neporquant, en cas de crieme ne doit avoir point debonnereté ainçois en doit on ouvrer selonc ce que li cas desire et que coustume le donne, exceptés les cas des quix raisons donc c'on ait misericorde, et li cas sont dit u chapitre qui parole des cas ou pitié et misericorde apartient (Chap. II, §34).

Cil qui est semons au jor qu'il doit femme plevir au espouser, ou au jour qu'il marie un de ses enfans ou de ses freres ou de ses sereurs, ou de nieces ou de ses neveux ou d'aucun autre de son lignage qui soient a li a marier, pot loialment ensonier. Bien se pot cil encor ensonier qui n'oze aler a son jor por doute de son cors, si comme s'il est maneciés ou s'il est en guerre ou por li ou por son lignage. (Chap. III, §§5, 7).

The careful provision in regard to health is interesting:

Aucune foiz avient il que cil qui sont venu a cort por pledier, ont ensoine de maladie qui les prent en l'ore qu'il convient qu'il s'en voient, et si le ples est que tix gens ont en deffendent, il poent laisser procureur por aus; et si le ensoines est si hastif qu'il n'ont pooir ne remembrance de laisser procureurs, ne convient il pas por ce perdre; car le cause de pitié que cascuns doit avoir l'un de l'autre excuse. Et se cil qui est demander a tel ensoine, que ses ples doit demourer en tel estat comme il estoit quant ses ensoines le prist, porce qu'il ne pot laisser procureur en demandant (Chap. III, §17).

Cil qui ensonie por la mort de ses enfans qui moerent de bone mort ou d'autre et tans qu'il alaient, pot jurer loial ensoigne, car tel enfant si couroucent les cuers de lor peres. Et si l'enfant est mors de mort vilaine, por malvèse garde, comme d'estraindre ou d'ardoir ou de noier; ensonier pot encore mix, car son courous l'excuse (Chap. III, §26).

And as to these circumstances, touching mind, body or estate, "quand il a fet tel serement il doit estre creus ne n'en pot on riens fere encontre."

Touching the rôle of women, the characteristic French caution that yet allows for the exception appears in the *Coutumes* in regard to the defence of cases:

Il ne loist pas a feme a estre en office d'avocat por autrui por loier; mais sans loier pot ele parler por li ou por ses enfans, ou por aucun de son lignage, mais que ce soit de l'autorité de son baron, se ele a baron (Chap. V, §16).

The chapter on wills and their interpretation stands out again for the civilization of its analysis, whether its source be Roman law or a gradually extending meditation on Christian charity, or the two combined (Chap. XII, §44):

Toutes les fois que paroles sont dites, soit en testament ou hors de testament, lesqueles paroles ont plusors entendemens, on doit penre le meillor entendement por celi qui le parole dist; car on ne doit pas croire qu'aucuns die parole qui lui nuise a esseint, devant qu'il le dist si clerement et par si cleres paroles, que autres entendemens n'i puist estre trouvés. Donques, s'aucuns fet testament et il a el testament aucune parole obscure ou aucune où il ait deux entendemens, on le doit jugier selonc l'entendement c'on doit avoir pour sauver s'ame. Et se le parole est dite en autre querele, on doit jugier que cil le dist a ceste fin que ele le vauisist a se querele gaaignier. Et les paroles qui sont obscures doit on fere esclaircir, se eles poent estre esclaircies avant c'on les mete en jugement. Mais, porce qu'eles ne poent estre esclaircies en testament, porce que cil qui les dit est mors, doit on jugier selonc le mellor partie a son oes. Et de ces paroles où il y a plusors entendemens et qui sont obscures, n'est-il nus mestiers c'on—les escrire, por ce qu'aucuns n'i puisse penser aucuns malice, mais legierement le pot on savoir selonc ce que li cas aviennent. Si noz en souferons a tant. . . . Et se cil qui fist le testament est apressés de maladie, parquoi icel ne pot pas tant attendre que gens y vieignent que le puissent tesmogner par seel: s'il est tesmogné par vives vois, il soufist en le maniere que nos avons dit ailleurs en cest chapitre.

Farther on the road towards equity, if possible, and still in advance of much current custom, is one of the many cases of trouble between Pierre et Jean, the John Doe and Richard Roe of the *Coutumes*:

Pierre proposa contre Jehan par voie de denonciacion fete au juge que li dis Jehans, a la veue et a la seue de bonnes gens, li avoit ocis un sien parent et estoit li fes si notoires qu'il se prouvoit de soi-meisme, si comme il disoit, par quoi il requeroit qu'il en feist comme bons juges. A ce respondi Jehans qu'il nioit mout bien ce fet et que, s'il estoit nus qui droitement l'en vouisist acuser, il s'en defendroit. Demandé li fu du juge s'il vouloit attendre l'enquete ou nom du fet: respondi que non. Nepourquant li juges en fist une aprise de son office et trouva par le serement de bonnes gens que li dis Jehans courut sus a celi qui fu tués le coutel tret, et tantost s'asembla une grans tourbe de gent entour aus si qu'il ne virent pas que li dis Jehans ferist celui qui fu mors du coutel, mes il virent pas que cil Jehans se parti de la presse le coutel nu ensanglanté et ofrent que cil mourut dist, "Il m'a mort." Et en ceste aprise ne puet on veoir fet notoire fors par presompçon, car nus ne vit le coup donner; nepourquant li dis Jehans fu condannés du fet et justiciés par ceste presompçon.

La seconde maniere de clere presompçion qui est si clere qu'ele vaut prueve, si est quant menace est fete et, après la menace, la chose est fete qui en la menace fut pramisse; nepourquant l'en ne puet le fet prouver, mes l'en prueve la menace seur celi qui menace et par la menace prouvée, li menaceres est prouvés du fet (p. 1157-58).

As at Florence<sup>7</sup> there was at Clermont recourse to exceptional measures against the evidence of the clergy in lay jurisdiction:

Nus hons de religion ne nule fame de religion de quel ordre que ce soit ne doivent estre receu en tesmoignage pour leur eglise en court laie ne contre persone. Mes quant il pledent li uns a l'autre en court de crestienté il ne convient ja que nous en parlons pour ce que nous n'entendons a parler fors que des coutumes de la court laie.

Noteworthy precaution is taken, too, against the ascendancy of the overlord in testimony:

Car mal chose seroit se je tenoie un fief d'un povre gentil homme et il tesmoignoit par ses letres que je cel fief avroie vendu ou donné ou engagé ou eschangé a aucune persone, en tel cas ne seroient pas les letres de mon seigneur creues contre moi que pour un seul tesmoing.

And "es cas ou pitié et misericorde ont lieu, leur doit il bien a fere debonaire souffrance sans prendre louier" is laid down as a principle in the case of imprisonment for debt, (p. 1539), with specific details as follows:

Et pour ce, s'il ont du leur, l'on leur doit amenistrer selonc leur volenté, et s'il n'ont riens, cil qui en prison le fet tenir, li doit livrer pain et vin et potages tant comme il en puet user au meoins une fois le jour. Et encore quant il avra esté tenus XL jours, en prison, se li sires qui le tient voit qu'il ne puist nul conseil metre en la dete pour laquele il est tenus et qu'il abandonne le sien, il doit estre delivré de la prison, car ce seroit contraire chose a humanité que l'en lessast tous jours cors d'homme en prison pour dete puis que l'en voit que li créanciers ne puet estre païé pour la prison. (1600) Deffense est fete que pour dete l'en ne voist prendre en chambre de dame ne de damoisele ne de fame qui gise d'enfant. Et si est defendu que l'en ne prengne pas les lis ne les couvertours de ceus qui gisent malades ou en langueur, car grans peruis pourroit estre a ceus seur qui l'en les prenoit. . . . Nepourquant les lis as dames ne as demoiseles et leur robes a chascun jour defendons nous que l'en ne les prengne pour dete en nule maniere, mes toutes les autres choses puissent estre prises.

As to simony, and evil bargains of all kinds, the Puritanism of Clermont might "somewhat surprise, like that of Gerson's following,

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Julien Luhaire: *Les Démocraties italiennes*, Bibliothèque de philosophie scientifique, Paris, 1915, pp. 155ff.

Dieu merci, teus mauveses coustumes ne querent mes, ainçois se tel louage estoient fet maintenant, l'en puniroit griement de cors et d'avoir ceus qui les douiers en baurroient. . . . Et a briefment parler, marchiés, ne convenance, ne pris, ne engagements, ne louages, ne fois, ne seremens qui soit fes contre Dieu ne contre bonnes meurs n'est a tenir, ne cil n'est pas parjures qui lesse le mal a fere qu'il jura a fere, car la repentance du fet qu'il lesse a fere pour l'amour de Notre Seigneur le ramene en l'estat qu'il estoit devant ce qu'il fist le serement, mes qu'il euvre par Sainte Eglise du fol serement, ne nus ne doit fere vilain fet pour sauver serement.

But this humanity of detail finds its fitting general climax in chapitre LXI, "Liqueu parole des apeaux, et comment on doit apeler et puet, et de fourmer son apel, et des banis."

1735. Nous disons, et voirs est selonc nostre coustume, que pour autant comme li hons doit a son seigneur de foi et de loiauté par la reson de son homage, tout autant li sires en doit a son homme; et par ceste reson pouons nous veoir que, puis que li hons ne puet apeler son seigneur tant comme il est en son homage, li sires ne puet apeler son homme devant qu'il a renoncié a l'homage. . . . Car fois et loiauté est de si franche nature qu'ele doit estre gardée et especiaument a celi a qui ele est pramise; car a l'homage fere pramet on a son seigneur foi et loiauté, et puis qu'ele est pramise, ce ne seroit pas loiauté de renoncier i ou point que ses sires s'en doit aidier.

1738. Pour ce que je di ore que li sires doit autant de foi et de loiauté a son homme, comme li hons a son seigneur, ce n'est pas pour ce a entendre que li hons ne soit tenus en mout d'obeissances et en mout de services, dont li sires n'est pas tenus a son homme car li hons doit aler as sermons son seigneur et est tenus a fere ses jugemens et a tenir ses commandemens resnables et a li servir si comme j'ai devant dit. Et en toutes teus choses n'est pas li sires tenus a son homme, mes les fois et les loiautés que li sires a son homme se doivent entendre a ce que li sires se doit garder qu'il ne face tort a son homme et *le doit mener debonnairement et par droit*; et si li doit garder et garantir ce qu'il tient de li en tele maniere que nus ne l'en face tort, et en ceste maniere puet li sires garder sa foi vers son homme et li hons vers son seigneur. . . . Et se li sires li vée a fere droit, il a bon apel vers son seigneur de defaute de droit quant il l'avra requis et sommé par III quinzaines en la presence de ses pers, et se ses sires l'en fet jugement et li jugement est contre l'homme li hons a bon apel de faus jugemens,

Gerson's summary in the vernacular *Vivat Rex* of this Renaissance feudalism comes to mind:

En apres me vient au devant de que dit Macrobe in *Saturno*, que la chose qui appartient mieux a un Prince, est méditation, ou considération, c'est-à-dire, qu'il soit consideratif, ou pensif au bien commun.

Pareillement dis-je que miséricorde doit estre gardée avant justice, & justice avant miséricorde. Car l'une sans l'autre est sote et dommageuse. Sy peut on bien reciter les faussetez, les cruautés, les injustices du temps passé, non mie pour les punir toutes, mais pour s'en garder au temps passé, mon mie pour les punir toutes, mais pour s'en garder au temps a venir, & estre plus sages & plus

avisez, pour mieux recognoistre aussy le mal ou nous avons esté & la grace que Dieu nous a baillé, et que nous hayons plus la guerre, & aimions paix, sans ce que nous laissions bruler ordre au feu de male convoitise: mais que nous aimions le bien-commun, le bien de paix, & tendions principalement que la vie du roy civile & politique soit sans denuement. *Rex in sempiternum vive.*

Christine de Pisan, echoing Gerson certainly, and more than probably the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* in her *Policie*, does not fail to remind the "gent eueuse, je dy a vous les disciples de sapience," "que ainsi doie estre loyal tout subget envers son prince et que mal viegne de faire le contraire." At the same time, every exhortation toward wisdom is addressed likewise to the Prince in *Le Livre à l'Enseignement de bien vivre*.<sup>8</sup>

Is it too tenuous to see the direct influence of Beaumanoir's *Coutumes* in Pascal's famous letter to Queen Christine of Sweden, accompanying his adding machine? Through his family's administrative connections, through his own ambition to be "l'instituteur présomptif de la couronne de France," is it not more than possible that a work so peculiarly a mixture of "esprit géométrique et esprit de finesse" as the *Coutumes*, with its distinctions of compression and honnêteté so marked in its generation, may have been known to the author of the *Lettres à un Provincial*?

The sovereign lucidity of the year 1652 could scarcely resume, at any rate, more precisely the whole Neo-Victorine, or French Classic doctrine of wisdom in the royally directed State, than Pascal resumes it:

Ce qui m'y a véritablement porté, est l'union qui se trouve en sa personne sacrée, de deux choses qui me comblent également d'admiration et de respect, qui sont l'autorité souveraine et la science solide; car j'ai une vénération toute

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Le Livre à l'Enseignement de bien vivre*, MS. Fr. 2240, Bib. nat., Paris, and an article on the subject of it to appear shortly in *The Romanic Review*. Reference may be made also to the following articles which deal with the writings of Christine de Pisan and her group: "Fronton du Duc's *Pucelle d'Orleans*," *Mod. Philol.* XII (1914), 379-388; "Robert Ciboule et sa *Vie des Justes*," *Rom. Review*, VI, 87-102; "The Fifteenth Century Idea of the Responsible State," *Rom. Review*, VI (1915), 402-33; "The Tenth Tale of the *Heptameron*," *Rom. Review*, X (1919), 83-85; "The Glossed *Boece de Consolation* de Jean de Meung," Program of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America, 1916. (This paper was accepted for publication by the Société de philosophie médiévale; the papers of this Society have been taken over by the Société des anciens textes français; "Le Livre de Paix of Christine de Pisan: Paraphrasing of Dante's *Paradiso* III-V," *P. M. L. A.* XXXVII, 182-6.

particulière pour ceux qui sont élevés au suprême degré, ou de puissance ou de connaissance. Les derniers peuvent, si je ne me trompe aussi bien que les premiers, passer pour des souverains. Les mêmes degrés se rencontrent entre les génies qu'entre les conditions; et le pouvoir des esprits sur les esprits qui leur sont inférieurs sur lesquels ils exercent le droit de persuader qui est parmi eux ce que le droit de commander est dans le gouvernement politique. Ce second empire me paraît même d'un ordre d'autant plus élevé, que les esprits sont d'un ordre plus élevé que le corps, et d'autant plus équitable, qu'il ne peut être départi et conservé que par le mérite, au lieu que l'autre peut l'être par la naissance ou par la fortune. Il faut donc avouer que chacun de ces empires est grand en soi; mais, Madame, que Votre Majesté me permette de le dire, elle n'y est point blessée, l'un sans l'autre me paraît défectueux. Quelque puissant que soit un monarque, il manque quelque chose à sa gloire, s'il n'a pas le pré-eminence de l'esprit; et quelque éclairé que soit un sujet, sa condition est toujours rabaisée par la dépendance. Les hommes, qui désirent naturellement ce qui est le plus parfait, avaient jusqu'ici continuellement aspiré à rencontrer ce souverain par excellence. Tous les rois et tous les savants en étaient autant d'ébauches, qui ne remplissaient qu'à demi leur attente, et à peine nos ancêtres ont pu voir en toute la durée du monde un roi médiocrement savant.

When kings shall be philosophers and philosophers kings. . . .

When Beaumanoir writes, (p. 1518) "Car, c'est li commun proufis, que chascuns puist fere son preu et sa terre amender sans fere tort a autrui," he has reached the deep central channel of the stream of Classical individualism in political reflection. This channel apart, the Middle Ages in their political activity as in their religious society, according to M. Guignebert, appear<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Charles Guignebert, *Le Christianisme médiéval et moderne*, 1922, p. 129.

Cf., too, Beaumanoir, *Coutumes*, XXXIII:

Tous les damaces qui sont fet par force ou par triquerie doivent estre rendu, quant le force ou le triquerie est provée, soit en cort laie ou encort de Crestienté, tex damaces c'on pot prover suffisamment que on a eus par le reson du fet; . . . Et quant a Dieu, entre triquerie et larrecin a poi de différence.

LXX. (col. 1969, Beug.) Chascuns doit savoir que tuit li don qui sont fet contre Dieu, ou contre sainte Eglise, ou contre le cummun pourfit, ou contre bonnes meurs, ou en deseritant autrui, ne sont pas a tenir, ainçois doivent estre despecié et anianté comme cil qui font de nule valeur, et aussi disons nous que nul pramesse qui soit fete contre aucune des choses desus dites ne doit estre paieée. LXI. (col. 1714.) Si uns gentius hons apele un gentil homme et li uns et li autres est chevaliers, il se combatent a cheval, armé de toutes armeures teles il leur plerae, excepté coutel a point et mace.

(col. 1532.) Chascuns qui est de commune laquele commune a justice, doit prendre droit par devant ceux qui en la vile sont establi pour la justice garder. Et se l'en li defaut de droit, il puet aussi bien apeler d'aus, de defaute de droit ou de faus jugement, comme feroit uns estranges qui ne seroit pas de la commune.

un torrent où alternent les cuvettes stagnantes et les rapides tumultueux, et que contiennent à grand' peine les digues toujours ébranlées. Prenons garde pourtant, de ne rien exagérer: pour si dangereux qu'ils paraissent quelquefois, les débordements du flot qui passe ne sont jamais incoercibles et leur ravages ne sont point sans remèdes.

### MAUD ELIZABETH TEMPLE

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Et doit estre l'apeaus demenés par devant le seigneur a qui li resort de la cum-mune appartient, et non pas par gages de bataille mes par les erremens du plet; et comment on doit aler avant en tel cas, nous le dirons au chapitre des apeaus. LXIX. (1939). Pluseur cas avienent souvent es queus il est grans mestiers que li seigneur soient piteus et misericort et qu'il n'euvrent pas tous jours selonc rigueur de droit. Ne pourquant drois suefre bien la misericorde d'aucun des cas des queus nous voulons traitier, et li cas sont apelé cas de mesaventure.

Finally there is the double caution of Chapter 15, the two main principles of the bailiff's office and function clearly juxtaposed, duty towards his lord, and reasonable safeguard of himself and of other public officials, in the "racket," if I may so translate the *clameur*, on the one hand, the disparagement and the destitution on the other:

Voir est que toutes cozes qui sont proposées par devant le bailli n'ont pas mestier d'estre mises en jugement, car quant le clameurs est d'aucun cas qui touque à l'eritage de son seigneur, ou à son despit, ou à se vilonie, ou a son damace, et li cas est por les homes qui aidier se vaurroient en tel cas contre lor seigneur: li baillis ne le doit pas metre en jugement, car li home en doivent pas jugier lor seigneur, mais il doivent jugier l'un l'autre, et les quedeles du commun pueple. . . . Mais que le quelele touce le vilonnie du seigneur, si come le vilonie dite, ou de main mise au bailli ou au prevost ou as sergans: l'amende de tix forfès ne doit pas mettre li baillis el jugement des homes, ne en tix forfes qui sont forfet envers le seigneur, n'a point d'amende taxée; car s'il y avoit certaine somme d'argent taxée por tel forfet, donques saroit cascuns por combien il porroit battre le bailli ou les prevost ou les sergens, et asses y en aroit de battus, quand on les justicieroit plus rudement qu'il ne vourroient, s'il savoient le certaine voie de l'escaper (ed. Beugnot, Chap. I, §15).



XXVIII. HEYWOOD'S *PERICLES*, REVISED  
BY SHAKESPEARE

The fact that *Pericles* was not included in the First Folio has thrown discredit upon Heminge and Condell; for even if, as has been conjectured, difficulties of copyright prevented their publishing this very popular play, it is felt that they should not have claimed that they presented in their volume all of Shakespeare's dramas. Since the play could scarcely be ignored, as some of the earlier dramas of divided authorship might have been, the most natural conjecture seems to be that *Pericles* was generally regarded as substantially another man's play. I believe that in 1623 not only those friends and fellows of Shakespeare who had access to his papers (and who made no other mistake so far as we can determine), but many of those who were urged to buy, would think of the play as "Heywood's *Pericles*," in a way that they would not think of "Fletcher's *Henry VIII*"—nor of any play in the Folio as being essentially the work of an important living dramatist. Most critics believe that Shakespeare was only the reviser of the piece, and assign to him Acts III-V without the choruses and brothel scenes. This leaves only 754 lines, including some we do not really prize and which may not be his. If these scenes were a mere re-vamping of scenes already in existence, we need not bother about the omission of *Pericles* from the Folio; if Shakespeare was the original composer of those scenes, and wrote the brothel scenes also, we are put to shifts to explain it. Of course no such consideration would prevent the play's being printed in quarto as Shakespeare's, for we know that in the case of other dramas no warrant at all was needed.

Some of the older critics thought that Shakespeare touched up the first two acts, and became more engrossed in his work in the latter part of the play. Farmer, at whose suggestion Malone admitted *Pericles* to the canon, found Shakespeare only in the last act. Steevens was so out of patience with the whole drama that he believed Shakespeare only "bestowed some decoration on its parts." Delius, who first suggested Wilkins as the original author,<sup>1</sup> thought that the final scene of the play

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare Jahrbuch, III, 175.

showed traces of the older drama. But Fleay<sup>3</sup> has been followed by most recent scholars in making Shakespeare responsible for all of Acts III-V except the choruses and brothel scenes; and these have been attributed to Shakespeare by some later students of the drama. Boas finds in the objectionable scenes "touches worthy of the great dramatist"<sup>3</sup>; Deighton goes so far as to say, "These [characteristic expressions and turns of thought] are to my mind so striking and abound so largely that . . . I am astonished at their being supposed to come from any mint but one";<sup>4</sup> and Theodore Watts-Dunton wrote (from a more literary point of view): "The idea that these scenes were not written by Shakespeare is, to me, unthinkable, if we believe that he worked upon the play at all."<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, it is no less positively asserted: "They are too pointless and inconsequent to come from Shakespeare, though possibly he left some suggestions for them";<sup>6</sup> "With the exception of a few palpable revisions, all critics are agreed that Shakespeare is not responsible";<sup>7</sup> "Rowley was undoubtedly capable of the *Pericles* brothel scenes, but they do not seem beyond the scope of Wilkins."<sup>8</sup>

The suggestion that Heywood was the original author of *Pericles* was made in 1908 by Mr. Daniel Lindsey Thomas.<sup>9</sup> Mr. Thomas, however, assigns to Shakespeare one scene and parts of two others in the first two acts, and thinks that Heywood supplied for the remainder merely some plan which Shakespeare may have used. The most convincing part of his paper is his argument against the claim of Wilkins, to which I must refer those who wish to consider that matter more at length.<sup>10</sup> The best proof, to me, that Wilkins did not write the

<sup>3</sup> New Shakespeare Society Transactions, 1882.

<sup>3</sup> *Shakspeare and his Predecessors*, p. 554.

<sup>4</sup> *Intro.* to *Pericles*, Arden ed., p. xx.

<sup>5</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, 1909.

<sup>6</sup> P. Z. Round, *Intro.* to *First Quarto Facsimile*.

<sup>7</sup> Harry T. Baker, *P. M. L. A.*, XXIII, 104.

<sup>8</sup> Sir Sidney Lee, *Intro.* to facsimile reproduction of Q<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> *Engl. Stud.*, XXXIX, 210-239.

<sup>10</sup> Supplementing Mr. Thomas, I should say that to me Wilkins' statement, "Being the true history of the play of *Pericles*, as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient poet John Gower," was primarily an attempt to take advantage of the play's popularity, and also may have been something of a blind

first two acts of *Pericles* is the proof that Heywood did. I wish to examine his claim to the first two acts as they stand; to the choruses and brothel scenes; and to the substratum of the scenes which Shakespeare revised, which I shall call for convenience the Shakespearean scenes. If I succeed in establishing this claim, I feel that I shall be adding as much to Shakespeare's credit by subtraction as to Heywood's by addition. Where I have been anticipated by Mr. Thomas, I shall credit him in the foot notes.

#### A. DRAMATIC STRUCTURE

*Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, belongs in the group of romantic adventure dramas of which *Fortune by Land and Sea* and *The Fair Maid of the West* are examples. These follow somewhat the chronicle-play method in which each episode is given for its own sake. Such a method is essential if the dramatist follows his source closely and his source is a narrative of incidents.<sup>11</sup> *Pericles* is derived directly from Gower's "Apollonius of Tyre," supplemented by Twine's *Pattern of Painful Adventures*. The most obvious similarity of *Pericles* to many of the plays of Heywood is in the particular use it makes of the chorus and dumb show. "Old Gower" presents *Pericles* in just the way that "Old Homer" presents the first three of the *Ages*.<sup>12</sup> There is a special problem in connection with the choruses, as some of them are in a different meter, and have been claimed for the reviser. But those which admittedly go with the original drama

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—to direct attention away from the fact he was basing his story upon that of Twine, another prose narrative like his own. He wished to give his version the advantage that Twine did not have. Yet he paraphrased Twine even in the portion which corresponds to Acts I and II of the play. Mr. Baker, in the article referred to above, lists 28 echoes, an even half of which come from the latter half of the drama. If these echoes were sufficient to show the verbal memory of an actor who had taken part in the production, I think they would date the play for us as before Wilkins left the King's men in 1607.

<sup>11</sup> The ten plays of Heywood nearest in time to *Pericles* are all dramatized narratives, and some of them, like *Pericles*, follow the source to the minutest detail. (Thomas.)

<sup>12</sup> Of the ten plays nearest in time to *Pericles*, "eight make use of chorus and seven of dumb show." Gower appears at the beginning of each act, within two acts, and at the end; Homer in the *Silver Age* and *Brasen Age* at the beginning of each act, within one, and at the end. (Thomas.)

are sufficient to show the structural similarity, with which I am now concerned.

In addition to the dumb shows, there are several bits of pageantry which are in accordance with Heywood's practice. The daughter of Antiochus enters with music, like Diana in *The Golden Age* and Helen in *The Iron Age*. In II, ii, six knights pass over the stage, the squire of each presenting his shield to the princess; Simonides asks in a line and Thaisa explains in three or four lines what each one is. Six characters are introduced in *Love's Mistress*, each with a dance, while Midas asks in a line and Apuleius explains in three or four lines what each one is. The shouts of victory off stage and return of the knights from tilting; the banquet; the dance; the storm: these may be found anywhere. But Heywood tends to load a play with such devices. It has often been observed that Heywood was fond of storms; and banquets are served in so many of his dramas that the absence of one forms rather an exception. My point is merely that *Pericles* is fairly typical of Heywood in that it is a loosely connected series of episodes, that it keeps close to its source, that it supplies the incidents not otherwise given by choruses which introduce dumb shows midway, and that it attempts to supply a dramatic lack by a liberal use of the spectacular.

The attempt to be dramatic often leads a dramatist to be theatrical. Heywood is extremely fond of obvious and sensational contrasts. Simonides accuses Pericles of treason (II, v) for no reason whatever except that Pericles may show noble and that the happy outcome of the episode may be played up. In like manner, Pericles threatens the life of the faithful Helicanus. This amateurish, or rather childlike, procedure is entirely typical of Heywood. The opening scene of *Pericles* illustrates some of the dramatic devices which he uses elsewhere. Antiochus pretends friendliness and warns Pericles of "the danger of the task" he undertakes. Death will be the result of failure, but the hero is ready for that. The king's daughter stands as the reward if he is successful, and expresses in a brief aside her wish that he may be so. When Pericles solves the riddle, Antiochus plans to have him killed, but Pericles escapes. In *The Brazen Age*, though the details of the story are quite

different, the dramatic procedure is very much the same. Oetes, pretending friendliness, warns Jason,

So dreadful is the adventure thou pursuest . . . (217)

Again the hero is ready to meet the death which failure will involve; again the king's daughter stands as the reward; and Medea also expresses in a brief aside her hopes that he will be successful. When Jason is victorious, Oetes plots to have him killed, but of course the young man escapes. Pericles says,

Thus ready for the way of life or death,  
I wait thy sharpest blow, Antiochus.

But Antiochus says,

Forty days longer we do respite you,

and by this delay Pericles is saved. In *A Challenge for Beauty* (54) Bonavida says,

I beg my merited doom, my sentence crave,  
Which with severest rigor let me have;

but the queen answers,

We limit thee two days for thy repentance,

and by this delay Bonavida is saved. Antiochus has no sooner ordered that Pericles be killed than a messenger announces, "My lord, Prince Pericles is fled." *Antiochus*: "As thou wilt live, fly after." In *A Maidenhead Well Lost* (120) the duke orders that Prince Parma be brought back, dead or alive, and a messenger announces, "My lord, he's privately Fled from the court." *Duke*: "Then fly thou after, villain." It is of course the details of the dramatic procedure and not the material derived from the source that is significant.

Heywood is particularly fond of a theatrical contrast when ill fortune is expected and good fortune comes in its place. In *Pericles* I, iv, Cleon describes the wretched condition of the country to Dionyza, who knows it beforehand and replies, "O, 'tis too true!" A lord announces that "a portly sail of ships make hitherward," but says that it means good news. Pericles enters with "Lord governor, for so we hear you are," and confirms

the good news. Cleon vows gratitude and later proves treacherous. In *The Brazen Age* (204) Priam recounts the sad situation, Laomedon saying "'Tis too true." Aeneas announces that "a stately ship, well rigged with swelling sails Enters the harbor," but says that it brings relief from their sorrows. Hercules (the hero) enters with "'Tis told us that thy name's Laomedon," and confirms the good tidings. Laomedon promises reward, and later proves treacherous.

The illustrations from *Pericles* which I have thus far used have been drawn from Acts I and II. In these acts we see a brave and generous hero driven from his country by misfortune and through no fault of his own (*Fair Maid of the West, Fortune by Land and Sea*). We find him as an unknown knight overcoming all the others in battle (*Four Prentices of London*). We find him, thus unknown, chatting in friendly fashion with honest and hard working commoners (*Edward IV*). We have in Helicanus the perfectly submissive and loyal henchman (*Royal King and Loyal Subject*); in Thaisa a lady who tells her love without being asked and, in despite of her father's apparent (but not real) opposition, engineers her marriage (*Fair Maid of the Exchange*). These are characters and situations with which Heywood loves to deal.

When we come to the Shakespearean scenes we have the same sort of material but treated (partly) in Shakespeare's manner. The Gower chorus at the beginning of Act III introduces Pericles on shipboard, with no hint that the original author is not going forward with the story; and at the beginning of Act IV the chorus goes on in the same meter. The pentameter choruses come later. It seems to me more natural to suppose, especially considering the inequality of the poetry, that Act III shows only a rewriting of Heywood's scenes. In Act IV, scene i, we have a situation very like one in *The Silver Age* (135). The babbling innocence of Proserpina gathering flowers in contrast with Pluto in his chariot "drawn in by devils" is repeated without guidance from the sources in *Pericles*. With Marina's

To strew the green with flowers; the yellows, blues,  
The purple violets and marigolds, Per IV, i.

compare Proserpina's

Here neither is the white nor sanguine rose,  
The strawberry flower, the paunce nor violet. S. A. 135.<sup>14</sup>

But while this might indicate a literary influence, the ending of the scene is so abrupt and bald in its action that I am personally inclined to wonder if Shakespeare did not leave it as he found it. I have the same question to ask regarding the first third of Act V, scene i. The dramatic procedure, as well as the verse, reminds me of Heywood. The situation in the rest of the scene as well as that in scene iii, is one upon which Heywood loves to dwell; but here the hand of Shakespeare is unmistakable. The inability of a character to recognize another because he believes him dead is a favorite situation with Heywood; it reaches the straining-point in *The Fair Maid of the West*, and almost of burlesque in *The Four Prentices of London*. If it was as badly done in *Pericles*, it is easy to see why Shakespeare revised with particular thoroughness just here.

<sup>14</sup> Table of abbreviations used for Heywood's plays:

B A, *The Brazen Age*

Cap, *The Captives*

C for B, *A Challenge for Beauty*

E IV, *King Edward the Fourth*

E T, *The English Traveller*

F L S, *Fortune by Land and Sea*

F M E, *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*

F M W, *The Fair Maid of the West*

F P, *The Four Prentices of London*

G A, *The Golden Age*

H M C, *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*

I A, *The Iron Age*

If you, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*

L M, *Love's Mistress*

M W L, *A Maidenhead Well Lost*

R K, *The Royal King and Loyal Subject*

R L, *The Rape of Lucrece*

S A, *The Silver Age*

W K K, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*

W L, *The Witches of Lancashire*

W W H, *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*

As lines are not numbered in the standard edition (Pearson's, 1874), the page number is given. For H M C, Swaen's edition, *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, 35, with the line number. For Cap, Bullen's *Old Plays*, vol. iv.





employs wantonness for humorous effects. But the *Pericles* method is entirely in accordance with his genius.

The theme of *The Fair Maid of the West* is the triumph of innocence bred in a public tavern.<sup>15</sup> Bess is not of the Marina type, but her innocence is exploited by the same use of contrast to her sordid surroundings. When Goodlack comes to the tavern to seduce her, he begins, like Lysimachus, with vile language, then is moved by her speeches and exclaims,

Had I a heart of flint or adamant,  
I would relent at this.

F M W, 305.

So Lysimachus:

Had I brought hither a corrupted mind,  
Thy speech had altered it.

Per IV, vi.

After he is charmed by the innocence of Bess, Goodlack remains her stalwart friend. In protesting that his motives were innocent in being there, Lysimachus differs from Goodlack but agrees with the Captain in *Royal King*. The Captain also talks in the brothel with the easy familiarity of a frequenter and with appropriate grossness, and then in a highly moral speech, proclaims that he came "not to corrupt you." The effect of the oration on one of the inmates is, "Such another discourse would make me go near to turn honest." In play after play in Heywood we find this tribute to the power of eloquence:—this general chorus, for example, after a most moral discourse:

*Hobson.* I think these words should make a man of flint  
To mend his life.

*Gresham.* They have started tears into my eyes, and . . . you shall see  
The words that you have spoke have wrought appeal in me.

*Lady.* And from these women I will take a way  
To guide my life for a more blessed stay. 2 If you, 279.

Now the brothel scenes in *Pericles* are derived not from Gower, the primary source,<sup>16</sup> but from Twine; for it is only there that Marina (I use the *Pericles* name to avoid confusion) meets in a brothel the man whom she is destined to marry. In Twine's narrative Marina has a genuinely pathetic and

<sup>15</sup> Honest, and live there? What, in a public tavern? (264)

<sup>16</sup> As is shown by the choice of names, and other details.

moving appeal, and the response of Lysimachus is much more credible and effective. Here for once the story is finer than the drama. It is not the way of Shakespeare to sink below the level of his source; nor would it be, so far as I am aware, like any other Elizabethan dramatist than Heywood to sacrifice a really pathetic scene for a set speech and an incredible response to the power of eloquence; to have Marina begin with the didactic appeal—

If you were born to honor, show it now;  
If put upon you, make the judgment good  
That thought you worthy of it;

and then attempt to reclaim Lysimachus by having him disclaim his motives for being in a brothel.

If it is like Heywood with dwell upon these scenes for their sensational value, to play up the dramatic contrast of innocence in the grip of tyranny and vice, and to rescue Marina by a speech to Boult which is a mixture of the didactic and disgusting—quite in the manner of the Captain's, beginning

You are not women, you are devils both, R K, 50.

it is also like him to alter his manner in the latter part of a play. Until I noticed correspondences with Heywood both in the brothel scenes and in the first two acts, I had never supposed that they could have a common authorship. In *The Brazen Age*, Homer, as chorus, announces,

Loath are we, courteous auditors, to cloy  
Your appetites with viands of one taste,

and accordingly we have a fourth act of indecency, prose, and humor, just as we have in *Pericles*. But the brothel scenes formed an essential incident in any recounting of the story; and perhaps the very nature of the episode accounts sufficiently for the disparity of treatment. The matter of the verse I must speak of later.

There are smaller similarities between the dramatic action and characterization of *Pericles* and Heywood's recognized dramas, such as the "aside" information that a character "must dissemble," or the frequent inquiring of the country

parentage, and birth of a character, but these may be safely neglected. I mention them only as among the things one notices in *Pericles* when he has Heywood in mind; it is the frequency with which similar expedients are used that deepens one's conviction as he reads.

#### B. THE AUTHOR'S ATTITUDE

With Heywood as with Massinger, one must be careful not to let even a considerable number of mere parallels determine his claim; for he not only repeats himself perhaps as frequently as Massinger, but he also borrows as frequently. We must therefore consider Heywood's attitude toward certain matters that particularly interested him, and see if our parallels exhibit a consistent point of view.

Heywood is somewhat difficult to recognize because of the very normality of his ideas. Professor Adams<sup>17</sup> has dwelt, and rightly, upon his "strong religious coloring," and Biblical references and language, which does somewhat distinguish him; but this is bound up with a didacticism which is frequently to be found even in the least devout of the Elizabethan dramatists. Heywood is guilty of what would be stigmatized today as "bourgeois morality." Except when he is parading vice for drama's sake (and even then if the chance offers) Heywood shows a genuine and sensible regard for virtue. A sentiment which he repeats is this:

One sin, I know, another doth provoke;  
Murder's as near to lust as flame to smoke. Per, I, i.

One mischief still another doth beget,  
Adultery murder. 2 I A, 423.

Polonius himself could not be a safer guide to the smug than Heywood is when he takes it upon him to point a moral or adorn a tale. The final chorus of *Pericles* points out the lessons to be learned, like the Epilogue to *The Fair Maid of the West* and the concluding speeches of some of the other plays. The death of Antiochus means that.

for though  
This king were great, his greatness was no guard.  
To bar heaven's shaft, but sin had his reward. Per II, iv.

<sup>17</sup> *Engl. Stud.* XLV, 30; *P. M. L. A.* XXVIII, 539; *J. E. G. Ph.* XV, 107.

The moral of the second act of *The Brazen Age* is:

Let not even kings against the gods contest,  
Lest in this fall their ruin be expressed. B A, 203.

There is the same religious coloring. In like manner, we must think upon our "frail mortality,"

For death remembered should be like a mirror,  
Who tells us life's but breath, to trust it error; Per I, i

Alack! earth's joys are but short-lived, and last  
But like a puff of breath which—thus—is past. S A, 96.

But this conventional attitude is so entirely sincere with Heywood that there is no withholding a hearty admiration for the man, and even a liking for his platitudes. For it is genuine worth and not appearance that counts with Heywood.

Opinion's but a fool, that makes us scan  
The outward habit by the inward man; Per, II, ii.

and time after time we have the same contrast emphasized. The Captain in *Royal King* wishes to see how he will be received in his tattered garments, and tests all by this criterion. "It's the apparel of the mind crowns thee within noble" says Helen, the perfect heroine of *A Challenge for Beauty*. Recognition of true worth, whatever the outward circumstances may be, leads Heywood's heroes frequently to express their admiration for their foes; and always the hero, whether disguised or merely a stranger, shows the "honor" and "courage" and "courtesy" that bring out abundant admiration. Pericles shows himself a typical Heywood hero in that all three are definitely assigned to him; and for an added grace he has the deprecatory modesty so dear to Heywood's heart.

*Marshal.* Sir, yonder is your place.  
*Pericles.* Some other is more fit. (II, iii).

No reader of the plays has failed to note how constantly Heywood's characters disclaim "merit" or "desert." To quote a line from *Love's Mistress*, "Let one or two examples serve for more":

'Tis more by fortune, lady, than my merit. Per, II, iii.

It is your grace's pleasure to commend,  
Not my desert.

Per, II, v.

'Tis beyond hope or merit

M W L, 133.

Gild our praises Far above our desert.

2 F M W, 404.

As Heywood stood for true worth and modesty, he hated hypocrites and flatterers. He delights to expose them (*Fortune by Land and Sea*, Act III, scene iv), or even to have them, one after another, knocked over the head (*The Man Hater*). After two lords have spoken their conventionalities to Pericles, Helicanus says,

Peace, peace, and give experience tongue.  
They do abuse the king that flatter him,  
For flattery is the bellows blows up sin;

Per, I, ii.

after two lords have spoken their extravagant praises to Queen Isabella, the excellent Bonavida breaks out with, "O base flattery!" (C for B, 7), and proceeds to tell the truth. Pericles bids Helicanus rise:

Sit down; thou art no flatterer . . .  
Thou show'dst a subject's shine, I a true prince.

Per, I, ii.

The Marshall in *Royal King* is pronounced free from "flattery, envy, hate, and pride," and the king says,

In our two virtues after times shall sing  
A Loyal Subject and a Royal King.

R K, 82.

Heywood's attitude regarding kings is expressed with the conventional adoration of the period:

Kings are earth's gods.

Per, I, i.

Kings are as gods, and divine scepters bear.

R L, 188.

Had princes sit, like stars, about his throne,  
And he the sun for them to reverence;  
None that beheld him, but, like lesser lights,  
Did veil their crowns to his supremacy.

Per, II, iii.

As if the luster of a petty star  
Should with the moon compare! Alas, my deeds,  
Conferred with his, are like a candle's light  
To outshine the mid-day's glory.

R K, 77.

The comparison of courtier and king to star and sun is frequent. Pericles, threatening the life of Helicanus, says,

If there be such a dart in princes' frowns; Per, I, ii.

compare,

And fear of my queen's frowns to strike me dead. 1 If you, 235.

Heywood's sense of chivalry comes out in his references to the "knightly word":

I'll take thy word for faith, not ask thine oath. Per, I, ii.

*Spencer.* Bind me by some oath.

*Joffer.* Only your hand and word. 2 F M W, 371.

This is repeated in other plays.

With this may be mentioned Heywood's delight in exhibiting generosity and hospitality. The "good Simonides" is one of Heywood's cordial hosts; but it is the honest fishermen who give us the best instance in *Pericles*. On a first meeting, and not knowing who he is, the First Fisherman says to the shipwrecked king, "Come, thou shalt go home, and we'll have flesh for holidays, fish for fasting-days, and moreover puddings and flap-jacks, and thou shalt be welcome." (Per. II, 1). So Hobs invites King Edward IV, not knowing who he is, to come to his home though he has never seen him before: "Thou shalt be welcome to beef and bacon, and perhaps a hog pudding." (1 E IV, 47). The Second Fisherman says, "We'll sure provide; thou shalt have my best gown . . . and I'll bring thee to the court myself." (Per, II, i). Heywood's characters are always offering to go with anyone and render him assistance.

Heywood always represents his commoners as happy and contented in their work:

How well this honest mirth becomes their labor! Per, II, i.

For I am well pleased with your pastoral mirth. L M, 119.

Condemnation of those who will not work is expressed by the Third Fisherman in the same figure that Heywood uses several times elsewhere:

We would purge the land of these drones, that rob the bee of her honey.  
Per, II, i.

Not to eat honey like a drone  
From others' labors.

Per II, Gower.

Not suffered like a drone  
To suck the honey from the public hive.

F P, 169.

The figure, however, is not uncommon in Elizabethan drama. A more sarcastic tone accompanies the references to begging, with the implication that it is no mark of the poor man:

Here's them in our country of Greece gets more with begging than we can  
do with working. Per, II, i.

Begging is grown a gentlemanlike calling in our country. M W L, 121.

Were I a beggar, I might prove a courtier's fellow. R K, 17.

It is particularly the poor soldier, who has gained only wounds in the service of his country, that appeals to Heywood's sympathy. No reader of the plays needs to be reminded of the bitterness with which Heywood so often speaks of the misfortunes of the common soldier and his lack of just reward. The Captain in *Royal King* says, "Instead of wealth, I purchased but these wounds." A soldier who is told to attend for his reward answers bitterly,

Tell me  
Will it not cost me more the waiting for,  
Than the sum comes to when it is received?

M W L, 113.

Soon after, there "enter three soldiers, one without an arm." So Boulton answers, when Marina tells him to give up his nefarious calling,

What would you have me do? go to the wars, would you? where a man  
may serve seven years for the loss of a leg, and not have money enough in the  
end to buy him a wooden one. Per, IV, vi.

The sentimentality which the average reader associates with Heywood, primarily because of its very triumph in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, is more manifest in *Pericles* than it is in the other dramas of romantic adventure. But this is rather pervasive than specific, and I can cite but a single parallel:

And wanting breath to speak, help me with tears. Per, I, iv.

What wants in words I will supply in tears. W K K, 142.

Heywood's classical allusions and easy familiarity with foreign scenes appear in *Pericles*. Indeed, I can find nothing in the dramatic structure of the play, its characterization, or the author's attitude that is not fully in accord with Heywood's practice.

### C. DICTION, VERSE, AND STYLE

Miss Hibbard remarks that "Heywood's vocabulary was not distinctive,"<sup>18</sup> and Mr. Thomas complains that "dictional parallels are not easily found [because] his expression is usually unpretentious and simple." Professor Adams speaks of "the colorless phrases habitually used by Heywood," and builds his argument for Heywood's claim to certain plays somewhat upon these verbal echoes. Mr. Arthur M. Clark<sup>19</sup> follows Rupert Brooke<sup>20</sup> in basing Heywood's claim to *Appius and Virginia* partly upon the vocabulary test, and adds to the list of the more unusual words which recur. I give the *Pericles* words and phrases which are cited by these critics in presenting Heywood's claim to other dramas: "Deject" in its literal sense, Mr. Clark refers to eleven instances.

Upon a poor dejected gentleman,  
Whom fortune hath dejected even to nothing. 2 F M W, 405.

From the dejected state wherein he is,  
He hopes by you his fortunes yet may flourish. Per, II, ii.

"Manage" as a noun, says Mr. Clark, is "very typical" of Heywood. "Work her to your manage" (Per, IV, vi). "To wage" (intransitive): "The commodity wages not with the danger" (Per. IV, ii). "The alliterative phrase *hand . . . heart* (or *head . . . heart*) was almost an obsession with Heywood" (Adams). "Till Pericles be dead, My heart can lend no succor to my head" (Per, I, i). Thomas gives,

My heart, it bends far lower than my knee, 1 If you, 235.

I cannot be much lower than my knees, Per, I, ii.

and adds, "In each case a faithful subject is waiting meekly for the decision of the sovereign, which may bring death." Adams

<sup>18</sup> *Mod. Phil.* VII, 384.

<sup>19</sup> *M. L. Review*, XVI, 1.

<sup>20</sup> *John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama*.



refers to six other passages. "Yield" as in the following instances:

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Our village yields none such.              | Cap, 138.    |
| The world yields not so divine a creature. | R L, 212.    |
| A sweeter duck all London cannot yield.    | H M C, 28.   |
| Populous city will yield many scholars.    | Per, IV, vi. |

I believe that words are more significant when the author uses them in a figurative sense. "Jewel" for virginity (1 E IV, 64), and Per, IV, vi) is used in this sense by others, and deserves only passing mention; but I find some significance in the following:

|                                       |               |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| To me he seems like diamond to glass. | Per, II, iii. |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| What are these rusticals,<br>Thou should'st repose such confidence in glass? | 1 E IV, 29 |
|--|------------|

|   |                 |
|---|-----------------|
| Or when she would with sharp needle wound<br>The cambric. | Per, IV, Gower. |
|---|-----------------|

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Or why the armed hoofs of your fiery steeds<br>Dare wound the forehead of his peaceful land. | F P, 198. |
|--|-----------|

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| If we had of every nation a traveller, we would lodge them with this<br>sign [ <i>i.e.</i> , Marina]. | Per, IV, ii. |
|---|--------------|

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| Her beauty draws to them more gallant customers<br>Than all the signs i' th' town else. | 1 F M W, 264. |
|---|---------------|

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Rest here awhile,<br>Until our stars that frown lend us a smile. | Per, I, iv. |
|--|-------------|

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Since our frowning stars Have brought us. | F P, 221 |
|---|----------|

Mr. Clark speaks of Heywood's "easy, undistinguished, tolerable verse . . . a versification characterized by its lack of characteristics." Others have noticed the wide difference in verse and style in plays of his undoubted authorship. Regarding such matters as may be tabulated, there is nothing in *Pericles* to create suspicion. The mixture of prose and verse, and the

promiscuous scattering of couplets characterize several of his plays, but are to be found in other authors also. The 18 per cent of rhymes in Acts I and II of *Pericles* is neither too large nor too small for him, as his range where I have estimated it runs from much higher to much lower. Miss Hibbard finds 18 per cent in *A Fair Maid of the Exchange* and 17 per cent in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*. The first two acts of *Pericles* have 14 per cent of double endings; the first two acts of *Royal King* 12 per cent. Some of the later plays have a much higher proportion, but I have made only partial and rough estimates. The first 120 lines of *Pericles* V, i, in which Shakespeare's revision was, I believe, slight, contain 18 per cent of double endings, while the next 120, where Shakespeare's hand is everywhere apparent, contain 28 per cent. I have not estimated the run-on lines, as I noticed no disparity in the general effect; but I have noticed that Heywood has an occasional improper run-on:

|                       |                      |              |
|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------|
|                       | Tied                 |              |
| Her to her chamber.   |                      | Per, II, v.  |
|                       | Cast                 |              |
| Me at your foot.      |                      | M W L, 123.  |
|                       | Doorkeeper to every  |              |
| Coistrel that comes.  |                      | Per, IV, vi. |
|                       | I'll acknowledge any |              |
| Thing base or deadly. |                      | C for B, 24. |

The broken lines in *Pericles*, as elsewhere, may be due to a corrupt text. Both here and in some of the acknowledged plays of Heywood they bump along among lines which are for the most part so regular that one tends to stumble on the occasional anapests. But it is the general effect of the verse which more than anything else convinces me that Heywood was the author of the first two acts of *Pericles*. There is the same swing to the end of the line, the same facility without unexpected harmonies or daring but effective variations. It is easy poetry, sometimes very beautiful and never quite pedestrian. When it rises, as it often does, it becomes strangely reminiscent of Shakespeare. Yes, Lamb was right: he *was* a "prose Shakespeare."

The verse in the brothel scenes does not seem to me at all typical of Heywood. Fleay's guess of William Rowley was a shrewd one, for this is such verse as Rowley might have written.

He collaborated with Heywood in *Fortune by Land and Sea*, a romantic-adventure drama of about the same poetic level as the non-Shakespearean parts of *Pericles*. But there are, after all, passages in Heywood which are not unlike the verse in the brothel scenes; and since there is so much in these scenes which does suggest Heywood, I think it unnecessary to suppose that anyone else was the author.

The pentameter choruses offer something of a contrast to those which are written in superficial imitation of Gower. If Heywood wrote them all, he must have felt that some variety was needed; and indeed in the Homer choruses in the *Ages* he does vary from blank verse to a set stanzaic structure. The Arguments in the *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas* change from tetrameter to pentameter couplets, and offer us in this an interesting analogy. One of the *Pericles* pentameter choruses is in alternate rhymes, which is the prevailing form in the *Ages* choruses. Perhaps no means would be fairer to test the genuineness of the *Pericles* choruses than to quote lines which Professor Adams cites as illustrative of Heywood's procedure, and affix corresponding lines from both sets of the *Pericles* choruses:

"The Chorus speaks first, then announces the dumb show."

We will make bold to explain it in dumb show. F P, 176.

What's dumb in show I'll plain with speech. Per, III.

"After explaining the dumb show, the Chorus suggests to the imagination of the audience part of the story that the playwright chooses to omit."

Imagine now these princes under sail. B A, 203.

Think Jupiter returned to Creete in haste. G A, 71.

Suppose her . . . . F M W, 319.

Your suppositions now must lend us aid. S A, 97.

Imagine Pericles arrived at Tyre. Per, IV.

Suppose her now at anchor. . . . Think this his bark. Per, V.

Which never could I so convey  
Unless your thoughts went on my way. Per, IV.

Objective attitude, with references to "acts," "scenes," etc.

Now do we draw the curtain of our scene. E IV, 119.

Our scene must play . . . . Per, IV, iv.

In your imagination hold This stage the ship. Per, III

Our stage so lamely can express a sea. 1 F M W, 319.

Minor correspondences which show the same method of procedure are:

Sit patient, then . . . . 1 F M W, 320.

Patience, then, And think . . . . Per, IV, iv.

Thus have you seen . . . . F P, 175.

Here have you seen . . . . Per, II.

To some extent, the very nature of a chorus determines the expressions that will be used. If it is the mission of the Chorus to carry the reader over the period between the acts, as in *Henry V*, it is all but inevitable that such terms as "suppose," "imagine," and "think" will be frequently employed; that the audience will be asked to "piece out our imperfections with your thoughts" (*Henry V*, opening chorus), and to "sit patient." Shakespeare also refers to "the playhouse," "our scene," and "our performance." But the *Henry V* choruses are not closer to those in *Pericles* than they are to those in other plays of Heywood.

Professor Adams notes also that Heywood is "childishly fond" of euphuistic balance. Heywood's plays are full of this.

And so by death gain life L M, 118

Who first shall die to lengthen life Per, I, iv.

The more smother tongued fellow, the more arrant knave  
2 If you, 271.

Who makes the fairest show means most deceit Per, I, iv.

Thou makest a queen thy servant. 2 F M W, 360.

Makest a prince thy servant. Per, I, ii.

What need we fear?  
 The ground's the lowest Per, I, iv.

Being on the ground,  
 Lower we cannot fall. 2 F M W, 388.

To undo one that is already conquered C for B, 49.

To beat us down the which are down already. Per, I, iv.

Heywood draws his similes and metaphors almost wholly from such natural objects as trees, serpents, mountains, stars, etc., or from jewels. All of these occur in *Pericles*, and some of them more than once. We also find some of his false metaphors. I give two instances of hyperbole:

Whose towers bore heads so high they kissed the clouds. Per, I, iv.

And these cloud-kissing turrets that you see . . . .  
 And thy proud spires that seem to kiss the clouds. F P, 230.

. . . . a whale; a plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful; such whales. . . . never leave gaping till they have swallowed the whole parish, church, steeples, bells, and all. Per., II, i.

I see him [Neptune's whale] sweep the seas along . . . .  
 He opes his jaws as if to swallow Troy,  
 And at one yawn whole thousands to destroy. B A, 206.

Mere redundancies may be noted in "How to rule and how to reign" (Per, II, iv), "That rules and reigns" (L M, 112); "Rage and anger" (Per, I, ii), "Rage and wrath" (H M C, 1, 2129). In a style which tends to repetition and redundancy, and a verse which is easy and graceful rather than compact and hurried, there will be few contractions. Like Massinger, Heywood uses the common t-contractions but in his early plays avoids almost wholly the familiar i' th', o' th', etc. He does have an occasional "shall's" (Per, IV, iv) and "him's" (Per, I, iv).

One who investigates a problem of this sort usually comes upon some matters that make against his thesis. I have never tried to hold back such considerations, nor will I now. It is strange that a man who placed so high a value upon learning should give the name of *Pericles* to Apollonius; Heywood's

sense of fitness would be shocked, it seems, by all the connotations which such a name would carry with it. Pericles himself is named in *The Man-Hater* (*Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, 163) as shielding Anaxagoras from the vengeance of Jupiter; the author who could make such a reference would not be likely to choose so inappropriate a name for the hero of a medieval romance. Or was Heywood thinking of Sidney's Pyrocles, associated in the *Arcadia* with Musidorus?<sup>21</sup>

I offer this as an argument on the other side; but weighing it fairly against the evidence for Heywood, I cannot find that it is by any means sufficient to reverse my judgment. I know of no other objection. As Professor Adams has said, we know so little of Heywood's early activities that there can be no serious objection to attributing to him a play which by internal evidence seems to be his. How the King's men came into possession of the play cannot be told, but that they did so is not without precedent. Heywood says that some of his plays "by shifting and change of companies have been negligently lost."<sup>22</sup>

Is it not possible, therefore, that Jonson was thinking of "Heywood's *Pericles*" in his contemptuous reference to the play,—as little concerned with Shakespeare's revision of it as were the Folio editors? I quote the stanza because of its implication regarding borrowers:

No doubt some mouldy tale  
Like Pericles, and stale  
As the shrieve's crusts, and nasty as his fish—  
Scraps out of every dish  
Thrown forth, and raked into the common tub,  
May keep up the Play-club;  
There, sweepings do as well  
As the best ordered meal;  
For who the relish of these guests will fit  
Needs set them but the alms-basket of wit.

<sup>21</sup> I find I have been anticipated here. "But the name is something more than an echo of Athenian history. It is a reminiscence of Pyrocles, one of the heroes of Sidney's romance of *Arcadia*. In the early scenes of the play, too, many expressions reflect a recent study of Sidney's romance." Lee, *Introd. to Facsimile reproduction*, p. 10. A foot-note also calls attention to the *Mucedorus* of 1595.

<sup>22</sup> E T, "To the Reader."

None of Jonson's references to the man he loved and honored "this side idolatry as much as any" has the tang of the *Pericles* slur. It is difficult to believe that between the high tribute in the Folio and the critical admiration in *Timber*, Jonson should have made so vicious a gibe at the dead Shakespeare. It seems from the stanza quoted that he must have thought of *Pericles* as the distinctive work of an imitative but successful living playwright. The somewhat fatuous, eminently successful, and blandly pilfering Heywood was apparently a leading member of the "Play-club" at the time when *The New Inn* scored its failure; in 1633 he had had "either an entire hand or at least a main finger" in 220 plays. If he did as much work in *Pericles* as seems like him, neither Jonson nor the Folio editors can be held to account for ignoring Shakespeare's connection with this drama.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Since writing this paper I have read the article on *Pericles* by Mr. H. Dugdale Sykes, in his *Side-Lights on Shakespeare*. Mr. Sykes reopens the case for Wilkins, citing in proof some half dozen characteristics every one of which is likewise a characteristic of Heywood! Mr. Sykes does not attempt to answer the points raised by Mr. Thomas, but, noting the omission of the relative pronoun in the nominative as occurring 15 times in the first two acts of *Pericles*, he states that this alone is sufficient to dispose of Mr. Thomas' candidate, Heywood. Should not one be a trifle more guarded? Choosing at random the first two acts of *WKK*, I found precisely 15 instances of this very feature! There is not one point raised by Mr. Sykes which does not substantiate the claim of Heywood.

XXIX. ACTORS' NAMES IN BASIC SHAKESPEAREAN  
TEXTS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO  
*ROMEO AND JULIET* AND *MUCH ADO*

One of the minor critical problems with regard to the early quartos and folios of Shakespeare relates to those textual irregularities in which the name of an actor appears in place of that of a character, suddenly transporting the reader from the land of make-believe to the Elizabethan tiring-room, and establishing a direct line of connection between the plays and the companies for which they were written.

Of such cases we have an even dozen, including mention, in the Strange-Chamberlain company, of the well known actors, Kempe and Cowley; the minor actor, John Sincklo or Sincler; the singer, Jack Wilson; Tawyer, apparently a trumpeter; and one "Nicke," as well as an abbreviation-shadow, one Fel[—], each of whom has a speech in *The Taming of the Shrew*; and possibly also two of Pembroke's Men, Gabriel Spenser and Humphrey Jeffes. These references are scattered through seven texts of six plays, extending from 3 *Henry VI* to *Much Ado About Nothing*.

The theory generally adopted by scholars to explain these passages is that the names were probably inserted by the theatrical prompter of Shakespeare's company, who for some reason made notes upon the theatre prompt-copy, and that these memoranda have been blunderingly included in the text by the compositor in the printing office. In fact, the occurrence of actors' names is generally regarded<sup>1</sup> as proof positive that the text was set up from the prompter's book. However, a recent article by the present writer<sup>2</sup> pointed out that the three Shakespearean scenes in which John Sincklo is named as impersonating certain characters agree in their evidence that the entries of Sincklo's name in the text had been made by the hand of Shakespeare himself, and that this was strictly in accordance with what might be expected of a playwright for a stock

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *Much Ado*, Furness var. ed., 230, n. 1; *ib.*, Cambr. ed., 92; 'Adams, *Shakespeare*, 517, 519.

<sup>2</sup> *John Sincklo as one of Shakespeare's Actors*, in *Anglia*, 1925.



company, constantly acting with that company, thoroughly acquainted with the respective abilities of the actors, and writing to their measure in manuscripts never intended for printing but solely for production and preservation as a permanent part of the company's stock in trade.

This suggests the advisability of examining the entire group of such cases. The following is a list of these references,<sup>3</sup> divided

<sup>3</sup> For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that from the above discussion the following entries in texts have been omitted for the reasons indicated: (1) In *Hamlet*, F<sub>1</sub>, III, ii, 171, 187, 192, 226, 237, *Bap.* appears for the speech heading *Player Queen*, being merely an abbreviated *Baptista*, the name of the Queen (cf. III, ii, 249). (2) In *2 Henry IV*, Q, I, i, 161, *Umfr.* appears for the speech heading *Travers*, probably merely as the result of a confusion of the name Travers with that of one of his sources of information, Sir John Umfreville (cf. I, i, 34). (3) In the *Shrew*, F<sub>1</sub>, IV, iv, 68, appears the stage direction, *Enter Peter*. No such name appears elsewhere among the characters of the play nor among the known members of the Chamberlain's Men; and the entrance is unmotivated, the character being given nothing to say or apparently to do, and a general *Exeunt* taking place four lines later. There is apparently not even any stage furniture to be shifted. (4) A parallel case to this is the *Enter Will* in *2 Henry IV*, Q, II, iv, 20, where the entrance of an otherwise unknown character is again unmotivated, the character being given nothing to say or do. (5) The only case of any real interest is that in *1 Henry IV*, Qq-F<sub>1</sub>, I, i, 181, where Poins says in the course of a speech to the Prince: "*Falstaffe, Haruey, Rossill, and Gadskill, shall robbe those men that wee haue already way-layde, . . . and when they haue the booty, if you and I do not rob them, cut this head from my shoulders.*" In the scene of the robbery (II, ii) the characters here called Harvey and Rossill are discovered to be Bardolph and Peto, but in Q<sub>1</sub> at II, iv, 193, 195, 199, three speeches given in F<sub>1</sub> to Gadskill are headed *Ross[ill]*. On the strength of this passage Harvey and Rossill are often, after Theobald's suggestion, considered to be the names of otherwise unknown Elizabethan actors (e. g., Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, II, 320, 337). This is improbable, however. The Q<sub>1</sub> is a "good quarto," published by authority of the company, seemingly to advertise the change of the name of Oldcastle to Falstaff (cf. Adams, *Shakespeare*, 228-9), and probably was printed directly from the playhouse MS. There is no chance for a slip through the faulty memory of an actor or the filling-in of a surreptitious stenographer; and the prompter would have no reason for inserting actors' names here in the middle of a speech. Nor, except through a momentary slip of the memory, is there any reason why, in the middle of a speech and for only the middle two out of a list of four closely consecutive names, Shakespeare should have inserted actors' names for those of characters; and that this is no momentary slip is clear from the three-fold appearance of *Ross[ill]* later in Q<sub>1</sub>. The only satisfactory explanation would appear to be that Shakespeare, writing the first speech in which the two characters were mentioned, intended to name them Harvey and Rossill, and after having passed II, iv, 199, changed his mind and gave them the more distinctive

into two classes according to whether the reference first appears in a basic text—that is, a printed text as close as we can get, for that play, to Shakespeare's original manuscript and in some cases certainly taken immediately from it—or in a secondary text—that is, a text founded upon a basic text, but containing evidence of a later history in the prompter's room. Within this classification the plays stand in the commonly accepted chronological order.

#### A. BASIC TEXTS

##### 3 *Henry VI*, F<sub>1</sub>

"Gabriel," I, ii, stage direction before 47; also line 49. (Called "Messenger" in the *True Tragedy*, 1595.)

"Sincklo," III, i, stage direction before 1; also lines 1, 6, 12, 22, 27, 80, 95, 97. (Called "Keeper," *True Tragedy*, 1595.)

"Humphrey," III, i, stage direction before 1, also lines 5, 26, 55, 59, 61, 66, 73, 75. (Called "Keeper," *True Tragedy*, 1595, where he is silent.)

##### *Romeo and Juliet*, Q<sub>3</sub>, 1599

"Will Kemp," IV, v, stage direction before 102. (F<sub>1</sub> "Peter.")

##### *The Taming of the Shrew*, F<sub>1</sub>

"Sincklo," Induction, line 88. (Modern texts, "a Player.")

"Nicke," III, i, line 82. (The preceding stage direction is, "Enter a Messenger.")

"Fel," IV, iii, line 63. (The preceding stage direction is, "Enter Haberdasher.")

##### 2 *Henry IV*, Q, 1600

"Sincklo," V, iv, stage direction before 1; also lines 5, 16, 25, 35. (F<sub>1</sub>, stage direction, "Beadles"; other lines, "Off[icer].")

##### *Much Ado About Nothing*, Q, 1600, and F<sub>1</sub>

"Kemp," IV, ii, lines 10, 13, 17, 27, 32, 38, 43, 46, 52, 58, 72, 75. (Modern texts, "Dogberry.")

"Cowley," IV, ii, lines 2, 5, 74. (Modern texts, "Verges.")

#### B. SECONDARY TEXTS

##### *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, F<sub>1</sub> (based on Q<sub>1</sub>, 1600, through Q<sub>3</sub>, 1619).

"Tawyer," V, i, stage direction before 127: "Tawyer with a Trumpet before them [the clowns]." (Not in Q<sub>1</sub> or Q<sub>3</sub>.)

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names Bardolph and Peto, but did not catch all of the back passages to be corrected (cf. the parallel case of *Old. for Falstaff* in 2 *Henry IV*, Q, I, ii, 137). That revision took place in II, iv, is clear from the fact that in F<sub>1</sub> one of Gadshill's speeches (line 192) has been transferred to the Prince and Rossill's three speeches (lines 193, 195, 199) have been transferred, not to Peto or Bardolph, but to Gadshill. Regarded as Elizabethan actors, Harvey and Rossill are pretty certainly merely "ghost names," and have no right to inclusion above.

*Much Ado About Nothing*, F<sub>1</sub> (based on Q, 1600)

"Jack Wilson," II, iii, stage direction before 39: "Enter Prince, Leonato, Claudio, and Iacke Wilson." (Q reads: "Enter prince, Leonato, Claudio, Musicke," and before line 45, "Enter Balthaser with musicke.")

On examining the cases thus tabulated, we are immediately struck by certain general facts. The first is the sharp line of demarcation between the two in the secondary texts and those in the basic. Those in the secondary texts are of the nature that we should expect a prompter's interpolations to be: isolated changes involving a single brief phrase, of a purely superficial nature, not closely related to characterization, and as to purpose easily accounted for. The fact that they do not appear in the two quartos (1600) fixes them as having been inserted between that date and 1623. The direction for the trumpeter in *A Midsummernight's Dream* is intended to add a slight touch of pageantry to the opening of the Pyramus-and-Thisbe burlesque, although it is out of keeping with Shakespeare's conception, since all of Bottom's party are occupied with their own weighty parts and the trumpeter is an unaccountable excrescence upon the group. The mention of Jack Wilson in *Much Ado* is simply incidental to transferring his entrance from its original position before line 45 to the more graceful group entrance with the Prince, Leonato, and Claudio at line 39. The disappearance of the word *musicke*, which had been employed in both previous directions, suggests that Wilson accompanied himself, taking the place of a singer who did not, and that the slight shift may have been made at his own request. Just when he became a member of the company we have not, to my knowledge, any information. This shift suggests that it was probably after 1600, which might nevertheless admit him in time to play the singing clown in *Twelfth Night* at its generally accepted date, 1601.<sup>4</sup> These two cases are real prompter's interpolations.

<sup>4</sup> The part of Balthazar seems too small to have been written for an actor capable of playing Feste in *Twelfth Night*, which is the singing part in the play; and Shakespeare's creation of Feste would suggest the recent acquisition by the company of a new singing actor. Yet if Wilson was baptized on April 24, 1585, as is considered probable (Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, II, 349), his voice would scarcely be in condition for Feste by 1601. Of course, the stage direction may have been altered at any time prior to 1623. See *Much Ado*, Praetorius facsimile of Q, p. vi, n. 1.

But note that while twenty-four texts in the First Folio were freshly printed from complete playhouse manuscripts (which manuscripts, it becomes increasingly probable, were as a rule the official prompt-books) and five other texts were based upon copies of "good quartos" that had either themselves been used as prompt-books or had been corrected and amplified from such,<sup>6</sup> yet we find in the entire list only these two clear cases of prompters' insertions containing actors' names, in *Much Ado* and the *Dream* respectively, and other cases possibly of the same origin in only two of the remaining twenty-seven texts, namely, in *3 Henry VI* and the *Shrew*. Yet these twenty-nine theatrical MSS had, in 1623, been in the prompters' possession for periods ranging from some four years (for the *Dream*, Q<sub>1</sub>, 1619) to thirty-one years (*1 Henry VI*, original MS, 1592). Apparently the prompters of Shakespeare's company were not much given to inserting actors' names in their official play-scripts either during the period of Shakespeare's connection with the company or for the seven years following his death.

The items in the basic texts tabulated above, whether originally published in quarto form or in the First Folio, differ strikingly from those in the two secondary texts both in number and in distribution. They concern ten characters and involve no fewer than forty-three entries, as against the two characters with a single entry apiece in the secondary group. They are scattered through five texts of the highest direct authority, of which three, those of *2 Henry IV*, *Much Ado*, and *Romeo and*

<sup>6</sup> Among the twenty plays first published in the First Folio all were apparently from full theatrical MSS except *T. G. V.*, *M. for M.*, *W. T.*, and *John*, which seem, from the paucity of their stage directions, to have been made from texts of the actors' parts assembled with the aid of a *plat* of the play. *Rich. III.*, *2 Hen. IV.*, *Ham.*, *Lear*, *Tr. and Cr.*, and *Oth.* were also printed from playhouse MSS although "good quartos" of them had already appeared; and the same was of course true concerning the plays that had appeared only in "bad quartos," viz., *Hen. V* and *M. W.* Five plays were printed in F<sub>1</sub> from authentic quartos that had been used as or corrected from prompt-books, namely, *Much Ado* (Q, 1600), *Tit. And.* (Q<sub>1</sub>, 1611), *1 Hen. IV* (Q<sub>1</sub>, 1613), *Rich. II* (Q<sub>1</sub>, 1615) and *M. N. D.* (Q<sub>2</sub>, 1619). See Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* and his *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, Adams' *Shakespeare*, and the available volumes of the new Cambridge ed. For the evidence that the F<sub>1</sub> text of *1 Hen. VI* was printed from the original MS of 1592, and that the F<sub>1</sub> text of the *Errors* was based upon an MS parts of which go back to 1577, see studies of those plays by the present writer, soon to appear.

*Juliet*, were published within from one to three years after the plays had attained the form that was final for them up to the time of quarto publication, so that, out of the forty-three entries, the twenty-one that occur in these three quartos date early in the histories of their respective plays as certainly as the two in the two secondary texts date late.

A closer scrutiny of these cases in basic texts collectively reveals a number of significant facts. The first is that only for one rôle do they affect the stage directions exclusively, and for five of the ten rôles they affect them not at all, but solely the speech headings. Moreover, in general they affect practically *all* the speeches of the given character in that scene.<sup>6</sup> And, most surprising, for three of the ten rôles the entries do not begin where they would naturally be most needed, at the first appearance of the character in question, but in later scenes. Now all this is not in consonance with what we should expect from a prompter's function. His first concern in connection with a part would be with the direction for entrance of the character, and if there were any doubt as to the actor to enter for certain lines, he should first attack the direction that places that actor on the stage, yet in only one-half of the rôles are these involved. Next, granting for the sake of argument that it might be a function of the prompter to indicate the assignment of parts to actors, the permanent prompt-book would not be the place to do it, especially for subordinate characters in a company whose subordinate members were subject to change. The place to do it would be on the copies of the parts for the respective actors, and if then it were necessary to make any notation in the permanent prompt-book (which we know it was not), it would be at that actor's first entrance in the play, not half way through the part, and once, at about the first speech in that scene, not before every speech of the character in the scene. And granting that the prompter might perhaps wish to clarify one or more somewhat obscure speech heading abbreviations in the MS, which is quite conceivable, the natural way to do it, and that most in keeping with the maintenance of the permanent prompt-book in fair shape, would be to fill out Shakespeare's original forms,

<sup>6</sup> Outside of the case in *R. and J.*, the sole exceptions to this are a *Const[able]* for *Cowley* and a *Const[able]* for *Kemp* in *Much Ado*, IV, ii, 53 and 69 respectively.

and not adopt the radical and unusual method of substituting actors' names for what Shakespeare had written. And as for the theory that Shakespeare muddled his speech headings and some one else had to follow him in order to sort out the speeches among his characters, in the scene in *3 Henry VI* this supposition is demonstrably false, and there is no other possible case in the list to which it might find application except that in *Much Ado*, which will be fully discussed later. But think of a prompter's having to "sort out" speeches between two such strongly contrasted characters as Dogberry and Verges! And failing then!—for according to this theory he writes (or retains) one *Const[able]* for Verges and another *Const[able]* for Dogberry only sixteen lines apart, and there is a yet more obvious analogous slip in the scene in *3 Henry VI*. The theory of the prompter's being in general responsible for interpolating actors' names in the Shakespearean MSS breaks down at every point.

A second significant general fact as to the cases in basic texts is that the plays involved were all written before 1600. In the seventeen plays running chronologically on from *As You Like It* and *Hamlet* to the end of Shakespeare's life-work, no such case occurs. In his early writing of plays Shakespeare's MSS were solely for the use of the companies for which he wrote them, and might include anything that would be of service, with no thought of purely literary formalities. But in 1600 the Chamberlain's company made their chief release of Shakespeare's plays for publication, authorizing the quarto forms of *The Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado*, *2 Henry IV*, and *A Midsummernight's Dream*.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the appearance of actors' names in the text ceases about the date when publication on a rather large scale would naturally cause Shakespeare involuntarily to assume a somewhat more literary attitude toward his manuscript.

A third striking fact in connection with the list is that, so far as we know them, all the actors named are contemporary in

<sup>7</sup> *Rich. III*, *Rich. II*, *L.L.L.*, and *M.N.D.* had already been forced into the market by actual or attempted piracies, and *1 Hen. IV* by the necessity for emphasizing the fact that Falstaff was not Sir John Oldcastle; but these appeared at intervals and the company would regard them as exceptional cases. In 1600 the representative of the company also registered for publication, but "to be stayed," *A.Y.L.I.*, *Hen. V*, and *Every Man in his Humour*.

the company with the period of composition of the play in which the given name or names appear. Kempe, Cowley, and Sincklo were all members of the Strange-Chamberlain company in 1592.<sup>8</sup> Kempe remained a member until near the close of the century, and Cowley and Sincklo for some years after. Jeffes (if he was "Humphrey") and Spenser (if he was "Gabriel") were members of Pembroke's company at a time when that company owned the *True Tragedy* out of which Shakespeare made 3 *Henry VI*, and it is quite probable that in the bad theatrical season beginning June 23, 1592, Sincklo shifted from Strange's Men to Pembroke's, then in their heyday, and returned to Strange's Men when Pembroke's company a year later gave up the ghost. "Nicke," in the *Shrew*, was probably Nicholas Tooley, one of Strange's boys in 1592. It is difficult to believe that the prompter, if he were the one responsible for filling in these actors' names, not only left many other "Messengers," "Keepers," and the like not filled in, but in a period ranging between twenty-three and thirty years for the various individual plays, made no attempt to bring his texts up to date as the membership of the company changed, especially among the subordinates. If, on the contrary, the author is responsible, one would look for just what we have, the original actors only.

A fourth matter in which these cases agree is in dealing exclusively with characters in the subplot or with mere supernumeraries entrusted with a brief speaking part—characters unnamed in Shakespeare's sources and for whom in general there was no reason for him to invent names, unless the emergency should arise in dialogue. Omitting for the moment the case in *Romeo and Juliet*, look at the list *seriatim*—a "Messenger," two "Keepers," a "Player," a "Messenger," a "Haberdasher," an "Officer," and (to follow some of the readings in *Much Ado* Q and F) a "Constable" and a "Headborough." Not only are these very subordinate characters; they are given merely class names. Now, one must distinguish between rôles taken by Shakespeare from his sources (subject to modification, but nevertheless already endowed with very distinct personalities) and those minor rôles forced upon his invention by plot necessi-

<sup>8</sup> For this paragraph see Murray, *Eng. Dram. Companies*, I, 74ff; also, at some points, the outcoming studies of the early history of the *Errors* and of 1 *Henry VI* by the present writer.

ties. It is quite conceivable that such a minor rôle should begin as a nameless part (its germ perhaps being Shakespeare's visualization of one of his actors in it), should then develop into a fuller personality as Shakespeare worked with it, and should acquire a name only when the exigencies of the dialogue called for it. And all of the characters of the varieties listed above are of the latter class—subordinate, sometimes infinitesimal, rôles, that would develop if given opportunity, but not otherwise. Often Shakespeare has no reason to care who shall tell certain news, and then he simply writes, "Enter a Messenger," as he does in scores of instances. Sometimes his abbreviation for the speech heading is based on a twist in the preceding dialogue, as in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV, iv, 14, where the Folio reads:

*Cap* [*ulet*]. . . . .

Now fellow, what there?

*Fel* [*low*]. Things for the Cooke sir, but I know not what.

Sometimes for special reasons he pictures a special actor in the nameless part; and if so, the young Shakespeare, turning out (when he was not rehearsing and acting) twenty-one plays, new or revised, two long poems, and some 150 sonnets in about ten years, inserts in his MS the name of the given actor and hurries on. If two such characters have a dialogue, why write a colorless *1 Keeper* and *2 Keeper*? He writes the names of the actors, *Sincklo* and *Humphrey*, whom he wishes to play the parts because they are somewhat contrasted character types; he gives the parts a very slight character development, and their work being done, dismisses them from the play.

Let us now glance at the separate cases in the basic texts. First, for the sake of completeness, we must rapidly summarize the evidence as to *Sincklo*. In *3 Henry VI*, III, i, Shakespeare, revising a brief scene in the *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of Yorke*, expanded it to include dialogue by two Keepers instead of one; introduced the name *Sincklo* nine times and the name *Humphrey* also nine times in the opening stage direction and in speech headings to distinguish the two Keepers; developed *Sincklo*'s part in harmony with that actor's personality as shown in other references to him; in the earlier part of the scene slipped by assigning a speech to *Sincklo* immediately following



a longer speech also by Sincklo, having evidently forgotten while writing the longer speech, which of the two as yet undifferentiated characters he had given it to; and midway through the scene shifted the speech heading for Henry VI, the third character present, from *Hen.* to *King*, only when necessary to avoid confusion between the abbreviations *Hen.* and *Hum.* Both of the points last named are natural in an author in the act of composition, but not in a prompter rapidly skimming a scene to "sort out" speeches between the two Keepers, and the last would be unmotivated in the author unless he were already using the name of Humphrey in his text. In *The Taming of the Shrew*, Induction, 88, Sincklo was selected by name to answer in a dramatically unmotivated passage in which a Lord compliments a strolling player on his previous acting of a certain named part in a described scene, the very definite passage being apparently pointless unless it was a personal reference, and the name *Sincklo* certainly standing out in notable prominence alongside of the unnamed *Lord*, *2 Player*, and *Plai[er]* who are the other speakers in the scene. In *2 Henry IV*, V, ii, Shakespeare wrote the scene largely around the cadaverous, hard-featured personality of Sincklo, selecting him by name (repeated five times) from the company expressly that his appearance might be provocative of the special type of personal abuse that Hostess Quickly and Doll Tearsheet, under arrest, shower upon him. These three passages, involving fifteen different entries of Sincklo's name, agree in support of the view that Shakespeare penned the entries during the composition of his original text. They affect three out of the five texts that we are discussing.

From the single-speech cases in the list under consideration there is, outside of the case in the *Shrew*, little to be gained. "Gabriel," who is given an entrance and a four-line messenger speech in *3 Henry VI*, I, ii, 48-52, may have been, as usually supposed,<sup>9</sup> Gabriel Spenser of Pembroke's Men—he is certainly the only contemporary actor with that Christian name whom we know, although it seems an absurdly small part for one reputed to have been the leader of the company. "Nicke," who after the direction, *Enter a Messenger*, in the *Shrew*, III, i, 82,

<sup>9</sup> E.g., J. Q. Adams, *Shakespeare*, 137.

is assigned a three-line speech to Bianca from her father, was supposably, as already said, the Nicholas Tooley who on March 6, 1592, was a boy playing women's parts for *Strange's Men*.<sup>10</sup> No special reason for choosing him for the part appears on the surface. The same is true of the actor represented by the abbreviation *Fel.* who, after the stage direction, *Enter Haberdasher*, in the *Shrew*, IV, iii, 62, is given a single-line speech, *Heere is the cap your Worship did bespeake*.<sup>11</sup> Conceivably the name may be a misprint for *Bel[l]*, the "T. Bell" who was another of the boys in *Four Plays in One*. But none of these cases is illuminating, nor is it to be expected that they should be. The reason for the choice of a particular actor for a small part, obvious on the stage, will rarely be clear from the content of a brief speech when the reader has no other knowledge of the actor's personality. And this is equally true whether the name were written by the author or by another.

The entry, *Enter Will Kemp*, in the 1599 quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, IV, v, 102, is the briefest in the list. It is part of a very complex situation. Four texts must be taken into account: the *Q*<sub>1</sub> of 1597, of the origin of which there are opposed theories, but which it would seem was certainly at least in part derived from a stenographic copy stealthily made during a performance, and which therefore has imperfect dialogue and none of the original MS stage directions or speech headings; the *Q*<sub>2</sub> of 1599, the basic text, published by authority of the company to take the place of the piratical *Q*<sub>1</sub>, and advertised on its title page as "newly corrected, augmented, and amended"; the *Q*<sub>3</sub> of 1609 which is generally a mere reprint of *Q*<sub>2</sub>, and to which we need refer but once; and *F*<sub>1</sub>, which is in general a reprint of *Q*<sub>3</sub>. It was Shakespeare's duty to supply a part for the important actor who was professionally the Clown of the company, in every play where it was at all possible.<sup>12</sup> In *Q*<sub>2</sub> and *F*<sub>1</sub> at I, ii, 1, the stage direction accordingly reads, *Enter Capulet, Countie*

<sup>10</sup> *Plat of Four Plays in One*, *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, 131.

<sup>11</sup> There seems no relation between this abbreviation and the *Fel.* in *R. and J.* cited above, as the latter evidently results from the *fellow* in the preceding line.

<sup>12</sup> Compare the interestingly isolated passages in *Othello*, III, i, 3-32, and III, iv, 1-23, in which the Clown is introduced where he can do the least harm. *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Lear* of course contain triumphant solutions of the problem.

*Paris, and the Clowne*, although the Clown's eight speeches ensuing are all headed *Ser[vant]*. At I, iii, 100, Q<sub>1</sub>, presumably recording what the stenographer saw, has *Enter Clowne* (Q<sub>2</sub>, F<sub>1</sub>: *Serving man*) who utters four lines of comic summons to Lady Capulet in order to clear the stage. In all the texts, at II, iv, 108, *Enter Nurse and her man*, the latter called *Peter* at lines 112, 113, and 230, and having his single speech headed *Pet[er]*. In Q<sub>2</sub>-F<sub>1</sub> at IV, iv, 16, a servant is mentioned by old Capulet to a servingman bearing logs,

Call Peter, he will shew thee where they are;

where the earlier Q<sub>1</sub> has,

*Will* will tell thee where thou shalt fetch them.

Again, in Q<sub>1</sub> at IV, v, 102, *Enter Servingman* to play the "smart Aleck" with the musicians who are to be dismissed after Juliet's supposed death, his seven speeches in that scene being headed *Ser[vant]*. Here, instead of *Enter Servingman*, Q<sub>2</sub> has an actor's name, *Enter Will Kemp*, but his speeches, amplified to ten, are headed *Peter*, the presumption being that *Peter* originally stood in the MS in the stage direction also, in place of *Will Kemp*. Q<sub>3</sub> follows Q<sub>2</sub>, but F<sub>1</sub>, although generally following Q<sub>2</sub>, reads *Enter Peter* in consonance with the ten speech headings. Finally, in Q<sub>1</sub>, at V, i, 12, to Romeo at Mantua *Enter Balthasar his [Romeo's] man, booted*, his two speeches being headed *Balt*. Q<sub>2</sub> has merely *Enter Romeos man*, with speech headings *Man*, but corroborates the Q<sub>1</sub> name in a line common to all the texts,

News from Verona, how now Balthazer.

Yet both in Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> we are startled to read in the churchyard scene (V, iii, 22) *Enter Romeo and Peter*, and to find two speech headings *Pet[er]* in place of the logical Q<sub>1</sub> direction, *Enter Romeo and Balthazar, with a torch, a a matlocke, and a crow of yron*, and the corresponding speech abbreviations. Peter and Balthazar cannot be different characters, for in all the texts the identity of the two is fixed by V, iii, 271-5:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> In Q<sub>1</sub> the sense, though not the phrasing, is as in this from Q<sub>2</sub>. For the heading *Balth*. the Folio has *Boy* caught from a *Boy* (Paris' page) at V, iii, 167, 171.

*Prince . . . .*

Wheres Romeos man? what can he say to this?

*Balth.* I brought my maister newes of Iuliets death,

And then in poste he came from *Mantua*

To this same place. To this same monument

This letter he early bid me give his Father.

Now certainly the Clown of I, ii, (Q<sub>2</sub>, F<sub>1</sub>) and of I, iii (Q<sub>1</sub>) would be Kempe, and allowing for the difference in the rank of those he addresses, his traits there are the same as in the *Will Kemp* scene with the musicians, while the slip in Q<sub>1</sub> of *Will* as the name of the man-of-all-work (IV, iv, 16) also evidently results from Kempe's playing the part; but the Peter of II, iv, is explicitly in all the texts the "man" of the Nurse, and is moreover a dolt very different from the cocky whippersnapper of the other three scenes, while the Balthazar-Peter of V, iii, 22, belonging as he does to Romeo and the house of Montague, serious, and always speaking verse, cannot possibly be intended as either of the other two Peters. The situation is further complicated by the fact that in one of Shakespeare's sources, Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, Romeo's servant, whose action and speech are closely followed in those of Balthazar in Act V, is named Pietro. The scansion of the word *Balthazar* in the single line in which he is named, however, and which occurs in the earliest printed form, will not permit the theory that it was originally *Peter*.

The natural explanation would seem to be that Shakespeare, writing the fourth of these scenes (IV, iv), by a slip of memory transferred the name Peter from the servant of the third scene (II, iv) to the servant of the first two (I, ii, iii) and so wrote Peter, the name of the Nurse's man, throughout the new passage that he intended for the Clown; that the mistake was detected during rehearsals or possibly during the copying of the actors' parts, and the correction was made, probably by the prompter at Shakespeare's direction, by inserting *Will Kemp* instead of *Peter* at the doubtful point in the stage direction in the official promptbook, where, as a correction, it belonged; and that when preparing the text of Q<sub>3</sub> for republication in F<sub>1</sub> some reviser, noting the discrepancy between the single *Will* and the ten *Peters* in the speech headings, naturally shifted the stage direction back to *Peter*. As for the Peter-Balthazar tangle,

the only possible explanation that I can perceive is, that in a version preceding that of 1597 the author, following his source in Painter, wrote at V, i, 12:

Newes from Verona, how now Pietro?

that late in the writing of the 1597 version, when Shakespeare ran against a conflict between the *Pietro* of V, i, and the *Peter* that he had introduced in II, iv, he changed *Pietro* to the metrically equivalent *Balthazar*; and that in the *Enter Romeo and Peter* of the basic text and the Folio at V, iii, 22, and in the two speech-headings following, we have uncorrected traces of an original *Pietro*.

The tangle is undoubtedly a difficult one. The important points in the proposed explanation are, first, that in the brief *Enter Will Kemp* we apparently have a real prompter's correction, scarcely made, however, without Shakespeare's authority; and second, that in *Balthazar*, standing for Painter's metrically equivalent *Pietro* and taken in connection with the *Peter* of Q<sub>1</sub> at II, iv, 112, 163, 165, we have one of the clearest remaining textual indications of a version of the play preceding that of Q<sub>1</sub>.

Finally, we come to the most interesting of all the cases, the occurrence of the names *Kemp* and *Cowley* for *Dogberry* and *Verges* in both the quarto and the folio texts of *Much Ado*, IV, ii. *Dogberry* and *Verges* appear in four scenes in the play. In the first half of III, iii, they give instructions to the Watch, who in the second half, and in the absence of *Dogberry* and *Verges*, arrest *Borachio* and *Conrade*, the former the villain who by his intrigue with the gentlewoman *Margaret* has intentionally created a situation injurious to the reputation of the lady *Hero* in the main plot. In the quarto the stage direction opening the scene reads, *Enter Dogbery and his compartner with the Watch*, and the speech headings are uniformly *Dogbery* and *Verges* or their abbreviations. In III, v, the two report the capture of *Borachio* and *Conrade* to the Governor *Leonato*, and in his haste, due to the approaching marriage of his daughter *Hero*, he commissions them to examine the prisoners. Here the opening stage direction is, *Enter Leonato, and the Constable, and the Headborough*, and the speech headings for the two are *Const[able]* *Dogbery* (eight cases), *Headborough*, *Const[able]*, and

(at the very end of the scene) *Dogberry*, *Dogb.*, and *Verges*. In IV, ii, Dogberry, Verges, and the Sexton conduct the examination of Borachio and Conrade. Here the names are highly confused. The stage direction is, *Enter the Constables, Borachio, and the Towne clearke in gownes*. The speech headings for Dogberry are *Keeper*, *Andrew*, *Kemp* (eight cases), *Ke.*, *Kem.*, *Const[able]*, and *Constable*, but never *Dogberry*. The speech headings for Verges are *Cowley*, *Couley*, and *Const[able]*, but never *Verges*, and once *Couley* is misprinted for *Conrade*. In V, i, 205-386, Dogberry and Verges with the prisoners meet the Prince and Claudio, the latter of whom has publicly denounced Hero at the altar. To them Borachio confesses his villainy and the Sexton enters with the Governor, Leonato, whom he has informed of the facts off-stage. Here the stage direction is, *Enter Constables, Conrade and Borachio*,<sup>14</sup> and the speech heading for Dogberry is uniformly *Const[able]*, although a *Con[stable]* 2 appears for a single brief sentence just before the entrance of the Sexton.

This extraordinary confusion of class names, names of *dramatis personæ*, names of actors, and compounds the latest editors of the play, in the invaluable new Cambridge edition, ascribe partly (and correctly) to compositors' misprints, partly to the introduction of a new character in III, v, but mainly<sup>15</sup> to an extraordinary repeated forgetfulness in Shakespeare of the names of Dogberry and Verges, unparalleled elsewhere in the thirty-seven plays. But if we will study the textual evidence in the light of the views outlined earlier in this article, we shall, I believe, arrive for the first time at a natural and reasonable explanation and shall also establish the history of the composition of the subplot.

The Cambridge editors have shown<sup>16</sup> that the play has certainly been revised and that among the revised scenes is III, v, in which Verges was probably not originally present. Now in all study of rewritten and interpolated scenes in a given plot-thread by a given author this may be set down as an indisputable principle: scenes or parts of scenes that are essential

<sup>14</sup> F<sub>1</sub> misprints the *Constables* of Q<sub>2</sub> as a singular.

<sup>15</sup> *Much Ado*, new Cambridge ed., 95-96.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 93-99.

to the plot *must*<sup>17</sup> have been in the original version, either in their present or in an earlier form; scenes or parts of scenes that are not essential *may* have been interpolated *in toto*. On the basis of this principle the exact status of the scenes in question is to be decided by studying the textual evidence. In the case of the comic subplot in *Much Ado* the plot logic is easy to read. The purpose of the subplot is, of course, to bring about the discovery of the device by which Hero was calumniated and thus to render possible a happy ending to the comedy. But the facts concerning Margaret's impersonation of Hero must be held back from those chiefly interested until near the end of the play, and as there are no low comedy (i.e., clown) scenes elsewhere in the drama, the discovery had best, for Shakespeare's company, be made through the medium of low comedy.<sup>18</sup> These demands are both met in the examination of Borachio and Conrade, not by Leonato, Hero's father, but by the rustics, of whom the leading one, Dogberry, the Clown in the early Shakespearean sense, is utterly unfit for the task. But in order that results may nevertheless be speedily obtained (for in drama time limitations necessitate speed), the blundering self-important Dogberry must have joined with him a rather sharp-witted colleague, the Sexton, who gets results. These two characters are essential and therefore were both originally present. To fit this central subplot scene (IV, ii) into the main plot, two other scenes are essential, that in which the rustics are commissioned by their superior, Leonato, to do that which it is not normally their function to do (III, v), and that in which the results of the examination are brought to bear on the main plot (V, i). All three scenes therefore certainly appeared originally in the subplot, although not necessarily in their present form. As to III, iii, it is not necessary for the audience actually to see the arrest of Borachio, but lacking the presentation of the scene

<sup>17</sup> There is a bare possibility that an equivalent device may have been used to bring about the same plot result; but after a dramatist has written the scenes for a given device and produced them with fair success, there is not one chance in a thousand that he will discard them for different plot mechanics. This is especially true of Shakespeare, always economical of energy in rewriting.

<sup>18</sup> A second advantage of this is that the low comedy in the second half of the play takes the place of the high comedy of Benedick and Beatrice in the first half, which latter tends to disappear with the growing seriousness of the main plot.

between Margaret and Borachio at Hero's chamber window, it is necessary that there should be a retrospective narration of what occurred there.<sup>19</sup> This is brought about by the conversation between Borachio and his confidant Conrade, which is economically made the occasion of their arrest by the Watch. The second half of III, iii, is therefore also essential. But the first half, in which the Watch are instructed in their duties by Dogberry and Verges, is in no way essential to the second half of the scene or to the plot, and therefore may be an interpolation.

Let us now examine the textual evidence, and in the light of the additional fact—usually concealed under the editing of modern editions, but glaringly obvious in the basic texts—that Shakespeare frequently first conceived his subordinate characters under class names rather than personal.<sup>20</sup> The new Cambridge editors consider III, v, a revised scene. On the stage direction, *Enter Leonato, and the Constable, and the Headborough*, they comment: "The duplication of 'and' suggests that Verges was an addition to the scene. Note also that up to l. 45 all Dogberry's speeches are headed 'Const. Dog.' in Q., the 'Dog.' being presumably a later insertion to distinguish one constable from another. The deduction is, therefore, that we have here an original scene revised in 1598-9." To this evidence cited by the Cambridge editors it should be added that in both Q and F<sub>1</sub> Dogberry's original *exit* (in the singular) still stands after his *It shall be suffigance* in line 56, although in the present text he does not leave until line 69, nor Leonato until line 61, when the latter is summoned by a Messenger who has entered after the original exit mark; and it must also be observed that at the exit sign the original speech heading abbreviations for *Constable* cease, and the speeches of the two rustics thereafter in the scene are marked simply *Dogb[ery]* and *Verges*. It will also be noticed that the Sexton attains a name, *Francis Seacoale*, only in the addendum after the original exit. Unmistakably the scene is rewritten, and the indications are that in the revision Shake-

<sup>19</sup> The planning of the balcony scene by Don John and Borachio in II, ii, is not sufficient preparation for the church scene, IV, i. The audience must know that the plan was carried out. The Cambridge editors apparently believe that in an earlier form of the play the balcony scene was presented.

<sup>20</sup> Striking illustrations are in *L.L.L.*, I, ii, 132, *Clowne, Constable, Wench*; III, i, 1, *Braggart and his Boy*; V, i, 1, *the Pedant, Curate, and Dull*; etc., etc.



speare wrote in the part of Verges and the material in which he is concerned.

In V, i, also, there is no indication of the original presence of Verges in the scene. The stage direction before line 205 reads in the quarto, *Enter Constables, Conrade, and Borachio*. Dogberry's speeches are throughout headed merely *Const[able]*. That several of the Watch are with him is clear from his "and *masters*, do not forget to specifie when time & place shall serve, that I am an Asse." The only speech by another member of his group is headed *Con. 2*, presumably the head of the Watch, whereas Verges is Headborough; and the second Constable's speech is in no way distinctive of Verges.<sup>21</sup> At line 268 the Sexton enters with Leonato, but says nothing. There is no indication that the scene has undergone any revision. Without a single proper name of the group in which we are interested, but containing simply their class names, it doubtless gives us the original form of the nomenclature in the subplot.

On the other hand, III, iii a, in which Dogberry gives the instructions to the Watch, shows every sign of having been interpolated during the revision.<sup>22</sup> It is perfectly clear copy for the compositor, the headings are uniformly *Dogbery* and *Verges* throughout, and the opening stage direction, *Enter Dogbery and his compartner with the Watch*, does not, at Verges' very first entrance, find it necessary to name him—proof positive that his identity was already well understood; while the touch of magniloquence in *compartner*, unusual humor in a stage direction, also comes from an artist to whom clarity of statement at this point was a minor consideration. Then, too, in this scene alone is Verges given a fair share of the dialogue and some originality of thought, as if there had been no necessity for squeezing his part into a limited space in the manuscript and without too much disturbance of dialogue already connected. The first half of the scene ends with a conclusive *Exeunt* (neither *exeunt ambo* nor supplemented by a *manet*) despite the fact that the Watch remains upon the stage for the arrest to follow. Further, the scene is not an artistic unit. There is no causal relation between

<sup>21</sup> Of course the actor of old Verges can blend them into his part, as is always done today.

<sup>22</sup> This is also the opinion of Mr. J. D. Wilson, new Cambridge ed., 135.

the half-scenes; the Watch do not follow their instructions, nor on the other hand is any comic point made of the fact that they do not, there or in any other part of the play, as would have been the case if the early part of III, iii, had been planned as introductory to the scene and the general subplot action in the author's original conception. We need have no hesitancy in deciding that III, iii, 1-101, as a whole is a late addition to the subplot. And the only mention of the name Dogberry in the dialogue of the play occurs at line 8 of this later added scene. Elsewhere he is addressed as "honest neighbour," or "officer," or, in four cases, as "master constable."

So far we have, in three out of the four subplot scenes, no evidence that Verges was present in the original form of the play. Let us now examine the trial scene, the heart of the subplot. Here we find the most unmistakable evidence of revision, and moreover, of revision due to the introduction of Verges. First, the compositor evidently had difficulty in reading the speech headings on account of obscurity of copy, such as would arise from interlining, canceling, and writing in the margin. He has *Keeper* for *Kemp*, *Constable* for *Cowley*, *Couley* for *Conrade*, and a further difficulty of *Andrew* for *Kemp*. In close connection with the reading of *Couley* for *Conrade* is also a case of two speeches run together:

*Couley.* Let them be in the hands of Coxcombe.

This, the following speech of Dogberry shows clearly, was meant to be divided, somewhat as in all modern editions:

*Couley.* Let them be in the hands—

*Conrade.* Off, coxcombe!

This is closely analogous to the misdivision of metrical lines owing to their being written crowdedly in the margin, one of the Cambridge editors' chief evidences of revised text<sup>22</sup>; and this crowding must also be responsible for a compositor's misreading of the earlier half of the line, which is unnatural as given, "Let them be in the hands," and has never been really satisfactorily emended, unless possibly in Tyrwhitt's suggestion, "Let them bind the (*or* their) hands." Even more significant than these matters of textual criticism is the amount and nature of the

<sup>22</sup> See *Tempest*, new Cambridge ed., pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

dialogue assigned to Verges. His first speech is mere superfluous insertion, *O a stoole and a cushion for the Sexton*. His second, *Nay thats certaine wee haue the exhibition to examine*, is a mere echo of the thought of Dogberry's preceding line, inserted without otherwise disturbing the course of the dialogue.<sup>24</sup> He is then silent for forty-seven lines, his silence being broken by another mere corroboration of Dogberry, *Yea by masse that it is*.<sup>25</sup> Finally, the insertion of lines 70-74 above referred to arose from a wish to give Verges a speech near the end of the scene, and probably aimed also to increase the comic climax by balancing a new *coxcombe* addressed to Verges against the following original *asse* addressed to Dogberry.<sup>26</sup> In fact, all the evidence goes to show that originally the nameless Constable officiated in this scene with the nameless Sexton as his only coadjutor; that the confusion in the scene was caused by the introduction of the new character, the Headborough, and the necessity for supplying speeches for him that would not interfere with the coherence of the already written dialogue; that the names of the two actors, Kempe and Cowley, were inserted by Shakespeare in an attempt to differentiate the two characters clearly and briefly in the MS, as they had up to that time attained only to trisyllabic class names; and that this, and probably the dialogue insertions, caused confusion in the left margin.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> It is possible that this speech was originally a part of Dogberry's, being the only one in the older section of the play where Verges uses Dogberry's trick of mistaking the word. In the new scene at III, iii, 3, he uses *salvation* for *damnation*, but elsewhere his speech has merely the rambling and weakness of age.

<sup>25</sup> Owing to the fact that the introductory word to it is *Constable*, it is more than possible that this was originally a part of Dogberry's preceding speech, standing:

*Const.* Flat Burglarie as euer was committed,  
yea by masse that it is.

With *Kemp* written above *Const.* in revision, the *Const.* in MS might be read by the compositor as belonging to the next line. Or even with *Couley* (or *Cou.*) written below, the slip to *Const.* would be easy.

<sup>26</sup> See the Cambridge editors' note on the effectiveness of this scene ending, p. 144, ll. 67-68.

<sup>27</sup> This does not account for *Andrew*, line 3. The fact that *Keeper* (l. 1) is evidently the printer's misunderstanding of *Kemp*, and that *Kemp* follows in ll. 10, 13, etc., makes it very unlikely that Shakespeare here thrust in *Andrew* as a nickname for Kempe borrowed from *merry andrew*, as suggested by W. A. Wright (noted in *Much Ado*, Furness var. ed., 230) and the new Cambridge

We may then conclude that originally in the comic subplot a nameless Constable visited Leonato alone in III, v, making his exit with a bumptious *It shall be suffigance* at line 56, while Leonato's exit was facilitated by the entrance of the Messenger; that originally the Constable and the Sexton alone conducted the trial in IV, ii, the scene being substantially as at present with the omission of lines 2, 5-6, 53, and 70-73, and that possibly even lines 5-6 and 53 were then a part of Dogberry's speeches; and that V, i, 205-336, containing the Prince's interview with the Constable, Borachio, and the Watch, and the second appearance of the Sexton, probably now stands in exactly its original form. In the revision the part of the Headborough was written into IV, ii, and III, v, and he attained a name at III, v, 10. Then Shakespeare, in great good humor with the comic combination, wrote the scene of the instructions to the Watch by Dogberry and his "compartner" (in which scene for the first time the name Dogberry appeared in the dialogue), and added the tag to III, v, by which Dogberry and Verges remain on the stage to indulge in comic self-gratulation after Leonato's departure, and in which even the Sexton becomes known as Francis Seacoale, although too late for the name to get into his speech headings.

This concludes our examination of the occurrences of actors' names in basic Shakespearean texts, which show collectively that in general these are no mere prompter's casual notations, but are so intimately a part of the author's thought that they may even on occasion aid us in disentangling the history of a text.<sup>28</sup> Better still, they enable us to catch what is perhaps our most direct glimpse of the younger Shakespeare as a growing artist evolving his characters in adaptation to the needs of his company, and humanly dependent upon fundamental suggestion, theatrical experiment, and amplifying revision for the maturing of his *dramatis personæ*.

ALLISON GAW

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editors (ed., p. 143, n. to IV, ii, S.D.). More probably it is the best the compositor could make of the tangle of lines caused by superimposing *Kemp*. on *Const*. However, this is a question for an expert on Elizabethan chirography.

<sup>28</sup> Also they seem strong evidence that in *Much Ado* the compositor set up Q from Shakespeare's own script.

### XXX. THE AUTHORSHIP OF *THE TAMING OF THE SHREW*

For well nigh a century and three-quarters the authorship of *The Taming of the Shrew* has been a Shaksperian problem;<sup>1</sup> Warburton<sup>2</sup> was apparently the first to question that it was the work of a single author. According to him *The Shrew* represents the work of Shakspeare to the extent "that he has, here and there, corrected the dialogue, and now and then added a Scene." This view was held by Steevens, who believed, however, that Shakspeare's hand was visible in almost every scene, particularly in those scenes between tamer and shrew.<sup>3</sup> In 1857 Grant White proposed the theory of dual composition: a collaborator supplied the love element of the underplot, whereas to Shakspeare belonged "the strong, clear characterization, the delicious humor, and the rich verbal coloring of the recast Induction, and all the scenes in which Katharine and Petruchio and Grumio are the prominent figures, together with the general effect produced by scattering lines and words and phrases here and there, and removing others elsewhere throughout the rest of the play."<sup>4</sup> In general, White's theory has prevailed down to the present day; it was supported by that industrious student, Fleay,<sup>5</sup> and Professor A. H. Tolman.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, not a few writers, on aesthetic or general grounds, have voiced the opinion that Shakspeare worked unaided: notable among these

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for example, Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke's "selected criticism" in the First Folio Edition of the play, N. Y., 1903 and 1908, 248ff; Tolman, *P.M.L.A.* V. (1890), 252ff; Tolman, *The Views about Hamlet and other Essays*, 1906, 2nd impression, 212ff; Schomburg, *Studien zur Eng. Phil.*, XX, (1904) 1ff; Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*. New revised edition, three volumes, 1899, II, 90ff; R. Warwick Bond, in the Arden (also known as Dowden) edition of the play (xxixff).

<sup>2</sup> Works, I (no pagination).

<sup>3</sup> Edited Chalmers (1805), IV (no pagination).

<sup>4</sup> Shakespeare's Works (1875), IV, 390. Of course White assumed a third hand—the author of *A Shrew*.

<sup>5</sup> *Trans. New Shak. Soc.*, 1874, 85ff. Future references to this work = N.S.S.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* His paper in *The Views*, etc. is virtually a reprint of the earlier work. A modified view, that S. adapted not the original *A Shrew* but an enlarged version of it made by an unknown author, is held by some.

is Miss Charlotte Porter.<sup>7</sup> It is the purpose of the present study, by undertaking a more systematic investigation, to show that Shakspeare is responsible for the entire play.

The critics who follow the general conclusions of Grant White give to the unknown colaborer the underplot, together with what they choose to call the "poor touches" of the major part. To Shakspeare they assign the taming scenes, as well as some of the "undeniably good touches" in the minor plot. This division at once confronts us with a serious problem, by saddling this co-worker with an impossible task. He becomes a composite, hardly an individual. Strangely enough this difficulty seems to have escaped the observation of all save that shrewd critic, Dr. Furnivall.<sup>8</sup> Though this venerable scholar also believed that Shakspeare had an assistant, he declared that there was great danger of treating the play as if it were a plum pudding,—giving all the plums to Shakspeare. The truth of this statement becomes obvious when one recalls that the main source, *The Taming of a Shrew*,<sup>9</sup> has plenty of plums. And conversely, to

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, introduction. The following writers have committed themselves on the matter of authorship: Schomburg (*op. cit.*, 6) believes Shakspeare worked unaided; likewise does Brandl (*Shakspeare*, 1894, 115). Sir Walter Raleigh (*Shakspeare*, 1907, 110) states that "very flimsy reasons" have been given for collaboration. Wendell (157) thinks it "probable that the play as we have it is the work of several hands." F. Tupper, (*The Tudor S.*, 1912, xf) favors joint production; so also do Perry (Yale ed.); Lee, (1922, 235f); Morley, intro. to Altemus ed.; Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama*, 1908, I, 341); Gollancz, intro. to Dent ed.; J. M. Robertson in *Elizabethan Literature*, 180 (In "Home Univ. Library of Modern Knowledge," No. 89. Holt and Co. No date); Robertson, *Did Shakespeare write "Titus Andronicus?"* 1905, 182f; Robertson, *Shakespeare and Chapman*, 1917, 226ff.

Brandes (1898, I, 178, 200, 360), on the other hand, assumes single authorship; Boas, in his admirable intro. to *A Shrew* (1908, xxxix), writes: "without asserting the authenticity of every line or phrase, I see no reason to modify the view expressed at an earlier date, in *Shakespeare and his Predecessors*, that the underplot is substantially from the pen of the great dramatist." Ward (*op. cit.*, II, 90ff) argues sanely for the same view; Luce thinks Shakspeare revised the whole play (*A Handbook to S.*, 1906, 186); Gervinus (1863, I, 193) is convinced that the play in the form in which we have it shows Shakspeare's "hand was more than once employed upon it." Creizenach (*The English Drama in the Age of S.*, English tr., 1916, 216, 258, 281) assumes single composition. Chambers (*Elizabethan Stage*, (1923) IV, 48f) does not commit himself, though he is inclined to identify *Love's Labour's Won* with *The Shrew*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *NSS.*, 1874, 104.

<sup>9</sup> Future references to this play = AS; to the revised work = TS.

mention but one Shaksperian play, the *Comedy of Errors*—accepted as genuine by all critics—abounds with glaring instances of “poor touches.”

Collaboration in culinary art is not to be likened to collaboration in literary art. We are dealing not with a simple structure, but with a piece of art; a play whose plot has been the admiration of generations: one of the best in Shakspeare.<sup>10</sup>

# I

With this general observation, we may proceed to examine the tests which have been applied by scholars in discussing the authorship of this play. Broadly, these are: (a) once-used words (b) classical allusions (c) scraps of Latin and Italian (d) slips in plot structure (e) metrical peculiarities—accent on unimportant words, doggerel, and the like.<sup>11</sup>

To begin with the much discussed nonce words. Though Simpson<sup>12</sup> found (years ago) the percentage of them in *TS* not unusual, in fact what we should expect about 1595,<sup>13</sup> their presence still excites suspicion.<sup>14</sup> The shrewdest observation was made by Abbott in 1874 when he said that much depends on the nature of the word: a technical term may well occur but once or twice in a play, but that common words, once used, rightly rouse suspicion.<sup>15</sup> In spite of this excellent remark<sup>16</sup> the presence of technical terms like “mathematics” and “metaphysics” still

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enters into discussions. What else, one may ask, was the playwright to do? He chose to begin with a dialogue between a student and his servant, and it was desirable to have "local color." The royal attribute of Shakspeare is his concreteness. And assuredly a handful of academic terms was not beyond his ability. Nor in general were once-used words unusual with him. Turning at random to page 1232 of Schmidt,<sup>17</sup> one finds "tinder-like," "tingling," "tinsel," "tippling," "tipsy," "tire-valiant," "tiring-house," "tirra-lira," "tirrits," "tissue"—almost one-half the words on that page are nonce expressions! On page 195 four out of nine are once-used words;<sup>18</sup> and on the next page nineteen out of thirty-five: among them are "chivalrous," "chisel," "chip," "china," "chimney-piece," "chilling," "childness," "childing," etc., etc.

Abbott observed that the word "specially"—always "especially" elsewhere in Shakspeare—occurs twice in the suspected part.<sup>19</sup> However, he failed to note—as has every one else apparently<sup>20</sup>—that the word occurs no less than three times in the *Supposes*—the secondary source of *TS*.<sup>21</sup> The explanation is that Shakspeare saw the word, appropriated it, then forgot it forever. An illuminating example is to be found in *Henry V*: here the common word "memorable" is found no less than four times; but it occurs nowhere else in Shakspeare.<sup>22</sup>

Now the accepted passages also contain once-used expressions, common as well as technical: "walnut-shell," "undress," "man" (to tame), "incredible," "sleekly," "over-eying," "transmutation," "bestraught," "mother-wit," and others.<sup>23</sup> What is the

<sup>17</sup> From plays in his mature period.

<sup>18</sup> Several occur more than once in a particular play—a different matter. Cf. Tolman, *The Views*, 235. All subsequent references, unless stated, are to this volume.

<sup>19</sup> He also cites "rest" and "wish" as having a peculiar meaning. But on this point see Schmidt. Of course Shakspeare abounds with common words used in a restricted sense.

<sup>20</sup> Cf., for example, Tolman, 235.

<sup>21</sup> Edited by R. W. Bond, 1911, 48 (*bis*), 53 (IV, 3, 28, 47; IV, 6, 12).

<sup>22</sup> I have found many instances of this sort elsewhere in *S*; cf., e.g., n. 18.

<sup>23</sup> See *NSS*, 90-1 for others. In this connection a statement by Dr. Henry Bradley may be given: that the number of words employed by the dramatist is unknown, though it would probably be about twenty thousand. (*A Book of Homage to S.*, 1916, 109.)

upshot? The presence—in this particular play at any rate—of nonce words has positively no bearing on collaboration. When we consider the community of diction, the fascination that words held for our dramatist, the probability that as actor he would know whole speeches from contemporary plays, and the fact that nonce expressions in themselves suggest Shaksperian authorship,<sup>24</sup> we no longer can give the slightest weight to this argument.<sup>25</sup>

The metrical peculiarities alleged by the critics lead to no more definite conclusions. That the genuineness of certain portions of *TS* should have been challenged on the grounds of irregularity in accent is surprising. The two peculiarities alleged are: emphasis on unimportant words and syllables, and lack of uniformity in pronunciation.<sup>26</sup> As to the former, one finds parallels anywhere in Shakespeare. A particularly conspicuous illustration of accents on prepositions and unimportant syllables is found in the opening page of *Lear*:<sup>27</sup> at a time when the poet was at his meridian.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, examples occur in the undisputed part of *TS*.<sup>29</sup> The shifting of the accent on "agreement," which Tolman finds peculiar,<sup>30</sup> can be paralleled on the first page of *CE*. In the Duke's opening speech "merchant" occurs twice in an interval of four lines: accented in the

<sup>24</sup> As noted by Bond in his intro. to *TS*. (xxxvi). On Grumio's extensive employment of nonce terms see *infra*.

<sup>25</sup> Tolman (224), in attempting to prove that parts of III, ii are not by Shakespeare, cites the once-used "gog's." One might as well argue, for example, that Act III Sc. ii of *Merry Wives* is not genuine since it has the nonce "what the Dickens." These were common Elizabethan outbursts; cf. Swaen on English oaths in *Eng. Stud.*, XXIV (1898) 16ff, particularly 34 ff; also *Shakespeare's England*, II, 568.

Tolman (226, 234) refers to the triple use of "point" ("pointed") in the play (see Schmidt under "point"). A recent example of this overworking of the vocabulary test is seen in J. M. Robertson's *S. and Chapman* (*op. cit.*, pp. 228ff), in which an attempt is made to prove Chapman collaborated in *TS*.

<sup>26</sup> Abbott, *NSS.*, 121; Tolman, 215f, 235-6.

<sup>27</sup> Cf., for example, I, i, 40, 47, 48, 49, 52. All references, unless otherwise stated, are to Wm. A. Neilson's edition of the plays (1906).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also the opening page in *LLL.*, *CE.*, *TGV.*, *MND.*, *TN.* An extraordinary example occurs in the beginning of *I HIV*: in the space of eleven lines six prepositions (not to mention other unimportant words) are accented—five of them being "of's."

<sup>29</sup> Cf., for example, II, i, 191-7; IV, iii, 171-6.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

first instance on the second syllable, and in the second on the first.<sup>31</sup> In the treatment of proper names, too, Shakspeare (as well as his contemporaries)<sup>32</sup> worked with perfect freedom: "Katharine" ("Katherina"),<sup>33</sup> "Hortensio,"<sup>34</sup> "Petruchio"<sup>35</sup> may have either three or four syllables; and this is true for both parts. Even in mature tragedies he felt free to shift the accent on "Hamlet,"<sup>36</sup> "Cassio,"<sup>37</sup> and "Iago."<sup>38</sup> An unusual example of freedom occurs in *TN*: "Antonio" is found three times within four lines, each time accented differently.<sup>39</sup>

The rimed couplets have not escaped censure. In fact rime has been a favorite target.<sup>40</sup> Here again it is obvious that unless we have a clear preponderance of couplets in one part the argument counts for little. At best it is an untrustworthy test. To what extent, for example, may the subject matter or the author's greater interest either in the major or the minor plot reflect itself in rime? Or may it not be possible that the sources should exert some subtle influence? Though these are legitimate questions, fortunately they need not be considered. Let us examine the arguments in favor of dual authorship.

<sup>31</sup> I, i, 3, 7. This shifting of the accent and telescoping of words occurs often in Shakspeare. Cf. "beauty," "manner," "even," "advertisement," "heaven," "humble," "certes." Schmidt (Appendix) notes many others. Cf. also Walker, *Versification* 136ff; Abbott, §§475, 476, 480. In *Mer V* (cf. Furness, 136) "yours" is monosyllabic and dissyllabic in the same line. Even Milton in *P.L.* is an "offender."

<sup>32</sup> Greene, for example, in *Friar Bacon*; and, as Gray has noted (*PMLA.*, XXXII, 370 note 5), Marlowe. Creizenach, *op. cit.*, 316, states that "intentional irregularities of accentuation" become increasingly frequent in the drama.

<sup>33</sup> III, ii, 161; IV, v, 22; V, ii, 130; II, i, 43-4, 185.

<sup>34</sup> I, ii, 23, 53, 93; IV, ii, 22; V, ii, 7, 16, 19, 23, 101.

<sup>35</sup> I, ii, 45, 83, 85; III, ii, 247; IV, iii, 48; V, ii, 111.

<sup>36</sup> I, iii, 123; I, v, 34.

<sup>37</sup> *Othello*, III, iii, 124, 129.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 453, 465.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Arden edition of play, 164 n.

<sup>40</sup> The rimes in the suspected part of *TS* have nothing un-Shaksperian about them: "shrew" rimes with "so" in the rejected (V, ii, 188-9) and with "show" in the accepted part (IV, i, 213-4); "white" and "night" (V, ii, 186-7) occur in *Merry W* (V, v, 41-2); "bed" and "sped" (V, ii, 184-5), which the poet found in *AS*, may be compared with "bed" and "honoured" in *AsYL* (V, iv, 148-150); "Kate" and "ha't" (V, ii, 180-1) and "Kated" and "mated" (III, ii, 246-7) are paralleled in the genuine part of the play—in "Kate" and "gait" (II, i, 261-2);

Tolman<sup>41</sup> finds in the accepted part thirty lines of rime; in the rejected, 124—four-fifths of the total number.<sup>42</sup> But he, as well as others,<sup>43</sup> has overlooked one highly important fact: viz., of the twelve scenes Shakspeare has been given three whole ones, and parts of three others; the collaborer six entire scenes in addition to parts of three others. Moreover, in these portions the latter has, in each instance, been given the final lines. This means that the coadjutor wrote the endings of nine scenes. Now it is not necessary to point out an Elizabethan's fondness for ending acts and scenes in couplets. This is one of the most striking conventions in the drama of that time. Shakspeare, who was first of all an Elizabethan, also yielded to this practice: we find rimes in his earliest plays, and we find them in his latest ones. *MND*—to mention but one contemporary play—clearly shows his fondness for rime.<sup>44</sup> In view of the fact, then, that the poet has been given the final lines of but three scenes, we no longer have any basis on which to work.<sup>45</sup>

Closely associated with rime is the dancing verse, or four-accent lines.<sup>46</sup> Here again, in assigning to the fellow-worker the

"dinner" and "win her" (I, ii, 217-8) and "dinner" and "sinner" (*CE* II, ii' 189-190); the feminine rime, "wooing" and "doing" (II, i, 74-5), occurs in *TC* (I, ii, 312-3), and in each instance with a quibble, as I note elsewhere.

<sup>41</sup> *The Views*, 238.

<sup>42</sup> The two parts contain about an equal amount of blank verse.

<sup>43</sup> E.g., Fleay, *NSS.*, 100f. Ward (II, 48 n.) notes the danger of the rime test; also Dowden (*Primer*, 45f).

<sup>44</sup> Creizenach (*op. cit.* p. 319), observes that S. in his early plays "is richer in rhymes than any of his fellows." Nearly one-half of *MND* is in verse (43.4 per cent). The percentage of rime in eighteen plays is greater than in *TS* (4.4 per cent); even *TwN* has 13.7 per cent (cf. König, "Der Vers in Shakspeare's Dramen," *Quellen und Forsch.*, LXI, 1888, 131; Creizenach, 319 note). The reason *TS* has so few rimed lines and *MND* so many is not far to seek: the subject-matter is prosaic in one, and poetic in the other (cf. Creizenach, 320).

<sup>45</sup> There are more than thirty rimed lines which conclude the so-called non-Shaksperian scenes. The argument that Act I of *TS* is not by Shakspeare, since it contains fifty lines of rime (almost one-half of the total number in the rejected part) is misleading. In the first place, the reasons given for double authorship concern this act only; too, in Shakspeare's other plays rimes are not evenly distributed throughout: Act I of *CE*, for example, has but eight lines of rime in a total of 264 lines; in Act II, 107 of the 255 ll. are in rime. Cf. n. 44.

<sup>46</sup> It is unfortunate that these irregular verses should have been given the tag of "doggerel," for the form is employed in many of Shakspeare's finest lyrics. It might be unnecessary to protest if the lines had not been stigmatized as "low, vulgar or trivial, or mean or undignified."

irregular passages the advocates of collaboration have misled us.<sup>47</sup> Though Fleay noted<sup>48</sup> that "doggerel" occurs in the *CE*—to a much greater extent than in *TS*—the presence of this type of verse in *TS* has not ceased to rouse discussion. Moreover, dancing lines occur in the unsuspected part, in passages accepted as genuine by all critics.<sup>49</sup> They are also found in the speeches of Petruchio and Katharine,<sup>50</sup> although these "doggerel" speeches have been rejected by the critics. But this shifting of limits is manifestly unfair, for it is a part of the established canon of criticism among chorizonts that Shakspeare penned the scenes between hero and heroine.<sup>51</sup> To argue them away, therefore, merely because some lines happen to be anapaestic, is to beg the question.

Some lines indeed are so skilfully executed that it becomes impossible to tell whether they are irregular or not.<sup>52</sup> When one contrasts the straight-laced verse in contemporary plays, including the *AS*,<sup>53</sup> with their monotonously perfect iambic pentameters, the skill displayed in the irregular lines inclines one to give them to Shakspeare.<sup>54</sup> The metrical carelessness in Shakspeare's verse provoked the criticism of Jonson, and has

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Fleay, *NSS*, 86ff, Tolman, 222, 238. Ellis (*NSS*, 119), on the other hand, attaches little significance to the argument.

<sup>48</sup> *NSS*, 16; cf. 19. He finds 109 ll. in *CE*—many more than in *TS*—and 194 in *LLL*. The former play, according to Fleay, contains no anapaestic line (*ibid.*, 88),—an amazing inaccuracy as noted by Tolman (239f).

<sup>49</sup> *IV*, iii, 85; *IV*, v, 19f. Cf. Bond's intro. to play (xxxivf).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*; also *V*, i, 148ff. Petruchio earlier (*I*, ii, 16f) had used this form of verse.

<sup>51</sup> Therefore also *V*, i, 148ff. Tolman's argument (p. 219) that this scene is spurious since it has no counterpart in *AS* is misleading, and unfair to Shakspeare the creative artist. Many excellent touches in the main plot have no origin in the older play (cf. Schomburg, pp. 86ff). On Shakspeare's purpose in introducing this scene, which welds the two parts into an artistic whole, see *infra*.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. e.g., *I*, i, 68f; also the closing ll. of the play. On the subtleties of scan-sion see Manly, *Macbeth*, 1896, xxxii; Bright, *A Memorial Volume to S. and Harvey*, University of Texas, 1916, pp. 68ff; König, *op. cit.*, pp. 120f; *TN* (Arden ed.), xxviii.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the lifeless closing of this drama with the vivacious ending of *TS*. Occasionally one finds in *AS* an irregular line, though no anapaests in couplets (cf. Schomburg, p. 37).

<sup>54</sup> Shakspeare later employed this form with superb artistic effect. Note, for instance, Florizel's speech in *WinT* (*IV*, iv, 136ff).

recently been echoed in a censure of the jingling verse with which *The Tempest* concludes.<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, the employment of this form of verse in a farce can be justified as good art, for it is undeniable that this irregularity in *TS*—as well as in *CE*—heightens the spirit of fun.<sup>56</sup> In no instance in *TS* is this verse used slovenly; almost always it crowns a scene or act. Briefly, then, to the objections based on “doggerel” lines, one may reply:—(a) Shakspeare employed this kind of line in other plays, (b) such lines are found in the accepted part of *TS*, (c) the anapaestic measure actually serves an artistic purpose.

Inversions in *TS* led Abbott<sup>57</sup> to defend double authorship. Since the four lines which he gives are all from the first act, however, at best the argument applies to that part alone. His examples follow:

Tell me thy mind; for I have Pisa left (I, i, 21);

Such friends as time in Padua shall beget (*ibid.*, 45);

For how I firmly am resolved you know (*ibid.*, 49);

As Anna to the Queen of Carthage was (*ibid.*, 159).

Tolman attempts to swell this list.<sup>58</sup> That his passages illustrate stress upon important words is true; that they are good instances of inversion the writer fails to see.

Nor is it easy to understand how Abbott's list makes against Shakspeare's authorship, since one finds in Abbott's *Shakespearian*

<sup>55</sup> Luce, Arden ed., lxxvif; T. Brooke, *S. A part*, “Yale Review,” Oct. 1921.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. examples above. In *CE* nearly all the ll. are by the Dromios. That Shakspeare intended these lines to bring out the spirit of farce may be seen further in his comic use of the iambic pentameter. Twice does this occur,—both times in Petruchio's speeches:

We will have rings and things and fine array;

And kiss me, Kate, “we will be married o' Sunday” (II, i, 325f).

And again (also genuine part) when the hero suggests to Kate that they go to her father's house:

And revel it as bravely as the best,

With silken coats and caps and golden rings,

With ruffs and cuffs and farthingales and things,

With scarfs and fans and double change of bravery,

With amber bracelets, beads, and all this knavery (IV, iii, 54ff).

<sup>57</sup> *NSS*, 121.

<sup>58</sup> *The Views*, 236f.

*Grammar* abundant examples of every sort of inversion: transposition of adjectives, adjectival phrases, prepositions, adverbs, articles, and the like.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, his wealth of examples illustrates anew, if proof were needed, the remarkable flexibility of the Elizabethan language. Surely any author who wrote:

In dreadful secrecy impart they did (*Ham.* I, ii, 207),

And so I have a noble father lost (*ibid.*, IV, vii, 25),

By Richard, that dead is (*I H IV*, I, iii, 146),

hasten Your general after (*AC*, II, iv, 2),

was capable of any inversion cited by Abbott.

Moreover, there are inversions in the genuine portion. In a single scene are:

And bound I am to Padua, there to visit (*IV*, v, 56);

And wander we to see thy honest son (*ibid.*, 69);

Who will of thy arrival be full joyous (*ibid.*, 70).

If one will consider more closely the examples cited by Abbott, it will be noticed that in three of the four cases a proper noun is followed by a verb which closes the line.<sup>60</sup> It so happens that this special form of inversion occurs rather often in Shakspeare. For example:

Try what my credit can in Venice do (*MV*, I, i, 180);

This Jacob from our holy Abram was (*ibid.*, I, iii, 73);

Find we a time for frightened Peace to pant (*I H IV*, I, i, 2);

Was by the rude hands of that Welshman taken (*ibid.*, 41);

Balk'd in their own blood did Sir Walter see (*ibid.*, 69).

It seems unnecessary, therefore, to consider further the argument from inversion.

Though run-on lines have received attention, it has been impossible to give much weight to them. As Furnivall said,<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Paragraphs 203f, 419-427.

<sup>60</sup> Apparently not noted by Abbott. Of course Shakspeare is not peculiar in this.

<sup>61</sup> *NSS*, p. 110.



in applying the test one is forced to give the play an early date,<sup>62</sup> contemporary with *LLL*. In fact it is the suspected portion that has about the right number of lines for 1595. Further complications arise in that critics are not wholly agreed on the definition of a "run-on."<sup>63</sup> Making all allowances, however, we still find a divergence in the two parts: about five per cent in the accepted, and eight in the rejected. For the sake of argument let us assume that these figures are significant.

Strangely enough the preponderance of such lines is in the first act,—in fact in the first scene.<sup>64</sup> Now if we eliminate this scene, the number in both parts is about equal. Why, it may be asked, should this part offer difficulties? Since the "run-ons" increase in numbers with Shakspeare's development, it may be that this mature spirit showed itself in the opening lines. Again, Shakspeare may have been influenced by his sources—the process of rejection, elaboration, and selection. Moreover, it is possible that wit combat and highly farcical material exerted a subtle power as the play progressed. For it is notable that but few run-ons occur in the speeches of Petruchio and Kate: spirited dialogue demands a Popian couplet. And the shrew's last speech—in which she reveals herself completely tamed and consequently perfectly calm—contains about as many unstopped lines as the opening of Act I.<sup>65</sup> In fact if one leaves the first scene of *TS* out of reckoning, one finds that Shakspeare could not have distributed run-ons more evenly had he tried. After all Shakspeare did not work by rule of thumb. In *MV* 47 out of 180 lines in the first scene are unstopped; the third scene of the second act has but three in a total of 21 lines. Of the 158 ll. in I, i, of *CE* nearly fifty per cent are unstopped; whereas in IV, ii, we find about ten per cent. In the latter play the great difference is clearly due to subject matter, so that the case is precisely parallel to that in *TS*. Arguments based on unstopped lines, therefore, have no force.

The scraps of Latin and Italian larding the text have likewise

<sup>62</sup> Cf. König, *op. cit.*, p. 133; cf. Furnivall's table (*op. cit.*) with Tolman's (p. 238); cf. König (pp. 97f).

<sup>63</sup> For discussion cf. Tolman (p. 238); Neilson and Thorndike, *The Facts about S.*, 1913, pp. 72-75.

<sup>64</sup> See Furnivall's table.

<sup>65</sup> Seven of the 35 in her speech; nine of the 38 in the other.

been cited in support of double authorship.<sup>66</sup> The soundest statements on this point are those by Bond,<sup>67</sup> who observes that the use of Italian was not a habit of the poet, and further that such bits are confined to the first act. It would follow, therefore, that only Act I is open to suspicion on this ground. Though Bond cites passages elsewhere in Shakspeare containing these tags,<sup>68</sup> two others may be added: Hortensio's "ben venuto" (I, ii, 282), occurring in *LLL* (IV, ii, 163); Tranio's "mi perdonato" (I, i, 25), in (contemporary) *RJ* (II, iv, 35).<sup>69</sup>

As for Bond's declaration that the employment of Italian was not a habit of Shakspeare, the same may be said of his use of all foreign languages. Omitting *Henry V*, we find that the poet resorted to French terms about as often as to Italian. When one considers England's relations with her neighbor, this is not a little strange in view of the opportunities offered in historical plays.<sup>70</sup> As for the musical notes of the gamut suspected by those who urge collaboration, they appear frequently in Shakspeare; indeed some of them were common property then.<sup>71</sup> But most interesting is the fact that no fewer than four of the alien tags in the early part of *TS*, out of a total of a dozen or so, seem to have been suggested by some Italian bits in a single scene in *LLL*—in fact within 100 lines.<sup>72</sup>

But what is there in these "pedantic" touches which is unlike Shakspeare? They are brief bits,—and some were current snatches, thus requiring no extensive knowledge of Italian. Instead, then, of assigning them to a confrère, may we not regard them as the fruit of immaturity? Moreover, it is possible to show that they actually serve an artistic purpose.

That Shakspeare wrote first of all for his contemporaries is

<sup>66</sup> Cf., for example, Fleay, *NSS*, 89. Though Furnivall (*ibid.*, p. 112) pointed out to Fleay the weakness of his argument, Tolman (p. 237) by implication accepts it. In attempting to defend the foreign terms in the Induction, Tolman unconvincingly argues that two Italian bits in Act I are longer.

<sup>67</sup> *TS* (xxxiv).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* *AS* has no Italian tags.

<sup>69</sup> In *RJ* it is obviously a thrust at the affectation of the day. Cf. *H V*, IV, iv, 22.

<sup>70</sup> Also cf. Bradley's discussion on Shakspeare and his relation to the Scotch language (*Shakespeare's England*, 1916, II, 571).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. notes in Furness and Arden editions.

<sup>72</sup> IV, ii, 100-172; cf. *TS*, Ind. i, 5; I, ii, 17, 25, 27 (pun), 282.

illustrated by his choice of themes. Consider, for example, his use of the popular story of Antony and Cleopatra,<sup>73</sup> as well as his frequent allusions to the Turks.<sup>74</sup>

Now at no other time has Italian influence in England been so powerful. Despite the barriers of race, distance, and language this influence made itself felt in every channel of English life,—as has been shown afresh.<sup>75</sup> Even Italian actors were popular, and some were actually attached to the Queen's household.<sup>76</sup> Nearly all court musicians were from the south, as well as many royal physicians.<sup>77</sup> Too, an Italian jester had been imported earlier in the century.<sup>78</sup> This almost hypnotic force may be traced also in the world of commerce and adventure.<sup>79</sup> There was at least one Italian ordinary in London; and it is possible that a touch in *Othello* reveals a connection between a restauranteur and Shakspeare.<sup>80</sup>

The audience at a performance of *TS* would naturally include persons in various walks of life—the commercial, professional, and “courtly.” As for the Queen, we have Florio's testimony that she “delights to speak to Italians.”<sup>81</sup> Not only had she a mastery of the tongue, but she courted conversation in it: “to address one's sovereign with a few words of Italian was indeed regarded as a mark of distinction.”<sup>82</sup>

Among the men of state were some who frequently employed the southern tongue in their official correspondence.<sup>83</sup> At a dinner given by Cecil to a Venetian envoy, which was attended by the entire Privy Council, the conversation was in that

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Furness's remarks as well as the masterly treatment by MacCallum, *Shakespeare's Roman Plays*, 1910, 300ff. Shakspeare's treatment of *TC* may also be noted.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Wann, *Mod. Phil.*, XII, 423ff.

<sup>75</sup> Einstein, *The Ital. Renais. in England*, 1902; M. A. Scott, *Eliz. Translations from the Italian*, 1916.

<sup>76</sup> Creizenach, p. 296.

<sup>77</sup> Einstein, pp. 188f.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. vi; cf. p. 283.

<sup>80</sup> Smart, *Mod. Lang. Review*, XI, (1916), 339. Pado Marco Lucchese (cf. Luccicos, *Oth.*, I, iii, 44) was proprietor of an Italian restaurant.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Einstein, p. 98.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

language—"almost all of them speaking our Italian tongue, or at least all understanding it."<sup>84</sup>

Even the great body of Londoners—the commercial and professional classes—knew something of the language.<sup>85</sup> Books of instruction were not wanting, and at least one contains a "collection of Italian proverbs" in which the writer urged a knowledge of them as an aid to conversation.<sup>86</sup> Among these Londoners may possibly have been the parents or friends of students attending Padua University; for this southern city was then the famous seat of learning in Europe, and thither, between 1591 and 1594, travelled twenty-five young men from England.<sup>87</sup>

A few Italian tags, especially in a play depicting student life, should consequently cause no surprise. For the beginning of the farce actually deals with the career of a student. The lines, to be sure, are gently ironic, for the serious-minded Lucentio, who ably discusses Aristotle with his servant while planning his course of study, suddenly gets a glimpse of Bianca—when "farwel my bookes and my devocion."

Are there reasons for thinking that Shakspeare had in mind this academic atmosphere?<sup>88</sup> There were many who doubtless accepted Ascham's view of Italian culture, and we know that defenders of the two home universities were not wanting.<sup>89</sup> In fact, the despairing remark of Lucentio's father near the end of *TS*, "My son has spent all at the university," may possibly have been intended to suggest this academic color.

But there is other evidence that the dramatist was seeking academic setting,—in the use of classical allusions. All<sup>90</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Cal. State Papers—Venetian*, VII, 525; Einstein, p. 99.

<sup>85</sup> Einstein, 97ff.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>87</sup> E.g., Harvey, Caius, Linacre. For the list of students at Padua between 1591-94 see Elze, *Shaksp. Jahrbuch* (1878) XIII, 156f.

<sup>88</sup> That Padua figures in the *Supposes* is probably not important, except insofar as it gave Shakspeare a hint for a realistic English farce. Cunliffe (*Mod. Phil.*, IV, 604) gives as Italy's contribution to English comedy—"graceful and sprightly satire of contemporary life." One must remember, of course, that many Elizabethan plays were localized in Italy. On Padua as a mecca for medical students see the fascinating chapter in *S's Eng.*, I, 413ff.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 415f. Lyly's criticism of Oxford (in *Euphues*) may be recalled.

<sup>90</sup> Save those in the tutor's lesson (and Induction), where they also serve a purpose.

mythological references in the play proper come in the first act; all but two in the student's speeches.<sup>91</sup> Since Shakspeare is a master craftsman in the employment and distribution of bits of mythology, their appropriateness in *TS* cannot be merely accidental.

Accordingly, it may be affirmed that these foreign tags serve an artistic purpose; and if, as Tolman says, no play by Shakspeare opens thus, the reply is that no other begins with a dialogue between a student and his servant in the shadow of an Italian university. What he does here is precisely what the author of *Hamlet* does in a scene in *LLL*; and, incidentally, as observed the latter play furnished some alien tags for this scene in *TS*.<sup>92</sup> In *TS* the place for these scraps is in the beginning—as it is the place for classical allusions. Therefore, the seemingly extensive use of these bits can be defended on the ground that in no other drama is there a similar opening, one in which snatches of Italian would be more appropriate; that some of these terms, Latin as well as Italian, are echoes in Shakspeare's own plays.

It has been argued that slips in the plot of *TS* indicate collaboration.<sup>93</sup> But this reasoning forgets the poet's practice elsewhere, for oversights are not uncommon throughout Shakspeare. Not only is this true in contemporary plays,<sup>94</sup> but in

<sup>91</sup> In the speeches of Lucentio (or his servant masked as master): I, i, 84, 159, 174; I, ii, 244, 247. The two exceptions are Gremio and Petruchio (I, ii, 70, 257).

<sup>92</sup> Does not the repetition of Italian phrases throw light on the poet's knowledge of that tongue, as well as upon the question whether he ever visited Italy? It seems safe to infer that up to c. 1595 he had "small" Italian, and consequently had not been in southern Europe.

<sup>93</sup> Petruchio (I, ii) seems a stranger to Tranio and Lucentio, though an old friend of Hortensio. Later (III, ii, 21ff) Tranio disguised appears as a friend of P. What seems like another slip (rejected section) is: Baptista (II, i, 70) assumes that the hero's father is alive, but later (*ibid.*, 117) P. says, "You knew my father well." Bond's excellent remarks (*op. cit.*) and Mrs. Stopes's suggestive article (*op. cit.*) may be read with profit on this point. Cf. Herford's not altogether satisfying intro. in the Eversley ed.

<sup>94</sup> For slips in *MND* see Furness's introd.; in *TwN* and *All'sW*, see Arden ed. of *TwN* (xxxiff, 174 note); Cassio's "a fellow almost damn'd in a fair wife" (*Oth.* I, i, 21) is still a crux; and the hermit in *MV* (Act V) is curious. Quiller-Couch (*Shakespeare's Workmanship*, 1917, 112, 151f) finds flaws in *Hamlet* and the closing of *AYL*; Bradley (*S. Tragedy*, 2nd ed., 1910, pp. 71-3, 75-77) gives many others. For additional instances see opening of next section.

later ones as well: *WT*—far less intricate and ingenious than *TS*,<sup>95</sup> but written when the author was master of all his tricks—has one excellent example.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, even the “genuine” part of *TS* has defects.<sup>97</sup> So far as the question of joint workmanship is concerned, then, these flaws may safely be dismissed. The wonder after all is that with so complex a plot the play should have so few blunders.

Un-Shaksperian also, according to some, is the manner of introducing classical allusions.<sup>98</sup> In refuting this argument one may adduce the testimony offered by Professor R. K. Root in his valuable study, *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare*.<sup>99</sup> Root’s conclusions are the more valuable because in regard to the authorship of this play he has no thesis to maintain.<sup>100</sup> With “few exceptions,” he says, “Shakespeare’s allusions to classical mythology have to do with myths, the substance of which may be found in Ovid or Vergil; . . . that his employment of these allusions is clearly different at different periods of his work.” “An examination of the mythology of the play (*TS*) shows 13 allusions, of which 9 are to be traced to Ovid, 1 to Vergil, while 3 are too vague to admit of attribution. *There is no allusion which Shakespeare might not have made*,<sup>101</sup> and the character of the allusions is such as we should expect in a Shakespearian play written at about the same time as the *M. V.*”<sup>102</sup> Accordingly, if Shakspere was not the sole author

<sup>95</sup> For testimony of Johnson and others see *infra*. On “singular haste” which Herford finds (Eversley ed., 1901, II, 7) in *TS* see Miss Porter’s animated remarks (*op. cit.*, p. x).

<sup>96</sup> The author credits Paulina with information she could not have had (III, ii, 189f; *ibid.*, ll. 153-162).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Schomburg, pp. 84-6; Bond, p. 133. The following, unnoticed I believe, seem slips: Katherine (II, i, 291) unjustly accuses her tamer of swearing, (see *infra* further). It is probable (cf. Bond, p. 105) that Petruchio’s “last night she slept not” (IV, i, 201) is another instance, for there has been no night since the wedding. S. here could hardly have had in mind a pre-nuptial union. For a discussion of pre-nuptial customs see *Shakespeare’s England*, I, 407f. My lamented friend, the late Cyril Herrick, of the Univ. of Minnesota, informed me that this practice obtained in colonial New England.

<sup>98</sup> Fleay, *NSS*, 89; cf., however, Furnivall, *ibid.*, 112. Fleay seems to have influenced Tolman (237).

<sup>99</sup> *Yale Studies in English* (XIX) (1903).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Tolman, 237.

<sup>101</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>102</sup> P. 14.

we must assume (a) a collaborer who was employing allusions about 1595 or 1596 in a Shaksperian manner, that is, showing a marked influence of Ovid,—and that in spite of the fact that *MV*, *MND* and *Venus A* (contemporary pieces) are decidedly Ovidian;<sup>103</sup> or (b) these references stuck plum-like into the suspected passages,—a process difficult to understand in literary art, particularly in Shakspeare where classical figures are not afterthoughts but the very stuff of the play.<sup>104</sup>

## II

Having seen that no sound arguments in behalf of joint authorship have been advanced, we are now in a position to discuss the reasons for assigning all of *TS* to Shakspeare. First of all the plot. To speak of its almost perfect technique<sup>1</sup> is to restate what has long been recognized. Indeed, to refer to major and minor plots is merely to use convenient terms. The overlapping of both sections, the appearance of prominent characters (so-called Shaksperian creations)<sup>2</sup> in both suspected and un-

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Root, pp. 9f, 119, 121-2. In *Venus* the influence of Ovid is strongest (*ibid.*, pp. 9f). Of course one must remember the popularity of Ovid at that time. For Root's discussions of the allusions in *TS* see pp. 3, 31, 35, 37, 50, 51, 56f, 59, 71 (*bis*), 78, 81, 83, 86, 95, 99, 105-6, 134. He notes that none of these allusions occurs in *AS*.

<sup>104</sup> An occasional legal figure in *TS* casts no light on authorship. For a convincing discussion of Shakspeare's legal knowledge see *Shakespeare's England*, I, 381ff.

<sup>1</sup> Criticism has been made that the beginning of Act I lacks skill (Tolman, *The Views*, 215); but, Creizenach (*op. cit.*, 252) observes that in the opening of *Cymbeline* "the previous course of events is narrated by a conversation in a forced and conventional manner, which furnishes only another proof of Shakspeare's indifference to technicalities in his latest works." Even in *Hamlet* Horatio informs "Marcellus of what Marcellus must be supposed to know beforehand" (Quiller-Couch, *op. cit.*, 150). Bradley (*op. cit.*, 72) also finds Edgar's soliloquy (*Lear*, II, iii) poor in that the "purpose of giving information is imperfectly disguised." Bradley, in fact (256-7, 445f), finds numerous improbabilities in this tragedy. The wrestler's "new news" at court (*AYL*, I) which he relates to Oliver—information the latter already knows—may also be noted. See *supra* for many other examples.

Tolman (*op. cit.*, 222f) considers the closing unworthy of Shakspeare. But did not Dr. Johnson say that all Shakspeare's comedies show a weakening in their *dénouemens*? And Quiller-Couch (112) finds that most charming of plays, *AsYL*, closing with a piece of "sheer botchwork"; in fact Shakspeare in his later days was "capable of similar ineptitudes."

<sup>2</sup> Petruchio, Katherine, and Grumio.

suspected parts, the final (rejected) lines of which are neither of one plot nor the other but one and indivisible,<sup>3</sup>—all these suggest the perfect union of the two threads. This union has never been better stated than by Dr. Johnson.<sup>4</sup> “Of this play the plots are so well united,” he says, “that they can hardly be called two without injury to the art with which they are interwoven. The attention is entertained with all the variety of a double plot, yet it is not distracted by unconnected incidents.” In fact, Johnson unwittingly touches the heart of the matter. Is it probable that two writers—one of whom is our young playwright and the other an unknown person—should in conjunction construct from two old plays<sup>5</sup> such a united narrative? If so, we must assume intimate relations between the two workmen: a practice not found to all appearances in Shakspeare’s other early attempts at collaboration. Moreover, this was at a time when Shakspeare was giving considerable attention to plots,<sup>6</sup> and no contemporary, as far as known, was planning such skilful dramas. All this, moreover, in view of the fact that the chief emphasis in the Bianca (rejected) scenes is on the plot.

One superb example of skilful plotting (rejected scene) will serve to illustrate. Near the end (V, i, 46ff.) when Vicentio arrives and proceeds to clear up matters, Petruchio says to the shrew: “Prithee, Kate, let’s stand aside and see the end of this controversy” (*ibid.*, 63f.). It is at the close of this scene, just as the characters of the Bianca intrigue are leaving the stage, that the master stroke comes.<sup>7</sup> Petruchio and Katherine have been standing in the background, watching the others:—

<sup>3</sup> The last scene and Act. IV, sc. v—both accepted as genuine—contain much of the minor story.

<sup>4</sup> His observations on *TS* are unfortunately very brief.

<sup>5</sup> Contrary to the view held by some critics, the underplot also shows indebtedness to *AS* (Bond, xliii note; cf. also his edition of the *Supposes*, *op. cit.* lxxv). A striking example of amalgamation in *TS* is in Act IV, sc. ii.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. for example the interwoven plots of *MND* and *MerV*. See Quiller-Couch (*op. cit.*, pp. 75f, 86f, 93ff) for the technique of these dramas.

<sup>7</sup> Cf., e.g., *Much Ado* (IV, ii), and the superb adroitness with which Malvolio is introduced in the closing of *TN*; the introduction of the strolling players in *Hamlet* (II); the weaving of the two plots in *Lear* (as noted by Bradley, 247) may also be compared. Many other instances could, of course, be cited.



Kath. Husband,<sup>8</sup> let's follow, to see the end of this ado.

Pet. First kiss me, Kate, and we will.

Kath. What, in the midst of the street?

Pet. What, art thou asham'd of me?

Kath. No, sir,<sup>9</sup> God forbid; but asham'd to kiss.

Pet. Why, then let's home again. Come, sirrah,<sup>10</sup> let's away.

Kath. Nay, I will give thee a kiss; now pray thee, love, stay.

Pet. Is not this well? Come, my sweet Kate:

Better once than never, for never too late.<sup>11</sup>

This delightful honeymoon scene, after the two have weathered the storm, in terms of "husband" and "love" is as charming as unexpected. The shrew's just unwillingness to kiss in public provoked the crack of the tamer's whip in "sirrah, let's away." At once her kiss follows. The technique is perfect: we are being prepared for the final, for even in the case of a shrew a public kiss means complete submission.<sup>12</sup> Assurance is now given that the last request—whatever it be—will be met without a murmur. It is Shakspeare's (usual) method of letting the audience into the secret. With this information the spectators are permitted in the closing scene to center their attention on the widow and Bianca, and the reaction of the latter upon their husbands. In short, the glimpse here of both perfects the welding of the two parts.

The scene would probably never have been suspected had it not been for the "dancing doggerel." But these lines should no longer excite suspicion, particularly since they are spoken by hero and heroine, who in all their other dialogues are assigned to Shakspeare. Nothing could be more perfectly conceived: the apotheosis of Lucentio and Bianca's love affair, and the

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<sup>12</sup> Schomburg (88) calls this scene the "Generalprobe." The fact that it has been rejected because there is no counterpart in *AS* (cf. Tolman, *The Views*, 219), need not alarm one. As Schomburg (88) notes the large strokes in the play are original with S. Is not the fact that the scene is original some proof that S. wrote it?

Unfortunately Miss Marlowe's interpretation of the last scene leaves something to be desired. Miss Ada Rehan's remarks (*Players' ed.*, N. Y., 1900. Intro.) may be read with profit by actresses (and critics).

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final test and submission of the shrew—both appearing simultaneously. The way in which the climaxes of the two plots come together is flawless. That Shakspeare intended it as such the very next lines<sup>13</sup> (undisputed part) make certain:

At last, though long, our jarring notes agree;  
And time it is, when raging war is done,  
To smile at scapes and perils overblown.

The two threads are now inextricably interwoven, and remain so even to the final line of the play.

The last eight lines of *TS* afford such a marvellous example of combining distinct parts that except for their "dancing meter" they probably would never have been suspected. If we concede for the moment that they were composed by a co-laborer, what would be the circumstances under which they were written? Shakspeare would not only have penned Kate's last speech, but some of the following lines. Now these speeches were taken over pretty literally from *AS*. This means that our dramatist, all but done, actually handed his pen together with the old play to his colleague. Might one not as well imagine a shift of riders as the horse crosses the wire? Rollicking fun is demanded in this capsheaf, and the author meets the situation with infinite zest. Is creative writing so mechanical that speeches of such gusto are examples of botchwork and collaboration? Where else in his comedies is there a better conclusion, with the same ecstatic delight in composition? But granting that the play *does* end poorly, are we therefore justified in rejecting these few lines? As has been stated, poor endings may be found in Shakspeare's known works—even in his mature period.

But it may be argued that in the construction of the Bianca story Shakspeare furnished the plot, leaving the remainder to his partner. Here again we are thrown back on the technique, for one of the great merits of the subplot—if indeed not its greatest virtue—is its compactness.<sup>14</sup> There is scarcely a line that does

<sup>13</sup> Opening of last scene.

<sup>14</sup> The presence of descriptive touches in the under portion has been used, for what reason is not clear, as argument against authenticity. But the opening act (suspected) must of necessity contain description and exposition. However, assume that the play contains verbiage. Fecundity and inexhaustible energy are the very stamp of Shakspeare, as noted by a long line of critics from Dr.

not advance the action. This condensation is appreciated after reading contemporary dramas, including *AS*.<sup>15</sup> Since the emphasis is largely on the story, the question arises: What could a co-worker contribute? Aside from the persons in the main part (Petruchio, Katherine, and Grumio), who also appear in the minor plot, there is little characterization. Of description, also, there is not much, consequently the Bianca part is made up almost entirely of the remarkable handling of the intrigue. This meagerness of delineation and description is what we should expect from Shakspeare, and it is precisely what he does elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> Quiller-Couch rightly observes: "Every artist knows, and every critic from Aristotle down, that the more you complicate your plot—the more threads you tie together in your *nexus*—the less room you leave yourself for invention and play of character."<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, the characters of the taming scenes appearing in the underplot are distinctly unified. On the theory of joint authorship this would imply an ability on the part of the co-adjutor commensurate with that of the master himself.<sup>18</sup>

Critics have at times spoken as though the labors of the authors were definitely divided. Even though we assume double workmanship, nothing could be farther from the truth. No water-tight compartments exist. There is constant overlapping, but withal a surprising unification in character portrayal. That an intricate plot could have been the product of

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Johnson to Professor Manly (for the remarks of the latter see *A Memorial Volume to S. and Harvey*, Austin, Texas, 1916, 2ff). Why not suspect the contemporary play of *MND*, not only a youthful performance compared with *TS* but a play full of verbiage? *TS* is amazingly free of irrelevant matter, compared even with *Hamlet*. What, too, is one to make of the Archbishop of Canterbury's disquisition on bees in the mature play of *HV*?

<sup>15</sup> Though *AS* is much the shorter, yet instances are not wanting of remarkable condensation; e.g., the closing of act III, sc. ii, of *TS* (cf. the Bankside edition of *AS*, N. Y., 1888, 174-7).

<sup>16</sup> A supreme instance is the third act of *Othello*.

<sup>17</sup> A notable example of condensation is the treatment of Lodge in *AYL*. Q.-Couch cites *AYL* as an admirable instance of poetry at the expense of plot. Conversely, one may mention *MAdo* with its excellent plot but comparatively little poetry (cf. Masfield, S. in *Home University Library*, 137).

<sup>18</sup> The converse, inconsistencies of character, does not prove joint construction. See, e.g., various discussions on the authorship of *Macbeth*.

two minds is perhaps conceivable; but that several characters<sup>19</sup> appearing in both parts should be not only clearly and definitely but also consistently portrayed must give us pause.<sup>20</sup>

Petruchio is of one piece throughout. He has an abounding effervescence, amounting at times to ebullition. In fact, in his elemental energy, fearlessness, and undaunted spirit he is slightly akin to Tamburlaine.<sup>21</sup> His entrance is in the so-called un-Shaksperian part (I, ii, 1ff.). Since he is always considered Shakspeare's creation, this is noteworthy. After a petty quarrel he is welcomed to Padua by Hortensio. The latter, after some words of welcome, inquires:

And tell me now, sweet friend, what happy gale  
Blows you to Padua here from old Verona?

Whereupon the hero reveals his insatiable zest for adventure:

Such wind as scatters young men through the world  
To seek their fortunes farther than at home  
Where small experience grows.<sup>22</sup> But in a few,  
Signior Hortensio, thus it stands with me:  
Antonio, my father, is deceas'd;  
And I have thrust myself into this maze,  
Haply to wive and thrive as best I may.  
Crowns in my purse I have and goods at home,  
And so am come abroad to see the world (I, ii, 50ff.).

This is the hero's first self-revelatory speech. We see that the germ of the main plot is already there,—in a scene denied Shakspeare by all who argue collaboration.

When Hortensio suggests that he knows a woman of wealth,

<sup>19</sup> Schomburg (101) notes that there are but two individuals in the play,—the hero and heroine. Wendell (160) adds Sly. The others are considered merely stage figures with a few Shaksperian touches—statements only partly true, as we shall see in the case of Gremio and Grumio.

<sup>20</sup> For delineation of minor personages see *infra*.

<sup>21</sup> Though not Machiavelian. In the barest outline only was Shakspeare indebted to AS for the tamer. In AS Ferando is crude, unsympathetic, and false, and unlike Petruchio he forfeits our respect. Marriage to him is merely a commercial exchange. He is distinctly a bully, an unpleasant character (See Schomburg (35f) for excellent remarks.) Malone was the first (apparently) to note that "h" was inserted (in TS) in Petruchio's name as a guide to pronunciation (cf. Bond, 35 note).

<sup>22</sup> On the desire to see the world, as reflected in Shakspeare's other plays, cf. TGV, I, i, 1ff; I iii, 8ff; *King John* I, i, 189ff; *AsYL*, IV, i, 15-25.

though "shrewd" and "ill-favoured," Petruchio with buoyancy replies:

if thou know  
One rich enough to be Petruchio's wife,  
As wealth is burden of my wooing dance,  
Be she as foul as was Florentius' love,  
As old as Sibyl, and as curst and shrewd  
As Socrates' Xanthippe, or a worse,  
She moves me not, or not removes, at least,  
Affection's edge in me, were she as rough  
As are the swelling Adriatic seas.  
I come to wive it wealthily in Padua;  
If wealthily, then happily in Padua (I, ii, 66ff).

For its ebullient qualities of the renaissance, as well as for the suppression of the Marlowesque temper of the old play, this speech is noteworthy.<sup>28</sup> His tingling effervescence, further revealing an insatiable desire for matrimonial adventure, bursts forth again when Hortensio arouses the tamer's interest in the shrew:

Tell me her father's name and 't is enough;  
For I will board her, though she chide as loud  
As thunder when the clouds in autumn crack (I, ii, 94ff).

Another speech of the same tenor, giving a glimpse of his past life and consequently enabling us to account for his character, is:

Think you a little din can daunt mine ears?  
Have I not in my time heard lions roar?  
Have I not heard the sea, puff'd up with winds,  
Rage like an angry boar chafed with sweat?  
Have I not heard great ordnance in the field,  
And heaven's artillery thunder in the skies?

<sup>28</sup> Herford (*op. cit.*, 7), omitting illustrations however, refers to the Marlowesque touches in *TS*. As a matter of fact the play is singularly free of them; *AS*, on the other hand, contains many. The author of this old play has out-Marlowed Marlowe. The amazing thing is that Shakspeare has so completely blotted out these patches (see *infra*). We, of course, should not confuse Petruchio's character with Marlovian features. It was necessary to have an elemental hero; and as for lines of bombast, even in *Othello* (opening of II) the author, then at his meridian, introduced an elevated speech with artistic results. Lear's speeches during the storm (to mention but one other case) may also be noted.

Have I not in a pitched battle heard  
 Loud 'larums, neighing steeds, and trumpets' clang?  
 And do you tell me of a woman's tongue,  
 That gives not half so great a blow to hear  
 As will a chestnut in a farmer's fire?  
 Tush! tush! fear boys with bugs (I, ii, 200ff)<sup>24</sup>

This unconquerable elemental strength shows itself even more to the shrew's father:

I am as peremptory as she proud minded;  
 And where two raging fires meet together  
 They do consume the thing that feeds their fury.  
 Though little fire grows great with little wind,  
 Yet extreme gusts will blow out fire and all;  
 So I to her, and so she yields to me;  
 For I am rough and woo not like a babe (II, i, 132ff).<sup>25</sup>

The tamer's method of wooing, it should be observed, is already outlined: he knows, and the audience knows, who the victor will be.<sup>26</sup> But this passage occurs in a suspected scene. It is in Petruchio's next speech to Katherine's father, however, that the magnificent touch appears,—giving the hero an imperial majesty:

Baptista. Well mayst thou woo, and happy be thy speed!  
 But be thou arm'd for some unhappy words.  
 Pet. Ay, to the proof; as mountains are for winds,  
 That shake not, though they blow perpetually (II, i, 139ff).<sup>27</sup>

Finally, when Hortensio returns with a broken head (as compensation for the music lesson), Petruchio in ecstasy swears "by the world" (II, i, 161).<sup>28</sup> This, then, is that imaginative character, dauntless in his complete presence of mind and self-confidence, as revealed in the suspected portion of *TS*.

<sup>24</sup> This speech, like some others of the tamer's, might be taken as description, hence not Shakspeare's. It is, however, a necessary background. The intensest of tragedies, *Othello*, contains similar echoes of forest and battlefield, and the heroes of the two plays have something in common in their poetic qualities.

<sup>25</sup> The imaginative and poetic character of this speech again suggests *Othello*.

<sup>26</sup> Both Grumio and Gremio repeatedly impress this fact upon the audience.

<sup>27</sup> A similar line occurs in *WT* (III, ii, 214).

<sup>28</sup> As Bond observes (p. 64), this is a common Elizabethan asseveration. However, since it appears only in Petruchio's speeches, and there frequently, the fact is important. It does not occur in Ferando's speeches (but cf. II, i, 137).



What sort of hero is in the unrejected passages? He who thinks in terms of the universe in the disputed speeches, says to Kate shortly after meeting her:

Why does the world report that Kate doth limp?  
O slanderous world! (II, i, 254f)

At once she becomes the "prettiest Kate in Christendom" (II, i, 188). "By this light," he swears when he tells her she must marry him (*ibid.*, 275). To Baptista this world-swearing person says:

yourself and all the world,  
That talk'd of her, have talk'd amiss of her (*ibid.*, 292f).

He tells his fellows that

'T is a world to see,  
How tame, when men and women are alone, etc. (*ibid.*, 313f).

That this phase of his character is not the result of chance is seen in Kate's calling him a "swearing Jack" (*ibid.*, 290).

Other speeches reveal this calmly confident and imperturbable spirit of the rejected scenes. When he comes for his bride and notes the amazement produced by his fantastic garb, he asks:

And wherefore gaze this goodly company,  
As if they saw some wondrous monument,  
Some comet or unusual prodigy? (III, ii, 96ff).

Gremio's account of the wedding is an indirect but no less revelatory speech:

But after many ceremonies done,  
He calls for wine. "A health!" quoth he, as if  
He had been aboard, carousing to his mates  
After a storm (*ibid.*, 171ff).<sup>30</sup>

Particularly revealing is "quaff'd off the muscadel," in that "quaff'd" brings out his impatience and astounding energy.<sup>30</sup> Finally, it is striking that the two (forceful) nautical figures in the play concern Petruchio: one has just been given, and the other is,

<sup>30</sup> Though Tolman (225-6) rejects this scene, he has not been generally accepted. See Bond, xxxvi.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. also Gremio's Hercules and "Alcides' twelve" (I, ii, 257f).

For I will board her, though she chide as loud  
As thunder when the clouds in autumn crack (I, ii, 95f.).

But the latter stands in the suspected part. The background for each figure is one of storm. That these two passages—disclosing as they do an unconquerable mind—are the product of two pens is difficult to believe.<sup>21</sup> Up to this point, then, the hero is unified: an elemental force, consciously conceived as such in order that the taming process may seem more plausible.<sup>22</sup> As a result, he who is intolerant of opposition is a fit person to subdue a shrew.

Passages illustrating unity are fewer in the unsuspected part. It must be remembered, however, that Petruchio here is engaged chiefly in wit combat with Katherine. It is necessary for the audience to have the tamer's history, but the only place for this essential exposition is early in the play—in the portion denied to Shakspeare. In other respects his character is one also.

As corollary to this primitive force we find one who is, as it were, a "rough rider"—a fearless warrior, hunter, and tamer in one. His speeches everywhere reflect this quality: allusions to the battlefield or forest, high seas or "heaven's artillery." He says (suspected speeches) that he has heard lions roar, and steeds neigh in battle, and has seen the "angry boar chafed with sweat" (I. ii. 203). On Grumio's authority we learn that if she (the shrew) withstand "him but a little, he will throw a figure in her face and so disfigure her with it that she shall have no more eyes to see withal than a cat" (*ibid.*, 112ff.).<sup>23</sup> Exultant, the tamer tells Lucentio

'T was I won the wager, though you hit the white (target) (V, ii, 186).

He cares not if the shrew be as rough as "the swelling Adriatic seas" (I, ii, 74); "as mountains are for winds," so will he be for her (II, i, 141f.). Board her he will, though she chide as loud as thunder (I, ii, 95f.). To him a woman's tongue will not give

half so great a blow to hear  
As will a chestnut in a farmer's fire (I, ii, 208f.);

<sup>21</sup> The *Supposes* (ed., Bond, 64) gives merely the colorless "boarded vessel."

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *AC* (Var. edition, 593): the "prompt energy which belongs to the nature of the Shakespearian conqueror."

<sup>23</sup> On Grumio's "rope-tricks" etc., see *infra*.

he concludes, as well, "fear boys with bugs." Soliloquizing, while waiting for his first encounter,<sup>34</sup> he says that if the shrew rails, he'll tell her

She sings as sweetly as a nightingale (II, i, 171).

If, on the other hand, she frowns, he'll say—

she looks as clear

As morning roses newly wash'd with dew (*ibid.*, 173f.).<sup>35</sup>

This phase of his character comes out in the accepted part also. Immediately upon Kate's first interview with him the skirmish of wit begins. Jest is huddled upon jest in their fencing; but the missiles are jades, buzzards, turtles, wasps, crabs, and cats (pun on "Kate"). The shrew to him is as "sweet as spring-time flowers"; as "straight and slender" as a hazel twig, "and as brown in hue As hazel nuts and sweeter than the kernels" (II, i, 248ff.). Baptista is informed that she is as "modest as a dove," and as "temperate as the morn" (*ibid.*, 295f.). Her cap is merely a "walnut-shell" (IV, iii, 66). As they leave for the home of the bride's father, the groom says:

What, is the jay more precious than the lark,  
Because his feathers are more beautiful?  
Or is the adder better than the eel,  
Because his painted skin contents the eye? (IV, iii, 177ff.).<sup>36</sup>

To Hortensio, who replies that the field is won, he answers:

thus the bowl should run,  
And not unluckily against the bias (IV, v, 24f.);<sup>37</sup>

and again:

Such war of white and red within her cheeks (*ibid.*, 30).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Shakspeare's, according to some critics (cf. Bond, xxxvi).

<sup>35</sup> Not in *AS*.

<sup>36</sup> This speech, original with Shakspeare, offers an interesting comparison with Ferando's (Bankside, 218f.).

<sup>37</sup> For the figure see Bond's note. Cf. also chapter on "Games" in *S's England (op. cit.)*.

<sup>38</sup> Though this is a literary conceit, borrowed from the ancients (cf. Ogle, *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, xxxiv, 147ff; Curry, *The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty*, 1916, particularly 93), the argument is not invalidated.

The wager is proposed by him,<sup>39</sup> and a swift figure of quick wit is "currish" (V, ii, 54). Grumio is a "malt-horse drudge" (IV, i, 132), a "beetle-headed, flap-ear'd knave" (*ibid.*, 160). Abusively he terms the tailor a flea, a nit, and a winter-cricket (IV, iii, 110). Finally, his remarkable soliloquy contains no less than ten technical terms of hawking (IV, i, 191ff.).<sup>40</sup>

In another way Petruchio is symmetrical: the irony in his speeches to and about the shrew. Though Hortensio has told him of Kate, nevertheless when the tamer offers himself to her father as a suitor he says:

I am a gentleman of Verona, sir,  
That, hearing of her beauty and her wit,  
Her affability and bashful modesty,  
Her wondrous qualities and mild behavior,  
Have come to see her for myself (II, i 47ff.).

And this immediately after Baptista has hinted that his daughter is not all that she might be. While waiting for Katherine to appear, coolly he reflects:<sup>41</sup>

Say that she rail, why then I'll tell her plain  
She sings as sweetly as a nightingale.  
Say that she frown, I'll say she looks as clear  
As morning roses newly wash'd with dew.  
Say she be mute and will not speak a word,  
Then I'll commend her volubility,  
And say she uttereth piercing eloquence.  
If she do bid me pack, I'll give her thanks,  
As though she bid me stay by her a week.  
If she deny to wed, I'll crave the day  
When I shall ask the banns and when be married (II, i, 171ff).

This inverted gallantry appears in the genuine part also. He has heard her mildness "praised in every town" (*ibid.*, 192),<sup>42</sup> and

<sup>39</sup> The hero of *AS* does not propose the wager.

<sup>40</sup> On the accurate and skilful use of terms cf. Madden, *The Diary of Master William Silence*, new ed., 1907, 149 and note, 325; *S's England*, *op. cit.*, II, 357. In *AS* there is an occasional conventional figure of speech, seldom one of hawking or hunting; indeed, Madden notes (324f) that the author here reveals his ignorance. For further discussion see *infra*.

<sup>41</sup> Not by Shakspeare (Tolman).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. "mild behavior" above.

Thy virtues spoke of, and thy beauty sounded (*ibid.*, 193).<sup>43</sup>

Indeed, this mock praise is one of his most successful weapons. During this first tilt, in which he has been temporarily routed,<sup>44</sup> he utters a sustained speech:

I find you passing gentle.  
 'T was told me you were rough and coy and sullen,  
 And now I find report a very liar;  
 For thou art pleasant, gamesome, passing courteous,  
 But slow in speech, yet sweet as spring-time flowers.  
 Thou canst not frown, thou canst not look askance,  
 Nor bite the lip, as angry wenches will,  
 Nor hast thou pleasure to be cross in talk,  
 But thou with mildness entertain'st thy wooers,  
 With gentle conference, soft and affable (II, i, 244ff).

It is significant that she, who ordinarily speaks poniards, now resorts to the calling of names.<sup>45</sup> He again commends her beauty (*ibid.*, 275f.), her modesty, and her patience (*ibid.*, 295 ff.). He tells his friends that "'t is incredible" how much she loves him:

She hung about my neck; and kiss on kiss  
 She vied so fast, protesting oath on oath,  
 That in a twink she won me to her love (*ibid.*, 308ff).

He thanks them for having seen him give himself

To this most patient, sweet, and virtuous wife (III, ii, 197).

But his whole course of wooing is consistent. Since his method is suggested in a suspected part, and since the final test also occurs in a so-called un-Shaksperian scene, this fact should carry weight. Let us first look at the rejected passages. That he will be dictatorial, one line (to Baptista) gives hint:

For I am rough and woo not like a babe (II, i, 138).<sup>46</sup>

He intends to "woo her with some spirit" (*ibid.*, 170). Valuable testimony is given by Grumio. He has not only seen and heard,

<sup>43</sup> She was beautiful (I, ii, 86).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Bond (58).

<sup>45</sup> II, i, 259. Yet to her father she accuses P. of being a "swearing Jack."

<sup>46</sup> Again, cf. Othello.

but has been a victim of blows:<sup>47</sup> "O' my word, an she knew him as well as I do, she would think scolding would do little good upon him. She may perhaps call him half a score knaves or so,<sup>48</sup> why, that's nothing. An he begin once, he'll rail in his rope-tricks. I'll tell you what, sir, and she stand (withstand) him but a little, he will throw a figure in her face and so disfigure her with it that she shall have no more eyes to see withal than a cat" (I. ii. 108ff.). Will Petruchio woo her (the "wildcat")? echoes the confident Grumio to Gremio's query; "Ay," he says, "or I'll hang her" (I. ii. 198). He knows that his master is resolute and fearless (*ibid.*, 211). He wishes he were as "sure of a good dinner" as he is of Petruchio's success (*ibid.*, 218).<sup>49</sup> Finally, in the honeymoon scene,<sup>50</sup> the hero again for the last time wields the conqueror's whip; but only for an instant, for a mere crack of the lash is all that is needed. The once fearless scold is now completely subdued.

The genuine part likewise supplies data. At their first meeting the hero tells Kate how fate has decreed that he must be her tamer, so that she may become compliant as a household cat:

For I am he am born to tame you Kate,  
And bring you from a wild Kate to a Kate  
Conformable as other household Kates (II, i, 278ff).

The description of himself and horse, as well as the nuptials (rejected by some,<sup>51</sup> by others thought unworthy of Shakspeare)<sup>52</sup> brings out admirably the consistent tamer.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the "knocking" scene (I, ii).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. II, i, 200ff.

<sup>49</sup> An artistic touch in another way: to Grumio Hortensio's hospitality is still a matter of conjecture. Clowns were supposed to refer to their stomachs; cf. Houghton, *Englishmen for my Money*, ll. 885, 1045; Lyly, ed. Fairholt, I, 117, 163, 275; II, 75. Cf. also Flügel (Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*, 101).

<sup>50</sup> *Supra* for fuller discussion.

<sup>51</sup> Cf., for example, Tolman (225). Furnivall, in deference to Tennyson's judgment, accepts the nuptials.

<sup>52</sup> Schomburg, 60. Shakspeare may have overreached himself here, but one should remember that the Elizabethans had a sturdy digestion; moreover, the scene is merely reported. As a matter of fact, since the play is a farce does not the dramatist disarm criticism? One could also defend it on what Chesterton calls Shakspeare's love of the picturesque (see Chesterton's Dickens: *Barnaby Rudge*).

Grumio testifies in the accepted passages also. That he has been a witness and a victim of Petruchio's acts is again seen (IV. i. 3ff.). It is he who describes the bridal party's trip to the country house: "how her horse fell and she under her horse . . . ; in how miry a place, how she was bemoil'd, how he left her with the horse upon her, how he beat me because her horse stumbled, how she waded through the dirt to pluck him off me, how he swore, and how she pray'd that never pray'd before" (*ibid.*, 74ff). Indeed, the farce reaches its acme in this scene, namely, when the wedding feast serves merely as projectiles.

Curtis, another servant, also gives evidence of rough taming:

Grumio. Where is he?

Curtis. In her chamber, making a sermon of continency to her;  
And rails, and swears, and rates, that she, poor soul,  
Knows not which way to stand, to look, to speak,  
And sits as one new-risen from a dream (*ibid.*, 185ff).

Though the hero experiences a victor's ecstasy, he knows that more must be done before complete submission follows. This is evident in his remarkable soliloquy, in which his consistency is brought out. The passage, though long, deserves quotation:

Thus have I politicly begun my reign,  
And 't is my hope to end successfully.  
My falcon now is sharp and passing empty;  
And till she stoop she must not be full-gorg'd,  
For then she never looks upon her lure.  
Another way I have to man my haggard,  
To make her come and know her keeper's call,  
That is, to watch her, as we watch these kites  
That bate and beat and will not be obedient.  
She eat no meat to-day, nor none shall eat;  
Last night she slept not, nor to-night she shall not;  
As with the meat, some undeserved fault  
I'll find about the making of the bed;  
And here I'll fling the pillow, there the bolster,  
This way the coverlet, another way the sheets.  
Ay, and amid this hurly I intend  
That all is done in reverend care of her;  
And in conclusion she shall watch all night;  
And if she chance to nod I'll rail and brawl  
And with the clamour keep her still awake.  
This a way to kill a wife with kindness,  
And thus I'll curb her mad and headstrong humour.  
He that knows better how to tame a shrew,  
Now let him speak; 't is charity to show (IV, i, 191ff).

Finally, in another way is he unified: he never for an instant loses our sympathy. Though we expect in Shakspeare's plays to find catholicity of feeling, our admiration for the tamer excites surprise. Here is a rough wooer, yet he holds our respect as he sweeps aside all obstacles to gain his ends,—the conquering of a termagant. Possibly an Elizabethan audience would be less sensitive in these matters, since the more liberal views on the relations between sexes were still unknown. Certainly to Shakspeare's audience the play was downright fun. But so it is to-day.<sup>53</sup> To the older conception of the former relation between man and woman, Shakspeare has applied, as it were, a magnifying glass.<sup>54</sup> Preposterous we may call it, but not offensive. After a lapse of three centuries we do not call Petruchio a brute, or a "mad-cap ruffian."<sup>55</sup> That this is due to Shakspeare's skilful avoidance of the difficulties presented by this character we readily appreciate when we turn to the old play, in which one feels little sympathy with hero or heroine.<sup>56</sup> How did Shakspeare accomplish this transformation?

Though Petruchio is "rough," he is a suitor,—one not wholly lacking in dignity. He is a gentleman of good family: the sole heir who has always made good investments (II, i, 118f).<sup>57</sup> His father's fame extended throughout Italy, and the mere mention of him is sufficient passport for the hero to Baptista's

<sup>53</sup> Quiller-Couch (*op. cit.*, 95) was agreeably surprised to find it "noisier in the study than on the stage." Lord Morley read and saw it in Paris (*Recollections*, 1917, I, 299), where admirable performances, it is reported, were given in the summer of 1924. Critics generally speak well of it: e.g., Furnivall (Leopold ed.). Herford (*op. cit.*, 7), on the contrary, believes Shakspeare was not fond of it. Frederick Harrison (*De Senectute*, 1923, 96) speaks of its "farcical and inhuman plot . . . Shakespeare's own estimate of women"! Pepys thought it (a Restoration version) "silly" (Nov. 1, 1667).

The wooer—Schomburg (44) to the contrary—will prove a good husband. Hypocrisy and falsehood were alien to Kate's nature; selfishness, cowardice, and insincerity to Petruchio's. His sanguine spirit and exuberant humor will be his support. Chesterton's illuminating comments on Dickens may be read with profit on this point, and Miss Rehan's (*op. cit.*).

<sup>54</sup> A popular theme then (cf. Bond, liif), as it had been in fairy tales (cf. "King Grisly-beard" in Grimm, Oxford, 1905, 91, 385).

<sup>55</sup> Kate's epithet (II, 290).

<sup>56</sup> For sympathetic treatment of characters elsewhere in S. see Lawrence, *PMLA*, XXXV, 391ff.

<sup>57</sup> Mrs. C. C. Stopes (*Shakespeare's Industry*, 1916, 149), in discussing Petruchio as a breadwinner, failed to take the hero's wealth into consideration.



home: "I know him well; you are welcome for his sake" (*ibid.*, 70). When Kate strikes him he does not return the blow. He has a tingling buoyancy. He is also serious-minded; winning a woman is not a life's task; his suit is pressing, for "every day I cannot come to woo" (*ibid.*, 116). Though out to see the world he is ready "to wive." "And I do hope good days and long to see" (I, ii, 193).

Though wealth is the "burden of his wooing dance," he has a lover's ideals. Katherine's beauty and good breeding, praised by Hortensio, are not forgotten (I, ii). Repeatedly he says that he will *woo* her. Though he has not yet seen Kate, he intends to love her (II, i, 120, 162). His addresses to her are not those of a tamer, but of a lover: "my lovely bride" (III, ii, 94). He has the lover's desire to see her (*ibid.*, 112). He wishes to "seal the title (husband) with a lovely kiss" (*ibid.*, 124f). She is his "patient, sweet, and virtuous wife" (*ibid.*, 197).<sup>58</sup> A superb stroke is the spirited scene in which the hero bids the wedding guests to dinner. With assumed gallantry he insists she must away with him. Challenging the guests to deter him, he turns to Grumio and says,

we are beset with thieves;  
Rescue thy mistress, if thou be a man.

Then, with an air of unsurpassed mock bravery, to his bride:

Fear not, sweet wench, they shall not touch thee, Kate;  
I'll buckler thee against a million (III, ii, 192-241).

This topsy-turvy scene increases immeasurably our sympathy and respect for the hero.

Everything is done by him in the name of perfect love. Repeatedly he employs terms of endearment:<sup>59</sup> "love" (IV, iii, 39); "honey love" (*ibid.*, 52); "sweeting" (*ibid.*, 36). As the play progresses, "Kate" and "sweet Kate" acquire an affectionate warmth.<sup>60</sup> On the road to Baptista's house he says tenderly:

We will hence forthwith,  
To feast and sport us at thy father's house (IV, iii, 184f).

<sup>58</sup> Though some lines are ironic, my point is not weakened.

<sup>59</sup> Both parts are here represented.

<sup>60</sup> E.g., IV, iii, 171, 181; V, i, 148, 154.

Upon meeting Vicentio he explains entanglements satisfactorily, and sets the mind of the old man at ease (IV, v, 42ff). In fact, he here deports himself a gentleman, showing as he does a winning tenderness. He calls the old man "father," and is proud of having won the daughter of a nobleman (*ibid.*, 60ff). The honeymoon scene (V, i), not only shows him the victor, but a tender lover. Finally, when Hortensio in astonishment asks what it "bodes" that the shrew obeys her husband, Petruchio says:

Marry, peace it bodes, and love, and quiet life,  
And awful rule, and right supremacy;<sup>61</sup>  
And, to be short, what not, that's sweet and happy (V, ii, 108ff).

It is significant that Baptista never complains of Petruchio's treatment of Kate. Once he comes near it, when he fears that the tamer will not arrive for the wedding (III, ii, 1ff), and (same scene) when he pities Kate because she weeps. Otherwise he is silent. That Shakspeare worked with a purpose here is further evident in the father's attitude toward his daughters. In spite of the fact that Baptista is eager to have Kate off his hands, he is yet eager that Petruchio win her love (II, i, 129f). But he shows no such concern for Bianca. Love here never enters his mind; indeed he offers her to the highest bidder. This difference served the author's purpose as a means of concentrating sympathy on the characters of the main plot.

Finally, a remarkable instance of tenderness is Petruchio's soliloquy at the country house.<sup>62</sup> After summarizing his triumphs and enumerating deeds yet unperformed, he closes with—

He that knows better how to tame a shrew,  
Now let him speak; 't is charity to show (IV, i, 213f).

In these lines the world is challenged to criticize his methods. Yet his remarks are not imperious or scornful; on the contrary, the word "charity"—one of the many hints that help redeem the play from utter severity<sup>63</sup>—is fraught with tenderness and

<sup>61</sup> This line need rouse no unpleasant feelings; it certainly did not offend Elizabethans.

<sup>62</sup> Given in full above.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. also "all is done in reverent care of her" (*ibid.*, 207). An illuminating sidelight is thrown on "gentle" Shakspeare when one considers that wife beating was practiced under sanction of law (cf. C. L. Powell, *English Domestic Rela-*

humility. In spite of his peremptory "shall" the subduer has pursued the only satisfactory method. His speech clearly indicates that charity, not harshness nor ill-humor, has been his guiding principle. This note of sympathy for the hero—a true Shaksperian feature<sup>64</sup>—is wanting in *AS*, but is met with in both parts of *TS*.

### III

The fact that the shrew is consistently created may seem of less importance, for it may be argued that a character bordering on the farcical demands little skill in portrayal. Here again, however, comparison with the old drama reveals fundamental differences—specially important for our purposes since Kate appears in both parts. In *AS* the heroine is not a flesh-and-blood person, nor even a type; she is indeed a "psychological impossibility."<sup>65</sup> In *TS*, on the other hand, Kate is a real woman. Moreover, in *AS* she addresses coarse remarks to her tamer.<sup>66</sup> What is worse—as unpardonable in art as in real life—the hero actually gossips with his servant about her.<sup>67</sup> But in *TS*, in both suspected and unsuspected scenes, such passages have been omitted. It is true that at their first meeting the tamer and heroine become somewhat rough in speech<sup>68</sup>; yet this is between equals,—a vast difference. Indeed, the small number of indecorous jests in both portions of *TS* suggests that the author

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*tions*, 1917, 171). Perhaps even *TS* has more autobiography than we dream of! Cf. Furness (*Letters*, I, 1922, 244): Petruchio subdues Kate "by being rough to everybody but her."

<sup>64</sup> For some admirable examples of feeling for his characters note, for example, Othello's "This sorrow's heavenly; It strike where it doth love" (*V*, ii, 21f); and "thou dost stone my heart, And makes me call what I intend to do A murder, which I thought a sacrifice" (*ibid.*, 63ff). Consummate are Cleopatra's "No more but e'en a woman, and commanded By such poor passion as the maid that milks And does the meanest chares" (*IV*, xv, 73ff); and when she seals her title in "Husband, I come!" (*V*, ii, 290). Finally, to mention but one other instance, it is none other than Malvolio, whose like in real life Shakspeare must have hated, who utters the famous "I think nobly of the soul," etc. (*IV*, ii, 60).

<sup>65</sup> Schomburg, p. 34; cf. pp. 33-5 for excellent discussion of the heroine of *AS*.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. "Filthy," never occurring in the speeches of the later Katherine, is a stock word (cf. Boas, p. 14).

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>68</sup> Kate, in *AS*, also lacks (as said) refinement in her remarks to the tamer.

consciously suppressed such speeches in order that no misunderstanding should arise.<sup>5</sup>

No less remarkable is the difference in the development of the taming process. In *AS* Kate early makes the astonishing confession that she will marry the tamer;<sup>6</sup> this, too, immediately after she heaps abuse upon her father.

Why, father, what do you mean to do with me,  
To give me thus unto this brain-sick man,  
That in his mood cares not to murder me?

[*She turns aside and speaks*

But yet I will consent and marry him,  
For I methinks have lived too long a maid,  
And match him too, or else his manhood's good (I, i, 166ff).

Thus in its technique the structure of the play crumbles before the action is well under way. Kate's closing speech is also inartistic and improbable. In general, the play is without design and motivation.<sup>7</sup> In *TS*, on the contrary, the gradual overpowering and crushing of the heroine's spirit is masterly.<sup>8</sup> From the first the fearless youth moves imperturbably in his subjection of the "irksome brawling scold." But this controlling principle is met with in rejected and unrejected passages alike.

An impressive illustration of unity is the sympathy which she inspires. In *AS* Kate has no positive qualities. She is merely obstinate, unruly, and coarse,<sup>9</sup> whereas in the later drama the author makes it clear early in the play (rejected) that her only fault is her shrewishness.<sup>10</sup> Not only that, but she possesses virtues: beauty, wealth, and birth (I, ii, 86). She has enough of femininity to shed tears when the wedding day without the wooer arrives (III, ii, 26). Moreover, hints of affectionate tenderness occur in her speeches: "if you love me, stay," she pleads after the wedding (III, ii, 206). At the country house, when Petruchio is perverting the uses of food, she says

<sup>5</sup> Bianca, on the other hand, Shakspeare does not spare (cf. V, ii). On the author's treatment of his sources of *RJ* and *CE* see *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> Contrast the fine touch (in a speech denied Shakspeare) in Kate's remark to her father (*TS*, II, i, 32ff).

<sup>7</sup> See Schomburg, 89f for discussion.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>9</sup> In Schomburg's opinion (35) *AS* fails in that the author does not tell us Kate is shrewish, but is compelled to demonstrate it on the stage.

<sup>10</sup> I, ii, 85-100.

with a gentleness that would have won the praise of Lear: "I pray you, husband, be not so disquiet" (IV, i, 171). It mortifies her that he should mask his vigorous course with the name of "perfect love" (IV, iii, 12). Her repeated entreaties to Grumio win our pity (*ibid.*, 1ff). The brief glimpse of her after her husband has triumphed (V, i, 147ff) enlists our full sympathy.<sup>11</sup>

Her closing speech—whatever may be said for it to-day, it was thoroughly in keeping with views then held<sup>12</sup>—reveals a sturdy common sense. Now that she has been conquered, her former vehemence finds new channels: her trenchant exhortations to Bianca and the widow disclose the same Katherine. But they are the words of a convert; of one who has found happiness in marital supremacy. As a result her new seriousness (touched with a mature and wholesome humor) makes her wholesome. Thus in the end she wins the audience by setting forth the Elizabethan ideals of a perfect wife.

There is likewise unity in the character of Grumio, the greatness of which has been recognized.<sup>13</sup> Grumio's first appearance (I, ii, 1ff) is in a scene which has been suspected, in spite of the fact that he as well as Petruchio has been given to Shakspeare.<sup>14</sup> The first dialogue between master and servant reveals a characteristic which is again found in the accepted part: the beating of Grumio by the tamer, and the accompanying quibble on "knocks." In the one other scene where both appear at length—at the country house (IV, i)—the first words to fall from Grumio's mouth refer to a recent beating. Twice in this scene

<sup>11</sup> We should not misjudge Katherine when she uses her fists on Bianca. Queen Elizabeth on the same score stands condemned.

<sup>12</sup> Did Hazlitt have in mind his own domestic difficulties when he referred to *TS* as "almost the only one of Shakespeare's comedies that has a . . . downright moral"? Of course *TS* offers no moral. As Boas observes (*S. and his Predecessors*, 1896, 181) Kate's closing speech contains phrases "almost identical with those found in the marriage service." As a matter of fact, many instances of this wifely obedience occur in Shakspeare: a supreme example is Emilia, Iago's wife, who feels compelled to apologize and give reasons for disobeying her husband (cf. *Othello*, V, ii, 194ff, 219ff); and this too in situations among the most heart-rending imaginable. The early practice of buying and selling marriages (as frankly revealed, e.g., in the *Paston Letters*) may be recalled.

<sup>13</sup> Tolman, *The Views*, 221; Knight, *Studies of S.*, 1851, 146.

<sup>14</sup> Tolman, 224. Wendell (160), on the other hand, lists him with the conventional stage figures.

Petruchio strikes him (151, 158). The servant's first words to Katherine are significant: "No, no, forsooth; I dare not for my life" (IV, iii, 1).

It may be objected that the beating of a servant supplies no proof of single authorship, especially since *AS* also exhibits these acts of violence, though here they are applied indiscriminately to all subordinates.<sup>15</sup> We should observe, however, that though Grumio and Sanders (servant in *AS*) are both beaten, the similarity between them stops here. Sanders is unlikeable, not to say stupid. He is prying, inquisitive, meddlesome,<sup>16</sup> whereas Grumio from the first has our good will. The latter never repels us; seldom, if ever, does he give offense.<sup>17</sup> From the outset we feel that he is being mistreated, and at no subsequent time does he forfeit our kindly feeling. Therefore the unity of his character not only reveals a fundamental difference between the two plays, but supports single authorship.

Still another evidence of unity appears in the language of Grumio, which throughout smacks of the stable. In suspected passages occurs his well-known "as many diseases as two and fifty horses" (I, ii, 80f). If Petruchio once begins, "he'll rail in his rope-tricks" (*ibid.*, 111).<sup>18</sup> If the heroine withstand the tamer, "he will throw a figure in her face" (*ibid.*, 113ff). When Grumio asks Petruchio if he'll "woo this wild-cat," Grumio says: "Ay, or I'll hang her" (*ibid.*, 198).<sup>19</sup> In the scene (accepted) at the country house his first words, as he stumbles upon the stage, are: "Fie, fie on all tired jades" (IV, i, 1). To Curtis he remarks: "thou mayst slide from my shoulder to my heel with no greater a run but my head and my neck" (*ibid.*, 14f).<sup>20</sup> "Winter," he says, "tames man, woman, and beast" (*ibid.*, 23f).<sup>21</sup> The heads of the servants he orders to be

<sup>15</sup> Whipping, of course, was the common form of punishment for fools.

<sup>16</sup> Schomburg, 105. Swinburne's enthusiasm for *AS* and Sanders (*A Study of S.*, 124)—Shakspeare "has added nothing"—has at least the merit of sincerity.

<sup>17</sup> Wurth ("Das Wortspiel bei Shakspeare," *Wiener Beiträge*, I, 219) finds his puns wearisome.

<sup>18</sup> Tricks deserving the halter (Schmidt). Cf. Madden, 323.

<sup>19</sup> Common expression in rural communities in this country.

<sup>20</sup> This appears to refer to the running of a race. Cf. Hermione's "heat an acre" (*WT* I, ii, 96).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Bond 94 note.

"slickly comb'd" (*ibid.*, 92).<sup>22</sup> The servants are commanded not to touch "a hair of my master's horse-tail till they kiss their hands" (*ibid.*, 95f).<sup>23</sup> No hint of this characteristic is discoverable in his prototype, Sanders.<sup>24</sup>

In his passion for the unusual word he likewise discloses a oneness.<sup>25</sup> These terms are often far-fetched and strange, or awkward and malapropos.<sup>26</sup> Not a few of the nonce words come from Grumio's lips,<sup>27</sup> and several of the obscure passages in the play are found in his speeches.<sup>28</sup> Since the occurrence of nonce words has been used as an argument for double authorship, the evidence must be examined. In suspected speeches are "reused," "rope-tricks," "aglet-baby," "leges"; in the genuine: "trot," "bemoil'd," "slickly," "cock's passion," "miry," "unexperienced," "rayed" ("wrayed"), "sheathing," "meteyard," "loose-bodied," "unpinked," "spruce," "horse-tail," "run" (subst.). Several of these, according to the *New Eng. Dict.*, appear first in this play.<sup>29</sup> Others, on the contrary, are scattered in *both* sources.<sup>30</sup> These two facts, then, the occurrence of nonce words throughout his speeches and the author's borrowing of diction from both old plays indicate conscious creation—and single authorship.

Though Gremio appears seldom in the rejected part, where he does he is consistent. His unconventionality of manner and speech is seen from the outset. Katherine is too rough for him (I, i, 55). In fact she is a "fiend of hell" (*ibid.*, 88). After she leaves, he wishes that she "may go to the devil's dam" (*ibid.*, 106). Not only does he again call her a devil (*ibid.*, 125, 127), but he looks upon any man who weds her as a fool "married to hell" (*ibid.*, 129). Though he desires a suitor for her, he has

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *N. E. D.* for its 17th century use.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. note 13.

<sup>24</sup> On references to sports in Shakspeare see *infra*.

<sup>25</sup> Sanders' blunders are limited to the dialect use of "chud" (would), and one or two others; in *Supposes* (ed. Bond, 33) Dulippo blunders in his pronunciation of "commandment."

<sup>26</sup> Blundering was common on the Elizabethan stage.

<sup>27</sup> If we omit scientific expressions, proper names, and the like. For a list of such words, which must be noted in the light of Schmidt, see *NSS*, 90f.

<sup>28</sup> Cf., for example, I, 2, 32, 112ff; III, 2, 207.

<sup>29</sup> For example, "run," "slickly," "cock's passion," "horse-tail."

<sup>30</sup> Find "trot," "miry," "loose-bodied."

not the heart to encourage anyone. When he discovers that the tamer, even though informed of her faults (I, ii, 187ff), is bent on marriage, he replies:

O sir, such a life with such a wife, were strange!  
But if you have a stomach, to 't i' God's name;  
You shall have me assisting you in all (*ibid.*, 194ff).

Yet he is fearful of the outcome: abruptly he adds,—“But will you woo this wild-cat?” (*ibid.*, 197).

His appearance in the genuine part is confined chiefly to the scene describing the church wedding (III, ii, 151ff).<sup>31</sup> In truth, it is he who graphically describes the marriage. Gremio's sympathies are now with the shrew. The tamer has become a “grumbling groom, and that the girl shall find” (*ibid.*, 155). It is Petruchio who now becomes “a devil, a devil, a very fiend” (*ibid.*, 157). In fact, the shrew is “a lamb, a dove, a fool to him” (*ibid.*, 159). Immediately thereafter follows his amazing account of the ceremony: the tamer's triumphant victory so overwhelmed the old man that he

seeing this, came thence for very shame (*Ibid.* 182).

Not only is there a consistent development of the reaction upon Gremio—from the beginning when the shrew was only fit for the devil and his dam to the climax when she was a lamb, a dove, and the tamer the devil—but identical diction. Moreover, he too holds our sympathy<sup>32</sup>—a matter of interest in view of the fact that his ancestors, the pantaloons of Italian comedy, were repellant. He has a gift for the pithy or telling phrase: indeed, his tongue coins proverbs. The familiar saying,<sup>33</sup> “my (our) cake is dough” he speaks twice (I, i, 109; V, i, 144). Tranio, when bidding up for the hand of Bianca, is called a “gamester,” and informed that an “old Italian fox is not so kind” (II, 405). To Hortensio he remarks: “we may blow our nails together, and fast it fairly out” (I, i, 108f). He would as “lief . . . be whipp'd at the high cross every morning” as to take the shrew with all her wealth (*ibid.*, 135f). When asked if he had come

<sup>31</sup> Accepted as genuine by most critics. Furnivall, in deference to Tennyson's judgment, includes it.

<sup>32</sup> Schomburg (104) thinks otherwise, but cf. 117.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Bond, 25 note; Porter-Clarke, 153.



from church he responds: "As willingly as e'er I came from school" (III, ii, 152).<sup>34</sup> This power of picturesque utterance reaches its climax in his account of the nuptial ceremony:

when the priest  
Should ask, if Katherine should be his wife,  
"Ay, by gogs-wouns," quoth he; and swore so loud,  
That, all-amaz'd, the priest let fall the book;  
And, as he stoop'd again to take it up,  
The mad-brain'd bridegroom took him such a cuff  
That down fell priest and book, and book and priest.

As for the bride she

Trembled and shook; for why, he stamp'd and swore,  
As if the vicar meant to cozen him.  
But after many ceremonies done,  
He calls for wine. "A health!" quoth he, as if  
He had been aboard, carousing to his mates  
After a storm; quaff'd off the muscadel,  
And threw the sops all in the sexton's face,  
Having no other reason  
But that his beard grew thin and hungerly,  
And seem'd to ask him sops as he was drinking.  
This done, he took the bride about the neck  
And kiss'd her lips with such a clamorous smack  
That at the parting all the church did echo (III, ii, 160ff).

Picturesqueness of phrase, indeed, is so thoroughly characteristic of him that his phrases are quoted by others, as when Hortensio remarks to him: "Faith, *as you say*,"<sup>35</sup> there's small choice in rotten apples" (I, i, 138).<sup>36</sup>

There is unity also in the general shadowiness of the other persons. This meager delineation, serving an artistic purpose elsewhere in Shakspeare, cannot be disregarded. Though it may not require much skill to portray filmy people—even if consciousness on the part of the author be assumed—nevertheless an even touch is necessary. Bianca, Baptista, Vincentio, Lucentio (they appear in both parts) disclose this uniform haziness. Such little characterization as they possess is as consistent as their vagueness.

<sup>34</sup> Apparently a proverbial saying (cf. Bond, 86).

<sup>35</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>36</sup> For other examples of vigorous speech see I, i, 147ff, V, ii, 84f.

Hortensio and his relation to the farce have, for a definite reason, been reserved to the last. He, too, though in a subtler way, illustrates this harmony: in the oneness of the action as focussed through his eyes. "In all great literature," says Quiller-Couch,<sup>37</sup> "there is always a sense of the norm." In Shakspeare's greatest tragedies "there is always some point and standard of sanity to which all enormities and passionate errors are referred by us, albeit unconsciously, for correction; on which the agitated mind of the spectator settles back as upon its centre of gravity." And Coventry Patmore finds this "*punctum indifferens*" not only in the great tragedies, but in Shakspeare's early dramas of *MV* and *RJ*, both contemporary with *TS*. Of this "little-noticed but very important principle of art," Patmore says:

In *King Lear* it is by the character of Kent, in *Romeo and Juliet* by Friar Laurence; in *Hamlet* by Horatio; in *Othello* by Cassio, and in the *Merchant of Venice* by Bassanio, that the point of rest is supplied. . . . Thus Horatio is the exact *punctum indifferens* between the opposite excesses of the characters of Hamlet and Laertes—over-reasoning inaction and unreasoning action—between which extremes the whole interest of the play vibrates. The unobtrusive character of Kent is, as it were, the eye of the tragic storm which rages round it; and the departure, in various directions, of every character more or less from moderation, rectitude or sanity, is the more clearly understood or felt from our more or less conscious reference to him. So with the central and comparatively unimpressive characters in many other plays—characters unimpressive on account of their facing the exciting and trying circumstances of the drama with the regard of pure reason, justice, and virtue. Each of these characters is a peaceful focus radiating the calm of moral solution throughout all the difficulties and disasters of surrounding fate; a vital centre, which, like that of a great wheel, has little motion in itself, but which at once transmits and controls the fierce revolution of the circumference.<sup>38</sup>

Though no mention is made of *TS*, Hortensio also supplies this "point of rest." In fact before reading the above discussion the writer had observed a likeness between him and Horatio. When Petruchio wilfully abuses his servant before the house of Hortensio, it is the latter who says:

Petruchio, patience; I am Grumio's pledge.  
Why, this's a heavy chance 'twixt him and you,  
Your ancient, trusty, pleasant servant Grumio (I, ii, 45ff).

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, 50.

<sup>38</sup> *Principle in Art*, 1889, 39ff; cf. Quiller-Couch, *loc. cit.*

It is Hortensio who in a single speech judges Kate correctly:

I can, Petruchio, help thee to a wife  
With wealth enough and young and beauteous,  
Brought up as best becomes a gentlewoman.  
Her only fault, and that is faults enough,  
Is that she is intolerable curst  
And shrewd and forward (I, ii, 85ff).<sup>39</sup>

Like Bassanio he believes that woman must have more than beauty to commend her.<sup>40</sup> When he discovers Bianca's preference among her wooers (III, i, 89ff; IV, ii, 27ff), he says:

Kindness in women, not their beauteous looks,  
Shall win my love (IV, ii, 41f).

In the genuine part this norm is also exemplified. At the country house when Petruchio is starving the shrew, Hortensio objects,—

Signior Petruchio, fie! you are to blame,  
Come, Mistress Kate, I'll bear you company (IV, iii, 48f).

When the hero abuses his tailor, it is Hortensio who sets matters right:

Tailor, I'll pay thee for thy gown tomorrow;  
Take no unkindness of his hasty words (IV, iii, 168f).

The tamer's victory over the shrew is voiced by Hortensio:

Petruchio, go thy ways; the field is won (IV, v, 23).

When the hero bewilders Vincentio, it is Hortensio who sets the old man's mind at ease (IV, v, 74). Lastly (in a speech regarded as genuine by some and not by others), it falls to Hortensio's lot to pronounce the hero's triumphant success:

Now, go thy ways; thou hast tam'd a curst shrew (V, ii, 188).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Hortensio's

And tell me now, sweet friend, what happy gale  
Blows you to Padua here from old Verona? (I, ii, 48f), with Hamlet's  
And what make you from Wittenberg (I, ii, 164).

With the former's final pronouncement that the shrew is conquered compare Horatio's words over the body of Hamlet. These parallels could be multiplied.

<sup>40</sup> The casket scene. Cf. Patmore.

That this mediator, not restricted to either part, is the result of hack-work or incidental collaboration is difficult to believe.

In conclusion, therefore, it may be said that inasmuch as the characters in *TS* are distinctly unified, further evidence of single authorship is given.

#### IV

The air of naturalness and realism which pervades the entire play also produces a unified effect. This unity becomes impressive when *TS* is compared with both sources. Most of the time *AS* is in the sphere of fiction, with its scene—though ostensibly at Athens—laid anywhere. It is precisely this defect that is absent in *TS*,—in both parts alike. This sense of local habitation is noticeable everywhere. However ridiculous the main story may be, it has a semblance of reality.

Though the spontaneity and absence of artificiality in the characters have already been discussed, no mention has yet been made of Sly. In *AS*, though completely under the influence of intoxicants, he remains a Sir Oracle to the end. Whatever view may be taken of his disappearance (end of I, i),<sup>1</sup> at least he is true to life. Whether drunk or drowsing, he does not (as in *AS*) comment on a play in blank verse. Indeed, Sly's consistency appears in his discriminating use of prose and verse. His speeches before he believes himself a lord are in prose; in verse, immediately after transformation. At the close of the Induction (accepted as genuine), in a more prosaic situation the medium of conversation is again prose, as it is in the final speech (rejected) when the exhilarating effect of the ale has left him, and he is resigned to boredom.

Naturalness is likewise found in the dialogue of *TS*. The stilted and lifeless lines of *AS* are in marked contrast with the flexible, easy-flowing, and lively speeches of the later work. But this quality is present throughout. Equally notable is the skill with which Shakspeare begins the scenes *in medias res*. Furness,<sup>2</sup> commenting on Shakspeare's ability in this, observed: "that there is a certain feeling of loss, as though we had been deprived of some pleasing conversation; and that if we had

<sup>1</sup> Shakspeare's purpose in dropping Sly see Kuhl, *M.L.N.*, XXXVI, 321ff. p. 12 note.

come only a minute sooner, we should have heard something entertaining." Repeatedly *TS* discloses this artistic realism: in Baptista's first words (I, i, 48):

Gentlemen, importune me no *farther*.<sup>3</sup>

Act II begins:

Bianca. Good sister, wrong me not, etc.

"Is't possible," Tranio says to Hortensio in the beginning of Act IV, ii. Again (IV, iv), Tranio begins: "Sir, this is the house." The suspense in the opening of Act V is admirably handled in Biondello's "Softly and swiftly, sir;" and, a moment later, in Petruchio's "Sir, here's the door." But these illustrations are from rejected scenes. *AS*, on the other hand, as well as early dramas in general, lacks this naturalness.<sup>4</sup>

An outstanding difference between the two comedies is the treatment of classical references. It would be difficult to find a more grotesque use of mythological material than in *AS*: the author has actually out-Marlowed Marlowe. As this matter has already been discussed in the First Section, I need only remark here that in *TS* not only has the fustian been completely blotted out, but whatever classical lore remains is introduced naturally. Moreover, the allusions in *TS* render the situations clearer, more concrete.<sup>5</sup>

The spirit of comedy pervading *TS* also speaks for unity, and to that extent for single authorship. It is a striking fact that the older play, with but few exceptions,<sup>6</sup> lacks humor: indeed, a mist of soberness hangs over it.<sup>7</sup> *TS*, on the contrary, has in both parts a riotous wealth of fun. The most glaring instance of over-seriousness in *AS* is the depiction of the real father's arrival. When he discovers that his son is married, he

<sup>3</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>4</sup> Creizenach (272) states that Elizabethan writers gradually saw the importance of this. Jonson may be noted.

<sup>5</sup> The notable exceptions are: Ferando in the marriage scene, and the tailor and wager scenes. Cf. also the music lesson, and some of the speeches of Polidor's boy.

<sup>6</sup> *Supposes* contains humor, but of the coarsest kind. The underplot of *TS* has lightness, though no vulgarity. *AS* is vulgar in spots.

<sup>7</sup> The perfect unity in the "wise good humor" that pervades *TN* has been noted by that competent critic, Mr. Luce ("Arden" ed., p. xxxix).

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speaks in a tone entirely foreign to comedy. Indeed, his language recalls the tragedies of the period. His first thoughts are of hewing his son to pieces:

Ah, treacherous boy, that durst presume  
To wed thyself without thy father's leave!  
I swear by fair Cynthia's burning rays,  
By Merops' head, and by seven-mouthèd Nile,  
Had I but known, ere thou hadst wedded her,  
Were in thy breast the world's immortal soul,  
This angry sword should rip thy hateful chest,  
And hewed thee smaller than the Lybian sands (IV, ii, 54ff).

What a transformation has been effected by the author of the rejected portion of *TS*! We find, it is true, a tone of seriousness—for an instant “more perplexing,” to quote Dr. Johnson, “than diverting.” But it is momentary, and entirely subordinated. The tension is at once relieved by the father's beating of his son's servant. Though the sober note—this time pathetic—returns for a moment in Vincentio's fear that his son has been murdered, this at once gives way to the touch of gayety in the arrival of the son and his bride. In the next forty lines (to end of scene) humor again prevails—except Vincentio's touching remark, “lives my sweet son?”—in the father's desire for revenge on Tranio. Nowhere else is the difference in workmanship between the two playwrights more striking: *AS* with its astounding exhibition of bad taste; the revised drama unsurpassed in its felicity, revelation of character, and preservation of the comic spirit.

In general, however, the persons of *TS* disclose a sense of humor. In this connection it is instructive to compare the heroes of the two plays. Ferando as tamer shows a dismal earnestness throughout.<sup>8</sup> There is little if any comic relief in him, perhaps the reason why he does not enlist our sympathy. Petruchio's humor, on the other hand,<sup>9</sup> always relieves the gravity of the situation. As a result his bluntness becomes a virtue. But this good spirit is present in both parts.<sup>10</sup> Buoyancy is likewise found in Gremio's blunt and exhilarating speeches

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Schomburg, 35f, 100, 116f; also Miss Porter (*op. cit.*).

<sup>9</sup> As pointed out above, in Section II.

<sup>10</sup> His fantastic garb is a case in point. Criticism is disarmed in that the hero is shown playing a part for the nonce.



both in accepted and in rejected scenes. We actually laugh with him<sup>11</sup> and not at him. It may be said, therefore, that *TS* is never removed from the atmosphere of wholesome comedy, at times of rollicking hilarity.

A wealth of masterly wordplay animates *TS*;<sup>12</sup> whereas in *AS* but two glaring examples of quibbling occur, and they are obscene.<sup>13</sup> This enlivening quality is conspicuous everywhere in *TS*.<sup>14</sup> Not only is there a frequent play on common words,<sup>15</sup> some of which occur elsewhere in Shakspeare but on the names of the characters as well. Bianca's name furnishes Petruchio a good pun (V, ii, 186; cf. IV, ii, 23f).<sup>16</sup> Quibbles on the shrew's name are particularly common: in Gremio's "wild-cat" (I, ii, 197),<sup>17</sup> and in his felicitous "Petruchio is Kated" (III, ii, 247). Though these two are from suspected scenes, they are quite as clever as those in genuine speeches: Petruchio's "Kate of Kate Hall" (II, i, 189), the "super-dainty Kate" (*ibid.*), "dainties are all cates" (*ibid.*, 190), "the wild Kate" (*ibid.*, 279), "household Kates" (*ibid.*, 280). To conclude: the appearance of verbal wit throughout the farce seems significant in view of the fact that puns are not found in *AS*<sup>18</sup>; that Shakspeare quibbles elsewhere on "cat"<sup>19</sup>; that puns on proper names occur with

<sup>11</sup> An excellent touch, in that our sympathy is won, occurs in his account of the wedding: Petruchio's actions so mortified him that he "came thence for very shame" (III, ii, 182).

<sup>12</sup> Though we no longer warm up to quibbling in quite the same way, puns did furnish lively pleasure to the Elizabethans.

<sup>13</sup> In the music lesson and in the tailor scene. The former Shakspeare suppressed entirely; the latter he softened. Schomburg's statement (118) that the vulgarity of the latter is removed seems an overstatement. One poor pun occurs in the old play,—on "woman" (V, i, 134); an equally poor one occurs in Lodge's *Rosalynde*, 1907, 5: "women are wantons, and yet men cannot want one."

The uniform ironing out of word play in the *Supposes* is also significant.

<sup>14</sup> Play on words of course was common. Cf. Wurth (*op. cit.*, 172-204).

<sup>15</sup> Especially in the earlier scenes. For further discussion see *infra*.

<sup>16</sup> The adjective "fair" is frequently applied to her, and "pale" once (V, i, 144). "Fair" is, however, said of Katherine (cf. II, i, 43).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also Grumio's "cat" (I, ii, 116), and the clever play on "Kate" in his popular song (IV, i, 41ff). See Kuhl, *M. L. N.* XXXVII (1922), 437f.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. note 13 for exceptions.

<sup>19</sup> *RJ.*, II, iv, 18; III, i, 78, 80. The pun does not seem to be in Brooke. In general cf. Iago's "Bells in your parlours, wild-cats in your kitchens" (II, i, 111); "cate-log" (*Two G.V.*, III, i, 273); "Simon Catling" (*RJ.*, IV, v, 132ff); "caterwauling" (*TN.* II, iii, 76; cf. Luce's discussion in Arden edition).

lavish frequency in the period of Shakspeare's comedies<sup>30</sup>; that they are present in both parts of *TS*.

Shakspeare's knowledge of music has long been a matter of admiration. Professor Manly,<sup>31</sup> for example, testifies to the many songs in the dramatist's works, the references to the popular ballads, and the employment of terminologies of music: "allusions to music," he says, "meet one at every turn, many long and beautiful passages are devoted to celebrating the charms and the influence of music." Dr. J. R. Moore<sup>32</sup> finds that there was till the year 1600—except in Shakspeare—"little or no functional use of the song, in the plays that have come down to us."

In *TS* the scene between Bianca and her music master (denied Shakspeare) reveals an acquaintance with musical technique that "could fairly be expected only of an accomplished musician."<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the charms of music are exquisitely expressed: the "patroness of heavenly harmony"; the tutor in classics grows impatient with the music master for not knowing

why music was ordain'd!  
Was it not to refresh the mind of man  
After his studies or his usual pain (III, i, 10ff)?

Inasmuch as neither the author of *AS*,<sup>34</sup> nor Shakspeare's fellows

<sup>30</sup> Cf. "Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom" (*MND.*, IV, i, 220ff); Falstaff with his "belly full of ford" (*MW.*, III, v, 37); also his "skirted page" (*ibid.*, I, iii, 93); Romeo, who is like a dried herring, without his roe (II, iv, 38ff). Many others might be given. In general cf. the names of Grumio, Sly, Pistol, Quickly, Slender, Malvolio, Parolles, Shylock, Belch, Shallow, Touchstone, Moth, Costard, Dull, Holofernes, Pinch, Dogberry, Elbow, Froth, Nym, Sleuce, Fang, Snare, Tearsheet; also the musicians, Catling, Rebeck and Groundpost. This list could easily be extended (see Wurth, 199ff). Though Shakspeare's fellows also punned on proper names, he was a pastmaster (*ibid.*, 197ff, 205).

<sup>31</sup> *A Memorial Volume to S. and Harvey*, pp. 15f. On ballads in S. see Hustvedt, *Ballad Crit. in Scand. and Great Britain*, 1916, 34f.; Anders, 163ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Shakespeare Studies* . . . Univ. of Wis., 1916, 80. See further S's *Eng.*, II, 32; Naylor, *S. and Music*, 1896, 2f; Creizenach, 391f. Cowling, *Music on the S. Stage*, 1913, 100-109.

<sup>33</sup> Manly, *op. cit.*, 16. For a further discussion of musical knowledge in this scene cf. Fuller-Maitland, *Book of Homage to S.*, 1916, 70ff; Hadow, *ibid.*, 64ff.

<sup>34</sup> In *AS* one finds merely the conventional allusions to Orpheus and his lyre. It is interesting to note that Lily (whose Latin Grammar S. knew) encour-

reveals superior knowledge of this art, we have further evidence that *TS* is the work of Shakspeare alone.

Dr. Henry Bradley,<sup>25</sup> referring to the compound words appearing in Shakspeare, cites (among others) "proud-pied April," "a heaven-kissing hill," "the world-without-end hour." Most of the articulated words in ordinary use Bradley finds "too lifeless, too unsuggestive." This, he says, holds true even among poets. Though Spenser, he adds, enriched the language with these inventions, his contributions "are comparatively few"; Shakspeare, on the other hand, "abounds with splendid audacities."<sup>26</sup> Now the suspected portion of *TS* has, according to the *New Eng. Dict.*, several inventions: "dog-weary,"<sup>27</sup> "proud-minded" (II, 132); "rope-tricks" (I, ii, 112); "aglet-baby" (*ibid.*, 78); "three-legg'd" (I, i, 64); "narrow-prying" (III, ii, 148); "high-cross" (I, i, 137).<sup>28</sup> Of the last word Mr. Hart writes<sup>29</sup> that Shakspeare "rejoices in adjectival compounds with "high . . . his plays contain about two dozen such

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aged the knowledge of music as a "great help to pronunciation and judgment" (cf. Wm. Lily, *D.N.B.*).

<sup>25</sup> *The Making of English*, 1915, 126. Cf. also H. Barth, "Das Epitheton in den Dramen des Jungen Shakespeare und Seiner Vorgänger," *Stud. sur Eng. Phil.*, LII (1914), 16.

<sup>26</sup> J. M. Robertson (*Did S. Write "Titus A."*, 1905, 80ff) notes Peele's use of compounds. Some of the conventional ones, e.g., "thrice-renowned," "azure-colored," "round-compassed," occur in *AS*. Lee (*Book of Homage*, *op. cit.*, 110ff) has traced the history of the employment of double epithets, occurring first in Homer then dying out until revived by French writers in the 16th century. Sidney was the first among the English to experiment, having been influenced by the French. But it remained for Shakspeare to discover the full potentialities of such compounds. Lee gives some of the common ones still in use to-day: "snow-white," "milk-white," "tear-stained," "cold-blooded," "crest-fallen," "down-trodden," "low-spirited," "heart-burning," "ill-favoured," "hollow-eyed," "hot-blooded," "heart-whole," "home-bred," "well-proportioned." Some in literary circles: "fancy-free," "trumpet-tongued," "cloud-capped," "silver-sweet," "honey-heavy," "sleek-headed," "mouth-honour," and others.

<sup>27</sup> IV, ii, 60. A word little used later. See *N. E. D.*

<sup>28</sup> On "high" see *N. E. D.*, sb. 7. Though Shakspeare used "high" compounds frequently, all but one are nonce. Most "thrice" and "honey" compounds are nonce words, as well as "demi" compounds.

<sup>29</sup> *Othello*, Arden ed., 61 n. The editor notes that Middleton revels in hyphenated adjectives. They are, however, heavy and inartistic; e.g., "cradle-billow-mountain bed," "virtue-worthy meed," "age-crooked clime."

combinations"; he does not find "‘high’ compounds prevailing in other Elizabethan writers."

One word (rejected passage) admirably illustrates Bradley—in the substitution of "crack-hemp" for "crack-halter," a term which Shakspeare found in the *Supposes*<sup>30</sup>: "You cracke halter, if I catch you by the ears, I shall make you answer me directly." Vincentio, upon catching sight of Biondello, the servant, cries out, "Come hither, crack-hemp" (V, i, 46). By a magic stroke the arch verbalist has breathed power into a lifeless word.

Bradley<sup>31</sup> further notes that Shakspeare "seems in truth to have had a curious fondness for the invention of compounds with out—, expressing the notion of surpassing or exceeding." He cites the well-known "out-Herod Herod." At least one instance—"out-talk"—appears in the suspected part of *TS* (I, ii, 248).

References to sports are legion in Shakspeare. They "well up," says Madden,<sup>32</sup> "spontaneously as from the poet's inmost soul." Again, they are "seldom suggested by the plot or character in hand at the moment"—in fact, they are often out of keeping.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, these bits spring from the lips of all sorts of people. Though many of them are used by contemporary writers, others are highly technical, exclusively employed by Shakspeare.<sup>34</sup> Now in *TS* not only do the genuine passages contain such touches, but the suspected as well, although the main plot with its emphasis on the taming naturally offers a greater number. Nevertheless, many such allusions—inherent, and not merely stuck in—well up in the minor part<sup>35</sup>; twice, at least, the identical allusion occurs in both portions, with a likeness

<sup>30</sup> Edited Bond, 24 (Act I, iv, 6). Bond (*TS*, 137 note) observes that the word was in common use then; cf. also *N. E. D.*

<sup>31</sup> Page 231.

<sup>32</sup> *The Diary of Master William Silence*, 306. He mentions their absence in Kyd, Fletcher, Greene and Marlowe. Manly (*op. cit.*, 12) states that allusions to sports in Shakspeare occur more particularly before *Othello*.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, 306.

<sup>34</sup> An excellent illustration of this (already noted) is Petruchio's soliloquy (IV, i, 191ff); and in the description (rejected by some and accepted by others) of the hero's horse (III, ii, 48ff).

<sup>35</sup> Cf., for example, I, i, 5, 58, 133; I, ii, 33, 78f, 110ff, 139f, 249; II, i, 405ff; IV, ii, 34, 39, 52, 57 (cf. *AS*, Bankside ed., 194, 196), 60; V, ii, 186. The account of Petruchio and his diseased horse (cf. note 34) is a remarkable instance; Biondello's song immediately preceding it may likewise be compared.

even in accent and phraseology.<sup>36</sup> In *AS*, on the other hand, the few figures which occur are of the conventional kind, and the author discloses an ignorance of sports.<sup>37</sup>

Shakspere's skilful employment of double time is now generally recognized. Dr. Buland,<sup>38</sup> in an exhaustive study of this practice among Elizabethans, remarks:

The methods of Shakespeare in representing time are distinguished from those of his predecessors by the concreteness of his allusions to hours and days, by the appearance of close continuity in the succession of his scenes, and by the frequency with which the phenomenon of double time occurs in the plays.

And again:

It appears that there were two effects for which Shakespeare habitually sought, in the repeated use of which his work is distinct from that of his contemporaries, especially those among the earlier Elizabethans: one was an appearance of concreteness in the time—projection of single scenes; the other, a semblance of close continuity in the sequence of scenes, whatever might be the duration of the action. One enforced the impression of reality, and the other that of unity and coherence. Owing to the first, we find cases of dramatic condensation standing out boldly; owing to the second, we find inconsistencies in the time-arrangement of his plays, frequently of considerable magnitude, permeating his whole work. Furthermore, it may be observed that over and over again he uses a series of allusions to the change in hour, in order to create a feeling of expectancy and suspense.<sup>39</sup>

*TS*, being an early play, is therefore according to Dr. Buland<sup>40</sup> important, since Shakspere's work at that time was "distinct from that of his contemporaries." A single (disputed) scene contains the following (concrete) allusions to time.<sup>41</sup> Tranio

<sup>36</sup> IV, i, 196 and IV, ii, 39; V, ii, 46ff, 50f and 186.

<sup>37</sup> Madden, 324f. In the old play one finds an occasional reference sandwiched in with bombastic mythological lore. Cf. e.g., IV, 57ff.

<sup>38</sup> "Representation of Time in the Elizabethan Drama," *Yale Studies in English*, 1912, 91.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. note 2.

<sup>41</sup> The day (Sunday) set for Kate's wedding is referred to in both parts. However, one meets with this concreteness elsewhere. In Brooke Wednesday and Saturday occur frequently. Even in *AS* the wedding was set for Sunday; here, however, no inconsistencies in time are found: allusions are "numerous, definite, and clear" (cf. Buland, III, 290f); and the play is considerably shorter in its duration (*ibid.*, 111).

Sunday as a wedding day seems to have been popular (cf. *Rosalynde*, Variorum ed. of *AsYL*, 379). Possibly Petruchio's line alludes to a song in

asks Baptista to come to his lodgings to complete the marriage negotiations: "*this night*,<sup>42</sup> We'll pass the business privately and well" (IV, iv, 56-7). Biondello, growing familiar with his master, remarks: "His (Baptista's) daughter is to be brought by you to the *supper*."

Lucentio. And then?

Biondello. The old priest of Saint Luke's church is at your command *at all hours*" (*ibid.*, 85ff).

Upon being asked the meaning of all this, Biondello says: "I cannot tarry; I knew a wench married in an *afternoon*<sup>43</sup> as she went to the garden for parsley to stuff a rabbit, and so may you, sir; and so; adieu, sir" (*ibid.*, 98ff). These lines illustrate admirably this feeling of suspense and concreteness.

The close continuity of action (mentioned by Dr. Buland)—absent in Shakspeare's early contemporaries<sup>44</sup>—is also well illustrated in *TS*.<sup>45</sup>

It is interesting to note that Dr. Buland sees inconsistencies of time appearing first in Shakspeare at the close of his apprenticeship.<sup>46</sup> The *MV* "offers a conspicuous example"<sup>47</sup>; in fact by about 1595 it was "very common in Shakespearian plays."<sup>48</sup> Since *TS* everywhere exhibits this trait, which is wholly wanting in *AS*, strong support of Shaksperian authorship is given.<sup>49</sup>

Professor Manly<sup>50</sup> specifies "exuberant vitality" as perhaps the most outstanding of Shakspeare's native endowments. This he finds "strikingly in the effervescent, limitless vitality of single characters from every period of his work." Even the

*R. R. Doister* (III, iii, 151). In folk-lore the day was fortunate (cf. Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Penn. Germans*, pub. by Americana Germanica, Philadelphia, 1915, 66).

<sup>42</sup> My italics here and in the two following quotations.

<sup>43</sup> Another effective example is in *AC* (I, ii, 25ff).

<sup>44</sup> She finds Heywood an exception, though not in plays before 1600 (157; cf. 163).

<sup>45</sup> Again cf. *AS* at this point. See Section II *supra*.

<sup>46</sup> Buland, 95.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 108ff.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 108; cf. 95, 107, etc.

<sup>49</sup> On the possibility that Shakspeare and a colaborer discussed intimately the plot, see *infra*.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, 2f; cf. also Raleigh, *op. cit.*, 23.

early play of *LLL* contains at least three characters, "each one, singly, enough to exhaust the wit, the humor, the animal spirits of any author, and yet each only a part of a play which is itself a complete bubble of vigorous and extravagant youth." Now the personages in the disputed sections of *TS* likewise exhibit this astounding vitality. The hero's effervescence occurs largely in the suspected part; his servant's overflowing spirits are everywhere apparent. The shrew herself is nowhere lacking in force. Finally, this vital energy is conspicuous in—a rejected character—Gremio.

As corollary we may consider another Shaksperian quality, to which Manly<sup>51</sup> has called attention: namely, "the reckless volubility of almost every character, the piling up of fancy upon fancy, of jest upon jest, the long embellishment of humor and foolery and horseplay for no other reason than the delight they afford." Many instances of this appear in *TS*: Gremio's reaction to Kate's behavior (I, i, 106ff); Lucentio's sudden thralldom in love (*ibid.*, 153ff); Biondello's catalogue of the ailments of Petruchio's horse, "unmistakably racy of the stable" (III, ii, 42ff);<sup>52</sup> Grumio's account of his master (I, ii, 107ff). The significance of this exuberance<sup>53</sup> is accentuated, moreover, when one compares the spiritless *AS*.

No less remarkable—in an author of such abounding vitality—is the "delicacy of perception, of feeling, or of utterance." In this respect, too, Shakspeare probably stands unequalled. But the argued portions of *TS* also contain examples of delicacy: Lucentio's speech on the sight of Bianca (I, i, 153ff), in which the term "love-in-idleness" is charmingly introduced;<sup>54</sup> his speech to his servant:

Tranio, I saw her [Bianca's] coral lips to move  
And with her breath she did perfume the air.  
Sacred and sweet was all I saw in her (I, i, 179ff).

These three lines admirably illustrate Raleigh's fine phrase:

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup> Madden, 294f.

<sup>53</sup> I am not forgetful of my earlier remarks on the compactness of the plot. There is no inconsistency, however, since the exuberance is mainly in the early scenes; and, moreover (as noted), it serves an artistic purpose.

<sup>54</sup> On the use of this picturesque word in *MND* see *infra*.

Shakespeare's "unwritten code of delicate honour."<sup>56</sup> Another instance is Baptista's feeling of pity for his untamed daughter when the marriage day, without the groom, arrives (III, ii, 1-29). Vincentio's fear that his son has been foully dealt with—grotesquely ridiculous, as we have seen, in *AS*—is masterly. Finally, one may cite Petruchio's many remarks throughout *TS*, culminating in the beautiful glimpse of him and the heroine (V, i, 147ff)—lines that portray not only complete marital mastery but tender love. But there is no counterpart of this "delicate honour" in *AS*.<sup>56</sup>

In the treatment of mythological lore we found nothing un-Shakesperian; indeed, as stated, genuine traits may be seen in the marked Ovidian influence, and in the blotting out of the Marlowesque passages that mar the old play. In Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet*, which was the chief source used by Shakespeare in the tragedy *RJ* contemporary with *TS*, "high-sounding terms" are likewise found. That there should be uniform treatment of classical material in the sources of these two plays is accordingly of no little significance.

In both *TS* and *RJ*, moreover, the classical allusions are intelligently distributed. Every example in the play proper (*TS*) occurs in the first act, and therefore in the suspected part.<sup>57</sup> That this is a chance sprinkling is difficult to believe. With two exceptions they occur in the speeches of the student. That the author wished to characterize a university student is, therefore, probable. In *RJ* all such references appear before the tragedy thickens,<sup>58</sup> even though in Brooke they are scattered promiscuously throughout.

Root<sup>59</sup> finds mythology treated with appropriateness and beauty in the *MV*: allusions are entirely absent in the trial scene, but "especially frequent in the garden scene of Act 5." In *Hamlet* (the play proper) nearly all references are in Hamlet's speeches.<sup>60</sup> Though *JC* is peculiar in that few such allusions

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occur, Root <sup>61</sup> finds the "absence of mythology is in keeping with the studied severity of style in which the play is conceived and executed." In *Othello* allusions heighten the character of the poetic hero.<sup>62</sup> In *Macbeth* all but one are to "the more terrible or destructive elements of ancient religion";<sup>63</sup> moreover, they "occur in the speeches of Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, or the witches." This artistic purpose runs through Shakspeare's later dramas. In *The Tempest*, for example, the "allusions always occur in speeches of the higher characters."<sup>64</sup> In *WT*, as Root observes, in "the stern scenes of the earlier acts mythology is quite excluded";<sup>65</sup> on the other hand, almost all references fall "in Act 4, the act of idyllic love-making and pastoral life." It is clear, therefore, that Shakspeare employed mythology to serve a definite purpose. On the other hand, in Brooke or Marlowe, in Peele, Greene or Lyly, or in the main source of *TS*, I am unable to perceive any such conscious technique. *TS* reveals this established Shakesperian artistry, and reveals it to a high degree—in both parts.

Though Shakspeare's robust nature was capable of coarse touches, yet for fineness of taste he stands pre-eminent; this holds true whether one compares him with his contemporaries or with his sources of antiquity.<sup>66</sup> Brooke's indelicate lines were ironed out in *RJ*;<sup>67</sup> *CE* is (among other virtues) Plautus refined. Even *AC* (in which Furness challenges anyone to find remarks in the speeches of hero and heroine unbecoming to husband or wife) blots out much of Plutarch's coarseness.<sup>68</sup> This quality is illustrated on every page of *TS*. Indeed, the only indelicate remarks occur in the genuine portion. This purity is hardly short of remarkable when one compares the two sources, particularly *Supposes*. But though the minor part of *TS* (hence the suspected) is based largely on this latter work, yet not a trace of the vulgarity remains.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12f.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. Munro's introd. to Brooke, 1908, pp. lvff.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. MacCallum, *Shakspeare's Roman Plays*, 1910, pp. 336ff.

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<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 121ff.

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Dr. Bradley<sup>69</sup> noted the absence in Shakspeare of English rustic speech in the mouths of rural folk. Though the established custom of the English stage was native dialect in the speeches of the rustics, Shakspeare puts this uncultivated language "only into the mouth of the disguised noble." The low comedy characters appearing in the disputed passages of *TS* offer evidence of Shaksperian authorship. Sly's language is everywhere dignified, likewise Grumio's and Biondello's. Rustic dialect, on the other hand, is found in *AS*.<sup>70</sup> In this respect therefore, the usage of *TS* is uniform in both parts, and is also in accordance with that of Shakspeare's other plays.

That Shakspeare came of farming people many casual references in his plays bear testimony. Manly,<sup>71</sup> commenting on a particular figure, remarks: "So casual an allusion could have grown only out of an experience so familiar that it had come to be a mode of thinking." The disputed part of *TS* is not without examples: "a woman's tongue," says Petruchio, will not give "half so great a blow to hear As will a chestnut in a farmer's fire" (I, ii, 208ff); Gremio says of the shrew: "To cart her rather; she's too rough for me (I, i, 55); others are: "To comb your noddle with a three-legg'd stool" (*ibid.*, 64); "small choice in rotten apples" (*ibid.*, 138f); "as many diseases as two and fifty horses" (I, ii, 80); Biondello's list of ailments among horses (III, ii, 48ff), and many others.

Attention has been directed to the unity of certain characters which makes it difficult to believe that the play is the product of the tinkering of two or more hands. Another angle of the problem may be considered: Gremio—a unified and definitely depicted personage as we have seen—is not found in *AS*, though he is in the *Supposes*. Again, in the older farce Kate has two sisters; in the revised but one, with the substitution of the widow absent in both sources. The improvement—Bianca becomes a foil to Kate, the central personage—is obvious. The more important fact is, that both parts are affected by the change. Finally, Lucentio, the student, has two servants, whereas

<sup>69</sup> In *Book of Homage*, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>70</sup> Cf., e.g., the remarks of Sly and Sanders. On the Elizabethan writers' attitude toward the speech of the Welsh see Snyder, *Mod. Phil.*, XVII (1920), 703.

<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

in *AS* each suitor is supplied with a single attendant. Here, too, the entire structure of *TS* is affected. Accordingly, it is difficult to avoid one of two conclusions: (1) that Shakspeare worked unaided; (2) that *TS* is a product of intimate co-operation,—a matter to be discussed in the closing pages of this study.

Though Shakspeare employed an extensive vocabulary, many terms in good use then he disregarded. Now these rejected words contain a certain harshness foreign to Shakspeare's diction. To compare his plays with his originals is, in this respect, therefore, illuminating. Lodge's *Rosalynde* has a large number of words omitted in *AYL*: "niggardize," "unplaister," "forepassed," "nouriture," "fellowmaster," "overpried," "be-moisten," "meriodinal." One cannot easily imagine Shakspeare's using such angular and unyielding terms. And Brooke's ear (in *Romeus and J.*) did not object to "hugy," "unappalléd," "seech," "geason"—words which do not appear in Shakspeare. But *AS*, also, is not without its awkward and harsh-sounding examples: "patientist," "pantoffles," "abusions," "dishevered," "radiations," "imperfectorious," "supernodical," "pickadevants." One looks in vain for these words in *TS*.

As corollary it may be mentioned that Brooke, Lodge, and the author of *AS* not only make frequent use of archaic terms, but also mar their lines by forced accentuation. Again *TS* is peculiarly free; indeed, in this respect it reveals no un-Shaksperian features.

The number of double (feminine) endings in the comedy also suggests single authorship. That Shakspeare employed a greater number than his early contemporaries seems certain.<sup>73</sup> The maximum number of such lines in the entire dramas of either Greene, Peele, or Marlowe seems to be from three to five per cent, and often it is less.<sup>73</sup> In Shakspeare, on the other hand, except in his earliest works, the minimum appears to be about ten per cent.<sup>74</sup> In *TS* Hertzburg finds sixteen per cent of double

<sup>73</sup> Critics are not wholly agreed in their definition of these endings. For discussion (and bibliography) see Tucker Brooke, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIV (1919), 32f; Gray, *ibid.*, pp. 218f.

<sup>74</sup> Robertson (*Did Shakspeare write "Titus, etc., op. cit.*, pp. 190ff) states that he finds more; but cf. Gray (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXII (1917), 369; *Flügel Memorial Volume*, *op. cit.*, p. 119).

<sup>74</sup> Hertzburg's Table (printed by Dowden, *Primer*, p. 44); Gray (*Flügel, etc.*, p. 118).

endings for the entire play; Fleay about thirteen;<sup>75</sup> Tolman for the rejected portions sixteen per cent, and for the accepted eighteen;<sup>76</sup> Furnivall for the whole play nearly eight per cent;<sup>77</sup> Gray fourteen.<sup>78</sup> My own count is between thirteen and fourteen per cent in the disputed passages, and in the remainder between fifteen and sixteen.

It is interesting, now, to observe that the Bianca scenes not only disclose (apparently) a larger number of double endings than other contemporary dramas, but also compare favorably in numbers with the accepted passages. Allowing for difference in subject matter (the music lesson contains but few such endings), the sources (one prose and the other verse), an author's whims, and for the fact that the rejected scenes contain a large number of rimed verses,<sup>79</sup> one will not easily find a more striking example of uniformity. At all events, the percentage of feminine lines in the disputed passages favors Shaksperian authorship.

A weakness of the Elizabethan drama, according to Creizenach,<sup>80</sup> is the "separate effective situations" rather than an "organic whole"; writers of that day preferred to awaken "sensations of suspense and surprise." But here, "as everywhere, Shakspeare triumphs over all competitors." With the exception of *Measure for Measure*, continues the same critic, the master dramatist never sacrificed totality of impression for "isolated dramatic effects."<sup>81</sup> When his contemporaries lose themselves in a wealth of incident, the author of *Hamlet* "knows how to balance the parallel actions against one another with deliberate artistic judgment."<sup>82</sup> This Bradley<sup>83</sup> finds done admirably in *Macbeth*, where minor characters are deliberately flattened. Of Act V, Scene ii, Bradley says: there is no reason "why the names of the persons should not be interchanged in all the ways mathematically possible." This flattening process is

<sup>75</sup> *NSS*, p. 16.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

<sup>77</sup> Leopold edition, p. cxxiii.

<sup>78</sup> *Flügel*, p. 118.

<sup>79</sup> Rimed lines seldom occur with double endings.

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

<sup>83</sup> *Shakespearean Tragedy*, 1905, p. 387. Cf. Quiller-Couch, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-8.

also found in *AC*. MacCallum<sup>84</sup> finds Shakspeare passing over all irrelevant material, or that which does not throw into relief the two main characters. The effect is "to concentrate the attention on the purely personal relations of the lovers."<sup>85</sup> Now *TS* also reveals this consummate artistic judgment. The praise bestowed upon its excellent technique by generations of critics from Dr. Johnson down affords sufficient evidence. Everything centers about the main theme—the taming of a scold.<sup>86</sup>

Finally, some general parallels appear between Shakspeare's known works and the rejected part of *TS*. Obviously the force of this argument must be cumulative; occasional likenesses might easily be the result of a common stock of knowledge.<sup>87</sup> On the other hand, some of these similarities appear striking. In Oberon's famous speech, believed to be a compliment to the virgin Queen, "the bolt of Cupid"

fell upon a little western flower,  
Before milk-white, now purple with love's wound,  
And maidens call it love-in-idleness.  
.  
.  
.  
The juice of it on sleeping eye-lids laid  
Will make or man or woman madly dote  
Upon the next live creature that it sees (*MND*, II, i, 165ff).

Though "love-in-idleness" refers to the common pansy, from the text we learn that it possessed magical properties in matters pertaining to love. As far as is known this secondary meaning of the word is original with Shakspeare.<sup>88</sup> But the association of this picturesque term with a sudden falling in love occurs in

<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 338-366.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339; Shakspeare for example passes over Octavia's devotion and constancy (p. 338); he likewise omits reference to the children of Antony and Octavia (pp. 338f). For further remarks on Octavia see pp. 361ff; on Scarus, pp. 359f; on Eros, pp. 366f. MacCallum has treated this matter in a masterly fashion.

<sup>86</sup> The rehandling of the minor plot in the two sources parallels Shakspeare's reworking of *AC* in the submerging of interests not important to the main theme.

<sup>87</sup> On parallel passages as a futile test of authorship of plays between 1585-1595, see Hubbard, in *Shakespeare Studies, Univ. of Wisconsin*, 1916, pp. 31-5.

<sup>88</sup> *N. E. D.* sb. 16b. This type of divination was of course common (cf. *Shakespeare's England*, I, 523; Bond, 27 note).

the disputed part of *TS*. Lucentio, after catching a glimpse of Bianca, says to Tranio:

while idly I stood looking on,  
I found the effect of love in idleness;  
And now in plainness do confess to thee,  
That art to me as secret and as dear  
As Anna to the Queen of Carthage was,  
Tranio, I burn, I pine, I perish, Tranio,  
If I achieve not this young modest girl (I, i, 155ff).

Furthermore, in both, Dido is called the queen of Carthage.<sup>89</sup> Now, it was not Shakspeare's custom to refer to her thus;<sup>90</sup> indeed, these are the only instances.<sup>91</sup> The parallels here in thought and verbalism, especially in view of the contemporaneousness, seem important.

A somewhat unusual rime in the part allotted Shakspeare is "toward" and "forward"; it is also found in one of the sonnets (No. 4 of the *Passionate Pilgrim*), probably written by Shakspeare<sup>92</sup>; and a variant "froward" and "coward," occurs in *VA* (569f). But "toward" and "froward" are rimed twice in the disputed part.<sup>93</sup>

Of interest, too, is the double occurrence of the expression "fac'd and (nor) brav'd." It is first used in the tailor's scene (*TS*, IV, iii, 126), where Shakspeare carries it over from the corresponding scene in *AS*. However, in the very next act of *TS* (about 400 lines on) the expression occurs again (V, i, 124). But this time it is in the rejected part. The situation is somewhat similar, and seemingly the words came to the author's mind when circumstances somewhat alike arose.<sup>94</sup> The contraction "point" (" 'pointed'"), which Shakspeare uses elsewhere only in *Lucrece* (879) and *Sonnet XIV*, is employed three times in *TS*,—within 100 lines (III, i, 19; III, ii, 1, 15)<sup>95</sup>; but the first of these instances is found in the disputed part.

<sup>89</sup> *MND*, I, i, 173; *TS* I, i, 160.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Root, *op. cit.*, 56f.

<sup>91</sup> In the moonlight scene of *MV*, for example, she is called "Dido."

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIV (1919), 313f.

<sup>93</sup> I, i, 68-9; V, ii, 182-3.

<sup>94</sup> Of course it is possible that the "joint-laborer" also appropriated the expression—either from the older play or the later one.

<sup>95</sup> I have already noted Shakspeare's repeated employment of certain words in a single play, but not elsewhere.



The term "haggard" (= wild, untamed hawk) is said of a woman twice in *TS* (IV, i, 196; IV, ii, 39). Once more does Shakspeare use the word substantively—in *Much Ado* (III, i, 36). But in *TS* the occurrences are within fifty lines,—once in each part. Moreover, in the suspected passage as well as in *Much Ado* (l. 34) the adjective "disdainful" is used.<sup>96</sup> The proverb "Happy man be his dole" is met with three times in Shakspeare's known plays,<sup>97</sup> and once in a questioned passage in *TS* (I, i, 144f). Though the proverb was common with other writers of the time, the phrasing usually was slightly different<sup>98</sup>; whereas in the four instances just given it is identical. Again, one may note in the contested portion of *TS* the occurrence of the rime "doing" and "woeing" (II, i, 74f), with a quibble on the act of co-habitation. The same rime (and quibble) occurs in *TC* (I, ii, 312f); and "to" ("too") and "do" rime in both plays, with the quibble as on "doing."<sup>99</sup>

The expression "put finger in the eye and weep" occurs first, according to the *New Eng. Dict.*,<sup>100</sup> in *CE* (II, ii, 206). Here shrill-tongued Adriana cries to Dromio of Syracuse,—

Come, come; no longer will I be a fool,  
To put the finger in the eye and weep,  
Whilst man and master laughs my woes to scorn.

The shrew (in disputed passage) calls her sister a "pretty peat," adding "it is best Put finger in the eye, an she knew why" (I, i, 78f). Moreover, the situations are not unlike: the expression is uttered by two mischief-making women,—women

<sup>96</sup> Cf. also "proud disdainful shepherdess" (*AYL*, III, iv, 53). *Passim*, *Shakespeare's Eng.*, II, 355-57; Madden, 143. "Haggard" in *Othello* (III, iii, 260) may be a sb. or adj.

<sup>97</sup> 1 *H IV*, II, ii, 80; *WT*, I, ii, 163; *MW*, III, iv, 68.

<sup>98</sup> For other uses see Bond (27). Porter-Clarke (154); Cowl-Morgan and A. E. Morgan (1 *H IV*, Arden ed., II, ii, 74). Only once, in *Damon and Pythias* (cited by Cowl-Morgan) do I find Shakspeare's exact expression.

<sup>99</sup> *TS*, I, ii, 225f; *TC*, IV, ii, 27. Bond (51n.) finds the rime in *Buggbears*. It is not clear, however, whether there is a quibble also. The rime I find occurs also in *R. R. Doister* (II, i, 5f and III, i, 1f). According to *NED* ("doing," vbl. sb.) Shakspeare first played on the word. Schmidt notes that he frequently puns on "do."

<sup>100</sup> Under "eye" sb. 2c. Bond (24n.) calls it an old expression. It occurs also in Marlowe's *Edward IV* ("Everyman" ed., 148),—probably a later play.

much alike, for Adriana is what Kate unconquered would have been.<sup>101</sup>

Shakspeare's characters have a trick of quoting each other, thus tying up the plot. This is met with repeatedly,—in the remark of a lesser personage in *Macbeth*<sup>102</sup> as well as in the speeches of Horatio,<sup>103</sup> Rosencrantz,<sup>104</sup> and Polonius<sup>105</sup> in *Hamlet*. An uncommonly interesting example is in the speech of Enobarbus, quoting the equally outspoken Menas:

and Lepidus,  
Since Pompey's feast, as *Menas* says,<sup>106</sup> is troubled  
With the green sickness (III, ii, 4-6).

An instance of this conscious characterization in *TS* is Hortensio's remark to Gremio: "Faith, as *you say*,<sup>107</sup> there's small choice in rotten apples" (I, i, 138).<sup>108</sup>

*TGV*, as is recognized, contains devices and characters elaborated in later plays; indeed, as Wendell remarks, whatever is notable in this comedy "appeared later [in Shakspeare], and more effectively."<sup>109</sup> These echoes of *TGV* turn up in *RJ*<sup>110</sup> and *MV*<sup>111</sup>—two plays written about the same time as *TS*—and also in *TS* itself. *TGV* opens with Valentine the Veronese entreating his friend to seek with him adventure in the world:

To see the wonders of the world abroad  
Than, living dully sluggardiz'd at home,  
Wear out thy youth with shapeless idleness.

This might well be the remark of Petruchio—also a gentleman

<sup>101</sup> Both also speak of being made a "stale." The term, however, is common (cf. *Com. E.*, Arden ed., 27 note).

<sup>102</sup> II, iii, 60, 65.

<sup>103</sup> I, i, 138.

<sup>104</sup> II, ii, 403.

<sup>105</sup> III, iii, 30. These are a few of many examples in Shakspeare.

<sup>106</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* See also the clown in *TN* (V, i, 50). In Lyly, (*op. cit.*, II, 103) one finds "They say . . ."

<sup>108</sup> Raleigh (*op. cit.*, 77) finds Shakspeare "extraordinarily rich in the floating debris of popular literature," including proverbs. In his list he gives Hortensio's proverb.

<sup>109</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>110</sup> See Munro's ed. of Brooke, *op. cit.*, lvf.

<sup>111</sup> Wendell, 94.

of Verona;<sup>112</sup> indeed, the only difference is his greater felicity of expression:

Verona, for a while I take my leave,  
To see my friends in Padua, but of all  
My best beloved and approved friend,  
Hortensio (I, ii, 1ff);

and again, upon Hortensio's query why he came to Padua:

Such wind as scatters young men through the world  
To seek their fortunes farther than at home  
Where small experience grows (*ibid.*, 50ff);

Finally, since his father "is deceas'd" and he has the where-withal, he is

come abroad to see the world (*ibid.*, 58).

The impatient and headstrong Petruchio finds a hint in Antonio of *TGV*:

For what I will, I will, and there an end (*TGV*, I, iii, 65).

and again:

To-morrow be in readiness to go,  
Excuse it not, for I am peremptory (*ibid.*, 70f).

The last line foreshadows Petruchio's remarkable utterance:

I am as peremptory as she proud minded (II, i, 132).

The Duke of Milan's description of his unyielding daughter suggests Baptista's lament over his spoiled daughter, Kate:

she is peevish, sullen, froward,  
Proud, disobedient, stubborn, lacking duty (*TGV*, III, i, 68f).<sup>113</sup>

Parallels also exist between *MA* and *TS*: plays not wholly unlike in subject matter because of the two sharp-tongued heroines. Beatrice (II, i, 41f), finding no man worthy of her, says: "therefore I will . . . lead his apes into hell." Katherine, accusing her father of partiality, remarks:

<sup>112</sup> *AS* has no background of adventure.

<sup>113</sup> The word "currish" occurs twice in Shakspeare, each time with a pun: *TGV* (IV, iv, 54), and (genuine) *TS* (V, ii, 54).

I must dance bare-foot on her [Bianca's] wedding-day  
And for your love to her lead apes in hell (II, i, 32f).

The Spanish expression "paucas pallabris" occurs in both these plays, in each case uttered by a low-comedy character.

To Malone<sup>114</sup> Grumio's "pretensions to wit have a strong resemblance to those of Dromio." An interesting parallel may be pointed out. When Petruchio and his servant are standing at Hortensio's gate, the master says:

Villian, I say, knock me at this gate  
And rap me well, or I'll knock your knave's pate (I, ii, 11f).

In *CE* Antipholus of E. says:

Go fetch me something; I'll break ope the gate.

To which Dromio of S. [Within] replies:

Break any breaking here, and I'll break your knave's pate (III, i, 73f).

It will be seen that (a) "pate" in both is contemptuous<sup>115</sup> (b) both contain puns (c) both rime (d) both are "doggerel." The passage in *TS* has been cited as an example of debasement; but at least it appears certain that the author who wrote the lines in *CE* was capable of penning those in *TS*.

Interesting parallels appear in the personal names in *TS* and the contemporary *RJ*. In both dramas are the names of "Lucentio," "Benvolio" ("Bentivolii"), and "Petruchio"; in fact, in *RJ* two of the names come in a single scene.<sup>116</sup> Capulet, recalling when last he was masked, says:

"T is since the nuptial of Lucentio;

the nurse tells Juliet that one of the guests is "young Petruchio."<sup>117</sup>

<sup>114</sup> *Plays* (1821), V, 395. He thought this indicated contemporaneousness.

<sup>115</sup> Not always thus among other Eliz. writers (*NED*).

<sup>116</sup> I, v, 37, 133. Cf. also *TS*., IV, ii, 81f. with *RJ*., V, i, 50f.

<sup>117</sup> The following also seem worth while. "Turn" (= occasion) occurs several times in Shakspeare, and four times in *TS*—twice in each division. But the exact phrase "for you turn" is found only in *TS*. The pedant in this play is interesting. The person made the butt of the joke in *AS* is a merchant (III, iv); there is no apparent reason for the change in *TS*. Indeed, tradition on the English stage gives no authority for the shift (cf. Creizenach, 309). There was no need in *TS* for characterization of a scholar, nor in fact is there any. The pedant performs no pedantic function. The alternative is that the author deliberately introduced a schoolmaster as the object of ridicule. But this is precisely what

Another parallel between these two plays may be noted. The musical names "sol" and "fa" appear as verbs in *TS* (I, ii, 17); "re" and "fa" serve the same purpose in *RJ* (IV, v, 121). No other examples (as verbs) seemingly occur in English.<sup>118</sup> Not only are the two instances contemporary (in itself of some importance), but both are used jocularly<sup>119</sup>; both are in a field—music—in which the great dramatist stood supreme. Finally, they reveal what Bradley calls a Shaksperian characteristic: a "fertility in the formation of new words . . . by the conversion of verbs into nouns or of nouns into verbs."<sup>120</sup> But the scene in *TS* containing these musical terms has been denied Shakspeare.

Dr. Johnson first observed that

Redime te captum quam queas minimo (I, i, 167)

came from Lily's *Latin Grammar*. Now reminiscences of Lily occur in Shakspeare's known plays—*MW*, *I HIV*, *MAdo*, *TN*, *LLL*.<sup>121</sup> In view of Jonson's "small Latin and less Greek," and the fact that some of these tags (including the line from *TS*) were, apparently,<sup>122</sup> not common property another bit of evidence is offered that Shakspeare wrote the entire comedy.

## V

Did Shakspeare have a co-adjutor? Though there is evidence that some plays are his only in part, in none of these does one find such mastery as in *TS*. Too, since no un-Shaksperian elements have been found in *TS*, it is not an unreasonable request to demand proof of divided authorship. Especially is

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Shakspeare did in earlier plays (*LLL*, IV, ii; V, i; *CE*, IV, iv, 50ff; V, 237ff). Since Adams has shown the strong probability that Shakspeare taught school, this may be autobiographical. Of course no proof is offered that Shakspeare had the present-day contempt for pedantry! It is none other but the word "pedant" that the defeated suitor hurls at the victorious Lucentio, the tutor (III, i, 48, 87).

<sup>118</sup> *NED* cited only the passage from *RJ*.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Onions, *A S. Glossary*, Oxford, 1911, 75.

<sup>120</sup> *Book of Homage*, *op. cit.*, 107f.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Anders, 14ff; also *Shakespeare's Eng.*, *op. cit.*, I, 230ff. *TA* also has an echo from Lily.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Bond's note, 28. For parallels to some of these tags (listed by Schmidt) see Arden and Furness eds. of the respective plays.

this true when one considers that the early efforts of *LLL*, *TGV* and *CE* are inferior to *TS*.

Again, the date offers difficulties: in 1595 Shakspeare's days of apprenticeship were over, and he was well launched on his own career. To suppose under ordinary circumstances successful collaboration after emancipation is to suppose an unusual literary development. Nor, without proof, can different conclusions be drawn in his case. If *TS* is not entirely his, then it is the only known example of dual work in his period of independence.<sup>1</sup>

Too, in arguing joint work one must face many Shaksperian features; characteristics, moreover, that are of the very stuff of the comedy. If the well-knit plot is swept aside, then it must be remembered that no known Elizabethan has left a like example of technique. This, too, in addition to the fact that *TS* was penned when plots were engrossing Shakspeare's attention. In masterly construction this farce compares not only with its author's contemporary dramas, but with his mature as well. This is not a personal impression: since the days of Samuel Johnson men have praised the craftsmanship of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

Characterization, as seen, is likewise consistent. Hence another problem must be met. Not only is it impossible to imagine two or more authors, but equally out of the question to call *TS* a mere piece of hack work. For this nice symmetry of character throughout implies painstaking care, skill, and—single composition. Further complications arise since both originals were used in both rejected and accepted parts. In view of this fact it becomes increasingly difficult to account for the riotous fun, absolute naturalness of which there is no hint of unsteadiness throughout, and the flattening process in reference to minor characters. Gremio offers added complications: not only is he consistent (he appears in both parts) but he has no prototype in *AS*. Biondello also gives trouble. In addition to possessing unity and appearing in both portions he is an absolute creation.<sup>2</sup> Grumio's diction recruited from

<sup>1</sup> *TC* might seem an exception; though here only the closing scenes have been challenged, and—to one person at least—unconvincingly.

<sup>2</sup> In the sources his possible prototype is not the servant of Lucentio's original.

here and there in the two sources gives added concern, especially since he, too, is not confined to major or minor scenes. Hortensio in a peculiar manner offers a problem for solution; though symmetrical, he represents the norm—a feature exclusively Shaksperian. Yet he too is not limited to “genuine” passages.

The many Shaksperian characteristics in the underplot do not make for dual composition: the frequent and artistic allusions to sports and music; the treatment of classical material—Shaksperian in distribution as well as in the customary treatment of such lore in the sources. Verbally, the farce adds confusion: it contains about the proper number of nonce words for 1595; moreover, bold coinages—for example “crack-hemp”—disclose a Shaksperian mastery over words.

Expressions which suggest that the author of *TS* came of a rural community arise everywhere; turns of thought commonly connected with the name of the great dramatist. The absence of rustic speech in the mouths of country folk—peculiar to Shakspeare—is perplexing. Too, the artistic device of the clocks is not only found in the poet's dramas contemporary with *TS*, but was not employed by other Elizabethan playwrights before 1600. Double endings, of which there are more than generally found among his early contemporaries, deserve notice: doubly important not only because of the quantity employed, but also because of the almost equal number in both parts.

Then the minor parallels: the delicate allusion to “love-in-idleness”; rime of “toward” and “froward”; evidences of repetition, particularly in *TGV*—the storehouse to which the arch-poet often reverted. And, finally, examples of boldness in the use of the mother tongue,—employment of names of musical terms as verbs. Peculiarly like Shakspeare is this, as seen, in that the only other instance apparently is in (contemporary) *RJ*. The significance of the parallel is emphasized in that both are jocular.

But again it may be argued that for once in the dramatic history of that age we have a superb instance of two brains beating in perfect unison.<sup>3</sup> For a moment then (even though

<sup>3</sup> Though B. and Fletcher co-operated with telling effect, their plots are imperfectly joined. Nor (apparently) is any of their work the union of two other pieces. See Gayley, *Beaumont*, 1914, pp. 382ff; Wann, *S. Studies*, Madison, Wis., *op. cit.*, 158, 172f. Middleton and Rowley also disclose imperfection in welding of characters.

proof of a co-laborer is wanting) let us admit two minds with a single thought, and concede that if no perfect specimen of dual work exists, the question here involves the master himself. Of course, we are at once brought back to the fact that as far as known Shakspeare did not excel in team work. Spurious plays in which he is supposed to have had a hand are not worthy specimens. *And his name is not linked with a finished piece of joint work.* There is every reason also for believing (supported by Greene's well-known remark) that he had professional aspirations. Moreover, what could the co-worker contribute? There are no fraudulent features in the farce. Indeed the workmanship is of such a nature that we ask, If not by Shakspeare, then by whom?

Then, in some fashion, the presence of double endings must be accounted for; and the artistic device of two clocks; and the absolute unity of several personages, including the double problem in Hortensio; and the creation of one character, as well as the suppression of another; and the treatment of mythology, inherent in—and not merely stuck into—the farce; and the innumerable references to sports and music; and the astounding vitality, the pervading sympathy with all characters, the verbal parallels, the suppression of angular and unyielding words, the superb plot, the artistic symmetry.

*TS*, on the other hand, contains no touches (at least none has been pointed out) of doubtful origin. Nor is there any evidence that this prince of writers worked intimately with another dramatist; certain it is that no joint masterpiece comparable to *TS* has been left us. Shall we then cast further suspicion on its paternity? If so, who was this gifted co-creator? And what was his contribution?

ERNEST P. KUHLM



### XXXI. D'AVENANT'S *MACBETH* AND SHAKESPEARE'S

Our first reference to the acting of *Macbeth* on the Restoration stage is to be found in a list of plays drawn up by Sir Henry Herbert, the master of the revels, and dated November 3, 1663.<sup>1</sup> The list includes the following item: "Revived Play. Mack-bethe . . . [£]1."<sup>2</sup> This reference agrees with Downes's assertion that before its presentation at Dorset Garden with "new Cloath's, new Scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches; with all the Singing and Dancing in it," the play had been acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields. There, in the first house directed by D'Avenant, Samuel Pepys saw it on November 5, 1664,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. William Jaggard describes an anonymous play published in 1662 as "an imitation of *Macbeth*." (*Shakespeare Bibliography*, p. 676.) It is the first in a collection entitled "Gratiae Theatrales, or A Choice Ternary of English Plays, Composed upon especial occasions by several ingenious persons; viz. Thorny-Abbey, or The London Maid; a Tragedy by T. W. The Marriage Broker, or The Pander, A Comedy; by M. W. M. A. Grim the Collier of Croydon, or The Devil and his Dame; with the Devil and St. Dunstan: a Comedy, by I. T. Never before published: but now printed at the request of sundry ingenious friends. London. Printed by R. D. and are to be sold at the sign of the Black Bear in S. Paul's Church-yard. 1662." Langbaine (*Momus Triumphans*, p. 28) lists these plays but gets his notes mixed; his comment on *The Marriage Broker* obviously belongs to *Thorny-Abbey*. Some prefatory verses in the *Gratiae Theatrales* refer to the plays as

" . . . unposted yet, nor with applause  
Or acted here or there . . .

. . . . .

Nor need you doubt, in this our Comick Age,  
Welcome acceptance for them from the Stage . . .  
This I'll dare to foretell, although no Seer  
That Thorny-Abbey will out-date King Lear."

I have found no evidence that *Thorny-Abbey* was ever acted, and there seems to be little warrant for regarding it as an imitation of *Macbeth*. A king is murdered by his host, who is urged to the deed by his wife. The motive, however, is not ambition, but the imperative need of covering up oppression of the people, whose cause the good king has espoused. Moreover, the murder and its consequences are of minor importance in the plot of the play. The chief interest lies in the seduction of old Thorny's daughter by the king's brother, who afterwards succeeds to the throne and marries her.

<sup>2</sup> J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, p. 138.

December 28, 1666, January 7, 1667, April 19, 1667, October 16, 1667, November 6, 1667, August 12, 1668, December 21, 1668, and January 15, 1669.

D'Avenant's alteration was published in quarto in 1674 "As it's now Acted at the Dukes Theatre."<sup>3</sup> Yet his name does not appear on the title page, nor was this play included in the posthumous folio of D'Avenant's works, published in 1673. There can, however, be little doubt that the text of 1674 represents the version referred to by Downes, who as prompter or "bookkeeper" of the company, could hardly be misinformed regarding its authorship.

The first question, then, is whether Pepys saw D'Avenant's version or an unaltered revival. I have cited Downes's account of a special production of the Laureate's adaptation by the Duke's company at Dorset Garden. That new and sumptuous house was opened on November 9, 1671. The author of the *Roscius Anglicanus* mentions five new plays acted there before *Macbeth*, and says besides that several stock plays were sandwiched in between the new ones. He describes this production of *Macbeth* as follows:

The Tragedy of Macbeth, alter'd by Sir William Davenant; being drest in all it's Finery, as new Cloath's, new Scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches; with all the Singing and Dancing in it: The first Compos'd by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Channell and Mr. Joseph Preist; it being all Excellently perform'd, being in the nature of an Opera, it Recompenc'd double the Expence; it proves still [1708] a lasting Play.

Note, That this Tragedy, King Lear and the Tempest, were Acted in Lincolns-Inn-Fields; Lear, being Acted exactly as Mr. Shakespear Wrote it; as likewise the Tempest alter'd by Sir William Davenant and Mr. Dryden, before 'twas made into an Opera.<sup>4</sup>

Genest asserts that *Macbeth* was acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields unaltered;<sup>5</sup> but there is no warrant for this assumption in Downes. On the contrary, the references of Pepys point with reasonable clearness to D'Avenant's version.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> It was entered in the Term Catalogue for July, 1674 (Arber's ed., I, 179)

<sup>4</sup> Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. Knight, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, I, 139.

<sup>6</sup> Professor Odell (in his valuable and delightful *Shakespeare from Bellerton to Irving*, I, 36) doubts this because the publication of the play after its production at Dorset Garden suggests that much of the machinery may have been added at that time for the larger stage. But the publication (in 1674)

November 5, 1664: "with my wife to the Duke's house to a play, *Macbeth*, a pretty good play, but admirably acted."

December 28, 1666: "to the Duke's house, and there saw *Macbeth* most excellently acted, and a most excellent play for variety."

January 7, 1667: "to the Duke's house, and saw *Macbeth*, which, though I saw it lately, yet appears a most excellent play in all respects, but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here, and suitable."

April 19, 1667: "Here we saw *Macbeth*, which, though I have seen it often, yet it is one of the best plays for a stage, and variety of dancing and musique that ever I saw."

The last three entries, at least, with their references to "variety" and "divertisement," indicate almost certainly the altered version of D'Avenant.<sup>8</sup> 1663-4 thus becomes our date for the production of *Macbeth* at Lincoln's Inn Fields,<sup>9</sup> and 1672-3 for its revival with new trappings at Dorset Garden.

The quarto of 1674, the first edition of D'Avenant's version, gives the names of only a few of the players: Macbeth, Betterton; Macduff, Harris; Banquo, Smith; Malcom, Norris; Duncan, Lee;<sup>10</sup> Lennox, Medbourne; Donalbain, Cademan; Lady Macbeth, Mrs. Betterton; Lady Macduff, Mrs. Long; Ghost of Banquo, Sandford. It is highly remarkable that Banquo and his gory shade were performed by different actors. Did Smith and Sandford quarrel for the part, and compromise by splitting it? Probably Waldron's solution is the right one: "Sandford's countenance," he suggests, "was naturally formed to inspire terror;<sup>11</sup> While the representative of the living Banquo had, as was necessary, a placid mein."<sup>12</sup>

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was not directly after the performance. As I shall show, it was probably occasioned by the appearance of an unauthorized quarto in 1673. It is likely enough that after the removal of the Duke's company to Dorset Garden the mechanical features of their performance of *Macbeth* were further elaborated; The state of the text, however, is in my opinion quite another matter.

<sup>7</sup> H. B. Wheatley (Pepys's Diary, IV, 264, n. 1) assumes this to be D'Avenant's version.

<sup>8</sup> The other entries throw no light on the question.

<sup>9</sup> This is the conclusion of Mr. William Archer. See his "Macbeth on the Stage," *English Illustrated Magazine*, VI, 234 (Dec., 1888).

<sup>10</sup> This was Nathaniel Lee, the dramatist, whose ill success as an actor, as well as that of Otway and of Downes himself, the old prompter describes with gusto.

<sup>11</sup> He was the leading villain of his day.

<sup>12</sup> Waldron's note in the 1789 ed. of Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 43. The lamented Mr. Archer justifies the bifurcation of Banquo, in the following

Concerning Betterton's performance of *Macbeth* I find relatively little testimony. That Pepys greatly admired it is shown by his entry of October 16, 1667, when he was thoroughly discontented with its performance by an understudy. Of Mrs. Betterton's success as Lady Macbeth Colley Cibber tells us; he writes of performances after he joined the company, that is in the early '90's:

Mrs. Betterton, tho' far advanc'd in Years, was so great a Mistress of Nature that even Mrs. Barry, who acted the Lady Macbeth after her, could not in that Part, with all her superior Strength and Melody of Voice, throw out those quick and careless Strokes of Terror from the Disorder of a guilty Mind, which the other gave us with a Facility in her Manner that render'd them at once tremendous and delightful.<sup>13</sup>

Genest records several especially interesting performances of *Macbeth* during the last decade of Betterton's career.<sup>14</sup> On December 27, 1707 the distinguished company at the Haymarket played it with the following cast, perhaps the finest that has ever presented it: Macbeth, Betterton; Macduff, Wilks; Banquo, Mills; Duncan, Keen; Lennox, Booth;<sup>15</sup> Lady Macbeth, Mrs. Barry.<sup>16</sup> Betterton continued to act *Macbeth* till the end of his life; he appeared in that rôle as late as December 17, 1709.<sup>17</sup> The quartos after 1674 follow the first edition in their casts till the quarto of 1710, which has: Macbeth, Betterton; Macduff, Wilks; Banquo, Mills; Malcom, Corey; Duncan, Keen; Donalbain, Bullock, Jr.; Lennox, Griffin; Lady Macbeth, Mrs. Knight; Lady Macduff, Mrs. Rogers; Heccate, Mr. Johnson.

D'Avenant's version of *Macbeth* was first printed in 1674, not in 1673, as is asserted by the latest handler of Shakespeare

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terms: "Hamlet's father naturally appeared to his son 'in his habit as he lived,' but Banquo shaking his gory locks at Macbeth should certainly be repulsive rather than 'majestical.' We should be shown the horrid vision of his victim as it appears to the murderer's heated imagination. The elegant Smith probably declined to 'bedabble his face with gore.'" (*Eng. Ill. Mag.*, VI, 234).

<sup>13</sup> Cibber's *Apology*, ed. Lowe, I, 161 ff.

<sup>14</sup> We know more about performances at this time than earlier because they were often advertised in the *Daily Courant*.

<sup>15</sup> In D'Avenant's version Lennox is a more important part than in the original.

<sup>16</sup> Genest II, 394.

<sup>17</sup> Genest, II, 447.

alterations, Mr. Montague Summers,<sup>18</sup> who with some justice warns his readers against the "blunders and absurdities" of Maidment and Logan's critical preface to it in the fifth volume of their edition of D'Avenant's plays. Mr. Summers follows Mr. William J. Lawrence, who appears to have misread one of Dr. Furness's notes. Mr. Lawrence writes:

No copy of the D'Avenant *Macbeth* was issued until 1673, early in the spring of which year W. Cadman published his anonymous quarto (Quarto 1). A little better than a year later, P. Chetwin printed another version, "with all the alterations, amendments, additions and new songs. As it is now acted at the Duke's theatre."<sup>19</sup> (Quarto 2). Beyond some transpositions of the scenes and some alterations in the sequence of the "business" Quarto 2 does not differ very materially from its immediate predecessor. For the variations see Furness, *Variorum Shakespeare*, vii (1873), introduction. In the same volume will be found the text of Quarto 2. My impression is that the discrepancies between the two arose from the fact that Cadman, in his haste to take advantage of the ornate revival at Dorset Gardens in 1673 derived his text from a copy of D'Avenant's first version of the tragedy and that Quarto 2 represents the maturer revision.<sup>20</sup>

Leaving for the moment Mr. Lawrence's conclusion, let us examine his facts. Quarto 2, he asserts, is not very different from Quarto 1. The latter edition I have not seen, though I have examined with care its *varias lectiones* as recorded by Dr. Furness.<sup>21</sup> I might hesitate therefore to controvert Mr. Lawrence's remarks if it were not that he refers to Furness as his own authority. Now Dr. Furness, so far from asserting the *similarity* of the two quartos, lays stress on their *difference*:

In 1673 [he writes] there appeared "Macbeth: A Tragedy. Acted At the Dukes-Theatre." This has hitherto been cited as D'Avenant's Version, even by the very accurate Cambridge Editors, and in sooth it may be that it is, but it is very different from the D'Avenant's Version published in the following year, to which almost uniformly all references apply, and not to this edition of 1673. *The only points of identity between the two* [my italics] are to be found in

<sup>18</sup> Montague Summers, *Shakespeare Adaptations*, p. xxxv ff. Mr. Jaggard's great *Bibliography* entertains the same error. (William Jaggard, *Shakespeare Bibliography*, p. 381).

<sup>19</sup> There were at least *two* issues in 1674, one for P. Chetwin, the other for A. Clark. Whether these contain minor variations I cannot say, not having thought it worth while to collate them carefully. They appear to be identical.

<sup>20</sup> W. J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse* [First Series], p. 211, n. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Since this paper was written I have examined copies of this quarto in the British Museum and in the Bodleian.

the Witch-scenes, and there they are not uniformly alike, nor are the Songs introduced in the same scenes at the same places; and of the Song "Black Spirits and white," &c., only the first two words are given. In other respects the edition of 1673 is a reprint of the First Folio . . . . As a general rule . . . the readings of F<sub>1</sub> [in Furness's textual notes] include the edition of D'Avenant of 1673.<sup>22</sup>

Dr. Furness next expresses regret that he has not more clearly distinguished the two versions by giving the earlier some other title in his citations; "Betterton's," he suggests, but why he does not specify. Certainly the suggestion is misleading. He continues:

it is a mere suspicion of mine that the success which attended the representation of this earlier version induced the Poet Laureate in the following year to "amend" it still more, and prefix an "Argument" which, by the way, he took word for word from Heylin's *Cosmography*.

Unfortunately for this theory, the quartos are dated 1673 and 1674. D'Avenant died in 1668.

Dr. Furness returns to the differences between Quarto 1 and the First Folio. I quote in full:

The first divergence from the First Folio in Betterton's version (if I may be permitted so to term it for the nonce, to avoid repetition and confusion)<sup>23</sup> occurs at the end of the Second Scene in the Second Act, where the Witches enter and "sing" the song found in D'Avenant's Version<sup>24</sup> (see p. 324<sup>25</sup> [519])<sup>26</sup>, beginning "Speak, Sister, is the Deed done?" &c., down to "What then, when Monarch's perish, should we do?"<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> H. H. Furness, *New Variorum Ed.*, vol. II (Revised Ed., 1903), pp. vii-viii.

<sup>23</sup> He means Quarto 1, using Mr. Lawrence's nomenclature. The choice of Betterton's name is quite unwarrantable.

<sup>24</sup> That is, Mr. Lawrence's Quarto 2, of 1674.

<sup>25</sup> *Macbeth*, *New Var. Ed.*, 1873.

<sup>26</sup> *Macbeth*, *New Var. Ed.*, Revised Ed., 1903.

<sup>27</sup> The whole song appears as follows in Q 1674, pp. 26-7:

"1 *Witch*. Speak, Sister, speak; is the Deed done?  
 2 *Witch*. Long ago, long ago:  
           Above twelve glasses since have run.  
 3 *Witch*. Ill deeds are seldom slow;  
           Nor single: following crimes on former wait.  
           The worst of creatures fastest propagate.  
           Many more murders must this one ensue,  
           As if in death were propagation too.  
 2 *Witch*. He will.

At the end of the next scene<sup>28</sup> occurs the second divergence, consisting of the Witches' Song (see p. 325<sup>29</sup> [519])<sup>30</sup>, beginning "Let's have a Dance upon the Heath," &c., down to "We Dance to the Ecchoes of our Feet," as it is in D'Avenant's version, except that "the chirping Cricket" is changed into the "chirping critick."<sup>31</sup>

The third and last addition, which is not wholly unauthoriz'd, since it is indicated in the Folios, is to be found at III, v, 33. Here the extract from Middleton (see pp. 337 and 401<sup>32</sup> [376 and 525]<sup>33</sup>) is given: "Come away Heccat, Heccat, Oh, come away," &c., down to "Nor Cannons Throats our height can

1 *Witch.* He shall.

3 *Witch.* He must spill much more bloud;  
And become worse, to make his Title good.

1 *Witch.* Now let's dance.

2 *Witch.* Agreed.

3 *Witch.* Agreed.

4 *Witch.* Agreed.

*Chorus.* We shou'd rejoyce when good Kings bleed.

When cattel die, about we go,

What then, when Monarchs perish, should we do?"

<sup>28</sup> In Q 1673, that is; in Q 1674 it is a few lines farther on in the same scene.

<sup>29</sup> *Macbeth, New Var. Ed.*, 1873.

<sup>30</sup> *Macbeth, New Var. Ed.*, Revised Ed., 1903.

<sup>31</sup> The entire song is as follows (Q 1674, p. 27):

"Let's have a dance upon the Heath;  
We gain more life by Duncan's death.  
Sometimes like brinded Cats we shew,  
Having no musick but our mew.  
Sometimes we dance in some old mill,  
Upon the hopper, stones, and wheel.  
To some old saw, or Bardish Rhime,  
Where still the Mill-clack does keep time.  
Sometimes about an hollow tree,  
A round, a round, a round dance we.  
Thither the chirping Cricket comes,  
And Beetle, singing drowsie hums.  
Sometimes we dance o're Fens and Furs,  
To howls of wolves, and barks of curs.  
And when with none of those we meet,  
We dance to th' ecchoes of our feet.  
At the night-Raven's dismal voice,  
Whilst others tremble, we rejoyce;  
And nimbly, nimbly dance we still  
To th' ecchoes from an hollow Hill."

<sup>32</sup> *Macbeth, New Var. Ed.*, 1873.

<sup>33</sup> *Macbeth, New Var. Ed.*, Revised Ed., 1903. For Furness's 525 read 528-9.

reach."<sup>34</sup> As I have before said, with these three exceptions, Betterton's version [*i.e.*, the quarto of 1673] is a more or less accurate reprint of the First Folio.<sup>35</sup>

Since it is to this plain statement that Mr. Lawrence refers as his authority, it is a little difficult to account for his assertion that the quartos of 1673 and 1674 are in virtual agreement.

Dr. Furness continues with a list of "some of the most notable discrepancies" between Q 1673 and F 1, selected from the first Act.<sup>36</sup> He lists the following passages:

- I vi 35: "to count." For: "in compt."
- I vii 11: "*Commands* th' Ingredience." For: "Commends."
- I vii 17: "First, I am." For: "First, as I am."
- I vii 26: "Heavens Cherubim." For: "Heauen's Cherubin."
- I vii 60: "Be *much more* the Man." For: "so much more."
- I vii 81: "What not upon." For: "What not put vpon."
- I vii 88: "their Daggers." For: "their very Daggers."

The following *variae lectiones* in the remaining acts are recorded in Furness's textual notes:<sup>37</sup>

- II i 64: "now witchcraft." For: "Witchcraft." Q 1674: "now witchcraft."
- II ii 48: "rips." For: "Sleepe that *knils* vp the rael'd Sleeue of Care."  
Q 1674: "Sleep, that locks up the senses from their care."
- II ii 79: "Green one red." For: "Making the *Greene one, Red.*" Q 1674:  
"and turn the green into a red."
- II ii 94: "this." For: "Wake Duncan with *thy* knocking." Q 1674: "this."
- II iii 8: "come in, time." For: "Come in time." Q 1674 cuts the drunken porter.
- II iii 21: "Bone-fire." For: "Bonfire."
- II iii 135-6: "Out-ran." For:  
"Th' expedition of my violent Loue  
*Out-run* the pawser, Reason."  
Q 1674: "*Out-ran* my pausing reason."
- II iv 4: "I've." For: "*I haue* scene." Q 1674: "I've."
- II iv 6: "stified." For: "but this sore Night  
Hath *trifled* former knowings."  
Q 1674: "but this one night  
Has made that knowledge void."

<sup>34</sup> This song is taken, with a dozen verbal alterations, from Middleton's *The Witch* (ed. Bullen, V, 416), Act III, Scene iii, lines 39-74. It had probably been used in *Macbeth* as early as before the publication of the First Folio. It appears in Q 1674 on pages 44-5.

<sup>35</sup> Furness, *New Var.* (Revised) Ed. of *Macbeth*, pp. vii-viii.

<sup>36</sup> These are not recorded in Dr. Furness's *textual* notes, since he did not recognize the difference between Q 1673 and Q 1674 until he had made some progress in collation.

<sup>37</sup> The text first cited is in each case the reading of 1673, and second that of F 1, both as given by Furness.



- III i 68: "Caesar's." For: "Caesar." Q 1674 cuts the reference to Antony and Caesar.
- III iv 51: "May it." For: "May't." Q 1674: "May it."
- III vi 6: "born." For: "Things haue bin strangely borne." Q 1674: "carry'd."
- IV i 28: "Silver'd." For: "Slippes of Yew  
*Sliuer'd* in the Moones Eclipse."  
 Q 1674: 'Pluckt when the Moon was in Eclips.'
- IV iii 255: "see." For: "Did you say All?" Q 1674: "say."
- V viii 3: "while." For: "whiles." Q 1674 cuts this line.

The variations of Quarto 1673 from the First Folio we thus find to be inconsiderable, and it is easy to conclude that Quarto 1673 bears no relation whatever to Quarto 1674. Both Dr. Furness and Mr. Lawrence seem to be mistaken; the latter in asserting the similarity of the two quartos, the former in suggesting that D'Avenant made some additional alterations in 1674, being emboldened by the success of the version of the previous year.

In lieu of their conclusions I can offer only a conjecture, which has however this warrant, that it is compatible with the textual condition of both quartos. Apparently, soon after the gorgeous revival of D'Avenant's *Macbeth* at Dorset Garden (1672-3), a publisher decided to reprint Shakespeare's original play as found in the First Folio, and thus take advantage of its renewed popularity. He included, perhaps without authority, three additions (carefully distinguished by Furness), which may have been taken down in the theatre, but which had probably got attached to the play long before D'Avenant began tampering with it. The proprietors of D'Avenant's version, unwilling to allow this text to circulate under the name of their recent theatrical success and to reap the publishing profits thereof, gave the D'Avenant text to the printer. This, the text of Quarto 1674, must have been written at least before 1668, when D'Avenant died, and probably before 1663-4, when it appears to have been produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The quarto of 1673, accordingly, as Furness distinctly states, is not an alteration but a reprint of the First Folio, with the addition of three songs and with a few of those minor changes inevitable in every such reprint. Though published before the quarto of 1674, it was undertaken by the printer long after that version had been prepared. It is in fact not im-

probable that Quarto 1673 represents the play as it was acted even before the Wars; for Shakespeare's text appears to have been tampered with before its original publication in the First Folio.

The quarto of 1674, on the other hand, is D'Avenant's version of *Macbeth*, probably written, or at any rate overhauled, c. 1663-4. It was not included in the posthumous D'Avenant folio of 1673 for the same reason that denied inclusion to D'Avenant's version of *Hamlet*.<sup>38</sup> Compared with *The Law Against Lovers*, which was included, both the *Hamlet* and the *Macbeth* are chiefly concerned with verbal alteration and cutting. The editor felt (as very likely D'Avenant himself had) that *The Law against Lovers*, though based on two of Shakespeare's plays, was really a new play, while the *Hamlet* and the *Macbeth* were still Shakespeare's.<sup>39</sup>

The *Macbeth* quarto of 1674 was reprinted in 1687, 1689, 1695, and 1710.<sup>40</sup> I have not collated these texts. I have, however, examined those of 1687, 1695, and 1710 with sufficient care to be sure that they represent D'Avenant's version. They appear to be faithful reprints of Quarto 1674.

Let us now turn to that text and examine the changes introduced by William D'Avenant in order to "reform and make fit" the *Macbeth* of William Shakespeare.

### ACT I

The first act is not much altered structurally but, as will be apparent from a glance at the verbal "improvements" I shall cite, the text is badly garbled. The Bleeding Sergeant (I, ii) becomes Seyton. Macduff takes over Ross (I, ii and iii); Angus is excised. The latter's speech, I, iii, 110-113, is cut; but I, iii, 121-9 is given to Macduff. The evil thought of Macbeth is expressed more definitely as early as scene iii. At the end of scene iv, in the Prince of Cumberland aside, D'Avenant

<sup>38</sup> See my "Hamlet under the Restoration," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n Am.*, XXXVIII, 770-791 (Dec., 1923).

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<sup>40</sup> Mr. Lawrence doubts the existence of a quarto of 1687 (*Elizabethan Playhouse* I, 212 n. 1), but there is a copy so dated in the Boston Public Library.

inserts another couplet before the final one, which he alters considerably:

The strange Idea of a bloody act  
Does into doubt all my resolves distract.  
My eye shall at my hand connive, the Sun  
Himself should wink when such a deed is done. . . .

Such structural alterations as appear in this play are due principally to D'Avenant's passion for balance in characterization. This weakness is a natural consequence of the systematic creation of typical rather than complex characters. Shakespeare's faculty of viewing not only life in general but the isolated personality whole was simply beyond the horizon of the critics from whom the dramatists of the Restoration derived their standards. It is not permissible, Dryden declares, to set up a character as composed of mighty opposites:

When a Poet has given the Dignity of a King to one of his persons, in all his actions and speeches, that person must discover Majesty, Magnanimity, and jealousy of power; because these are suitable to the general manners of a King. . . . When Virgil had once given the name of Pious to Aeneas, he was bound to show him such, in all his words and actions through the whole Poem. . . . A character . . . is a composition of qualities which are not contrary to one another in the same person: thus the same man may be liberal and valiant, but not liberal and covetous.<sup>41</sup>

The principle thus unqualifiedly laid down leads eventually to the personification of dominant characteristics. It comes, in fact, pretty close to the humours theory of Ben Jonson, and I for one am convinced that his methods influenced Restoration tragedy as well as comedy. Dryden, for instance, examining the merits of Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Jonson, awards the palm for characterization to the last on account of the "consistency" of his persons—even the minor ones. This significant opinion, as well as the last passage quoted, is to be found, not in a treatise on comedy, but in Dryden's preface to his alteration of *Troilus and Cressida*, which contains a formal essay on the *Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy*.

D'Avenant never went so far as Dryden, who worked in Shakespeare revision with a freer hand than did his predecessor; but the older Laureate was powerfully influenced by this canon

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of consistency. Once you surrender to it, composition becomes largely a matter of antithesis: if A stands for Pride, let B represent Humility; if A incarnates pure Malignancy, B shall broadcast Benevolence. Thus in *Macbeth* D'Avenant saw the hero's Lady as a symbol of wicked ambition. Very well, then, let us have a good woman, quite unscorched by any spark of self-interest, and available to lecture the other characters and the audience on the cinerary consequences of worldly hope. And since Shakespeare proposes an unobjectionable female person in Lady Macduff, D'Avenant selects her to be all that Lady Macbeth is not. In his hands she becomes a most sanctified dame, and a much more important character than Shakespeare, who according to one school of opinion *après Dieu créa le plus*, had made her.

This pious matron's first opportunity comes in I, v, in a scene of 39 lines which precedes the reading of Macbeth's letter.<sup>42</sup> The notorious *love and honour* (or more accurately *love or honour*) motive appears in all its glory in her first speech. Soon, in response to Lady Macbeth's martial enthusiasm, Macduff's domestic angel begins her lecture:

The world mistakes the glories gain'd in war,  
Thinking their Lustre true: alas, they are  
But Comets, Vapours! by some men exhal'd  
From others blood, and kindl'd in the Region  
Of popular applause, in which they live  
A-while; then vanish: and the very breath  
Which first inflam'd them, blows them out agen.

Having thus impressed us with her insusceptibility to ambitious temptings, she retires; Lady Macbeth breaks into the letter, and the action proceeds as in Shakespeare's play, though the diction is horribly mutilated.

## ACT II

The Drunken Porter is contemptuously ejected from his station in this act. The scene is replaced by the following incredibly awkward lines:

Enter Lenox and Macbeth's Servant.

*Lenox.* You sleep soundly, that so much knocking  
Could not wake you.

<sup>42</sup> D'Avenant failed to observe that Lady Macbeth has reached the middle of the letter before she enters.

*Serv.* Labour by day causes rest by night.  
Enter Macduff.<sup>4</sup>

In II, iv, the Old Man's lines are reduced and bestowed on Seyton. As in the original, Macduff announces his departure for Fife.

The next scene is D'Avenant's own. Once more we see the heath, where "Lady Macduff, Maid, and Servant" await their lord. "Here," says the Servant,

He order'd me to attend him with the Chariot.

The children are not presented:

They are securely sleeping in the Chariot.

Macduff arrives. It soon appears that he has chosen an uncanny spot for the rendezvous: the witches (four of them) bounce in, and present the "divertisement" which Mr. Pepys found not only entertaining but appropriate. Their lyrics have already been quoted. The Thane of Fife sourly pronounces their first selection "an hellish Song," but stays for the encore. After that the Witches dance. Macduff is next treated to a triple-barreled prophecy in the manner of those addressed to Macbeth and Banquo:

*1 Witch.* Saving thy blood will cause it to be shed;

*2 Witch.* He'll bleed by thee, by whom thou first hast bled.

*3 Witch.* Thy wife shall shunning danger, dangers find,  
And fatal be, to whom she most is kind.

Then the Witches vanish, and after a brief lecture by Lady Macduff on the folly of believing these "Messengers of Darkness," the doomed family troops off to the waiting "chariot."

### ACT III

D'Avenant was not inclined to trust his audience to take any save the broadest of hints. A good instance of his little faith

<sup>4</sup> Weber approves of this excision, which he attributes to D'Avenant's desire to condense the action. Weber here, as elsewhere in his dissertation, forgets the influence of the canons on D'Avenant's methods. The excision of the Porter was directly required by the principle of strict separation. (G. Weber, *Davenant's Macbeth im Verhältnis zu Shakespeare's gleichnamiger Tragödie*, Rostock, 1903, p. 65.)

occurs in III, i after Banquo has departed on his fatal ride, and the courtiers have been dismissed. Macbeth thereupon reveals his intentions unmistakably:

Macduff departed frowningly, perhaps  
He is grown jealous; he and Banquo must  
Embrace the same fate.

Immediately after the interview with the murderers comes another of D'Avenant's original Macduff-scenes, neatly versified in rhyming couplets. The Thane has made up his mind:

It must be so. Great Duncan's bloody death  
Can have no other Author but Macbeth.  
His Dagger now is to a Scepter grown;  
From Duncan's Grave he has deriv'd his Throne.

Lady Macduff, in her character of good counselor, never lets an opportunity slip:

Ambition urg'd him to that bloody deed:  
May you be never by Ambition led:  
Forbid it Heav'n, that in revenge you shou'd  
Follow a Copy that is writ in blood.<sup>4</sup>

Macduff feels bound to avenge the murdered King, but his wife counsels leaving vengeance to Heaven. The Thane would rescue his country from "the bloody Tyrants violence." She has her answer pat:

I am affraid you have some other end,  
Than meerly Scotland's freedom to defend.  
You'd raise your self, whilst you wou'd him dethrone;  
And shake his Greatness, to confirm your own.

Macduff replies that it would be no usurpation to assume the sceptre for the nation's good. But his Lady stands firm against ambition in any form.

The action then proceeds as in the original play till the scene of Banquo's assassination, in which the conference of the murderers before the deed is greatly reduced; the Third Murderer's appearance is not accounted for. Banquo is pursued and killed off stage. After the banquet, a short scene in couplets

<sup>4</sup> Fairness compels the admission that if we must have couplets this is in excellent vein; at least it is eminently actable.



shows Macduff's leave-taking. Next comes the expository interview between Lennox and a Lord, in D'Avenant's version Seyton (III, vi). The act closes with III, v. Hecate's long harangue to the Witches is greatly reduced, in order to make room for the song "Come away, Heccate, Heccate! Oh come away," and her flight with the Witches on a "machine." The text is taken, with a few slight alterations, from Middleton's *The Witch*, Act III, Scene iii, lines 39-74.<sup>45</sup>

#### ACT IV

The first scene opens, as in the original, with the brewing of the hellish broth; this is enriched by still another excerpt from Middleton's play (V, ii, 60-78). There are new and spicier ingredients: "Of Scuttle Fish the vomit black," and instead of a tiger's, a "fat Dutchman's Chawdron," an inelegant but eminently topical reference to England's chief competitor at sea. Then Hecate appears, and the song mentioned in the First Folio as "Blacke Spirits, &c." is sung by the Witches. How much of this Middletonian embellishment had been in use before D'Avenant's time is problematical. The text, according to the quarto of 1674, is as follows:

#### Music and Song.

- Hec.* Black Spirits, and white,  
Red Spirits and gray;  
Mingle, mingle, mingle,  
You that mingle may.
- 1 Witch.* Tiffin, Tiffin, keep it stiff in,  
Fire drake Puckey, make it luckey:  
Lyer Robin, you must bob in.
- Chor.* A round, a round, about, about,  
All ill come running in, all good keep out.
- 1.* Here's the blood of a Bat!
- Hec.* O put in that, put in that.
- 2.* Here's Lizards brain,
- Hec.* Put in a grain.
- 1.* Here's Juice of Toad, here's oyl of Adder  
That will make the Charm grow madder.

<sup>45</sup> Bullen's ed. of Middleton, V, 416 ff. Weber (pp. 64 ff) points out that D'Avenant has shifted this scene with the preceding in order to close the act on these "wunderhübscher Hexengesänge." Shakespeare's ending of the act is undeniably weak—that is, if we are to assume that the Elizabethans knocked off for a cigarette four times during the course of a performance.

2. Put in all these, 'twill raise the stanch;  
*Hec.* Nay here's three ounces of a red-hair'd Wench.  
*Chor.* A round, a round, &c.

When Macbeth arrives he demands:

What Destinie's appointed for my Fate?

He is answered by Hecate, for the apparitions do not appear. This omission is puzzling—they afford an obvious chance for the display of mechanical ingenuity. The “shadow of eight Kings, and Banquo's Ghost after them,” is, however, presented. It is Seyton, not Lennox, who comes in with the news of Macduff's flight. This change is made to enable Lennox, whose part is distinctly “fattened,” to take the place of Ross in the next scene as the friend of Lady Macduff. Seyton then comes in as the friendly messenger.<sup>46</sup> This scene ends with the warning, since the murderers do not appear. Their excision may be due to the theoretical objection to scenes of violence, or to a desire to shorten and make room for new material.

Next comes the interview, greatly reduced, between Malcolm and Macduff. It takes place, not in England, but

In these close shades of Birnam Wood.<sup>47</sup>

It is broken, after the references to Edward's success in touching, by an original scene, in halting blank verse, between Macbeth and Seyton. This is perhaps the most ludicrous of D'Avenant's structural changes in this play; for we see the grim Macbeth hesitating in the conventional manner between love and honour. His army needs his presence, but his Lady is indisposed. And so:

The Spur of my Ambition prompts me to go  
 And make my Kingdom safe, but Love which softens me  
 To pity her in her distress, curbs my Resolves.

. . . . .

<sup>46</sup> Kilbourne remarks that it is no wonder Seyton finally rebels against D'Avenant's Macbeth—he has been given so much extra work in this version. (F. W. Kilbourne, *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare*, p. 150.)

<sup>47</sup> Williams says the reason for this change is inexplicable, but it seems fairly obvious: D'Avenant here exhibits a certain deference to the unities of time and place. (J. D. E. Williams, *Sir William Davenant's [Literary] Relation to Shakespeare*, p. 45.)

Yet why should Love, since confin'd, desire  
 To controul Ambition, for whose spreading hopes  
 The world's too narrow, It shall not; Great Fires  
 Put out the less; Seaton go bid my Grooms  
 Make ready; Ile not delay my going.

*Seat.* I go.

*Macb.* Stay Seaton, stay, Compassion calls me back.

*Seat.* He looks and moves disorderly.

*Macb.* I'll not go yet.

*Seat.* Well Sir . . . [Exit Seaton].

And now Lady Macbeth comes in, not yet sleep-walking, but so broken by remorse that she heaps reproaches on her husband for having committed the initial crime. Her first words are: "Duncan is dead." She thinks his ghost pursues her. Taking his cue from Shakespeare's great banquet scene, D'Avenant makes her see the ghost, though the stage directions do not indicate that it was actually brought on at this point. Macbeth assures her:

It cannot be My Dear,  
 Your Fears have misinform'd your eyes.

*Lady Mb.* See there; Believe your own.

Why do you follow Me? I did not do it.

*Macb.* Methinks there's nothing.

*Lady Mb.* If you have Valour force him hence.

Hold, hold, he's gone. Now you look strangely.

*Macb.* 'Tis the strange error of your Eyes.

*Lady Mb.* But the strange error of my Eyes

Proceeds from the strange Action of your Hands.

Let him resign, she urges, his "ill-gain'd Crown." He reminds her that she incited him to the crime. But her reply is unanswerable:

You were a Man.

And by the Charter of your Sex you shou'd  
 Have govern'd me.

Against the counsel of the Witches she warns him earnestly. Now the Ghost actually appears, and the distracted woman raves. Macbeth finally summons her attendants to lead her off, and then offers the following diagnosis and prescription:

She does from Duncons death to sickness grieve,  
 And shall from Malcolms death her health receive.  
 When by a Viper bitten, nothing's good  
 To cure the venom but a Vipers blood.

On this homeopathic principle the scene ends. One must confess that from the theatrical standpoint it is highly effective.

Finally, we return to Birnam Wood. Lennox is still in the shoes of Ross and brings the terrible news from Fife.

### ACT V

The sleep-walking scene is reduced to 36 lines from 81. The witnesses are Seyton and a lady; the Doctor is omitted from D'Avenant's version.

Scene ii shows us, instead of the rebellious thanes, Donalbain and "Flean" met by Lennox. The scene is brief, original, and writ in most villainous blank verse.<sup>48</sup>

And now follows V, iii, but this Macbeth is not Shakespeare's. Vanished is that fierce contumely which reveals the extremity of his bewildered spirit: we get instead such insipidities as

Now Friend, what means thy change of Countenance?

For:

The diuell damne thee blacke, thou cream-fac'd Loone:  
Where got'st thou that Goose-looke.

It is when considering such passages as this and the one following that the modern admirer of Shakespeare's poetry finds it difficult to remain judicial:

V iii 24-34: Take thy Face hence.  
He has Infected me with Fear  
I am sure to die by none of Woman morn  
And yet the English Drums beat an Alarm,  
As fatal to my Life as are the Crokes  
Of Ravens, when they flutter about the Windows  
Of departing men.  
My Hopes are great, and yet me-thinks I fear  
My subjects cry out Curses on my Name,  
Which like a North-wind seems to blast my Hopes.

This twaddle, we must suppose, was turned off by the Laureate with the greatest satisfaction, in the firm belief that he was writing "with the very spirit of Shakespeare." His creaking lines replace:

<sup>48</sup> Weber (p. 69) asserts that the scene is in one respect an improvement: at least the reappearance of the two sons to avenge their murdered sires is justifiable dramatically.

Take thy face hence. Seyton, I am sick at hart,  
 When I behold: Seyton, I say, this push  
 Will cheere me euer, or dis-eate me now.  
 I have liu'd long enough: my way of life  
 Is falne into the Seare, the yellow Leafe,  
 And that which should accompany Old-Age,  
 As Honor, Loue, Obedience, Troopes of Friends,  
 I must not looke to haue: but in their steed,  
 Curses, not lowd but deepe, Mouth-honor, breath  
 Which the poore heart would faine deny, and dare not.

The Doctor is excised, and so we lose the great passage beginning

Can'st thou not Minister to a minde diseas'd . . . ?

In an aside Seyton announces his intention of deserting, and the scene ends. It is followed by a scene largely original with D'Avenant, the united forces under "Seymor."

The great fifth scene is, like the third, hopelessly garbled, as witness the speech in which Macbeth's numbed mind reacts, or fails to react, to the news of his wife's death—surely one of the most profoundly tragic sentences ever composed for an actor's lips. It appears thus transmuted in D'Avenant's version:

She should have Di'd hereafter,  
 I brought Her here, to see my Victines,<sup>49</sup> not to Die.  
 To Morrow, to Morrow, and to Morrow,  
 Creeps in a stealing pace from Day to Day,  
 To the last Minute of Recorded Time:  
 And all our Yesterdays have lighted Fools  
 To their Eternal Homes: Out, out that Candle . . . etc.

From this point on the text is left unchanged, but the havoc already made is unforgivable.

The final scene is no less objectionable. Lennox assumes the rôle of Young Siward, and his death; but his lines are D'Avenant's. Macbeth falls on stage, and dies with a moral on his lips:

Farewell vain World, and what's most vain in it, Ambition.

For obvious reasons Macduff presents the new sovereign with, not his enemy's head, but his sword.

<sup>49</sup> Victims, vict'ries (?).

Several of the stage directions in the quarto of 1674 indicate the "operatic" (i.e., mechanical) nature of the performances of this adaptation.

I i 15: "[Ex. flying."

I iii 2: "Enter three Witches flying."

III iv 92: "[the Ghost descends."

III iv 116: "[the Ghost of Banq. rises at his feet."

III v 40: "[Machine descends." [For the flight of the Witches.]

IV i 155: "[Musick. The Witches Dance and Vanish. The Cave sinks."

The verbal changes made by D'Avenant are on the whole very like those in *The Law against Lovers* and in his version of *Hamlet*. The categories I suggest are in many cases not especially accurate, for some alterations belong to more than one type, and in many cases a guess at the motive rather than an appraisal of the result is responsible for my classification. I give, of course, only samples.

Some changes owe their existence to D'Avenant's desire to modernize his text.<sup>80</sup> Example:

I iii 87: "what seem'd Corporeal."

For: "and what seem'd corporall."

Other revisions appear to be attempts to correct Shakespeare's grammar. Others are rhetorical improvements; for instance, the historical present seems to have been objectionable to D'Avenant. And there are other corrections of tense. Examples:

I ii 59: "Whence *com'st* thou, worthy Thane?" For: "cam'st."

I iii 9: "the rump-fed Ronyon *cry'd*." For: "cries."

I iii 55: "who." For: "that."

I iii 167: "*Patience and time run* through the roughest day."

For: "Time, and the Houre, runs."

Metrical considerations condition many of D'Avenant's changes. Too much importance should not, however, be attached to these, for they are often ignored both in altered and in original lines. Examples:

<sup>80</sup> In each case, unless the contrary is stated, the text first quoted is that of Q 1674. The words replaced are quoted from the First Folio as given by Furness. Weber (p. 15) concludes that the source of Q 1674 is all but certainly F 1.

I i 14: "To us fair weather's foul, and foul is fair!"  
For: "faire is foule, and foule is fair."

I ii 75: "Until at Colems-Inch he had disburs'd."  
For: "Till he disbursed, at Saint Colmes ynch."

(There are numerous changes like this, as a consequence of the weakening of the suffix of the past participle.)

The great principle of decorum, D'Avenant found, clashed with several passages in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.

I v 47-8: "Empty my Nature of humanity,  
And fill it up with cruelty."  
For: "And fill me from the Crowne to the Toe, top-full  
Of direst Crueltie"

I v 57: "steel" for "Knife." Cf. I vii 20: "sword" for "knife."

I vii 51-2: "You dare not venture on the thing you wish:  
But still wou'd be in tame expectance of it."  
For: "Letting I dare not, wait upon I would,  
Like the poore Cat i' th' Addage."

In another article I have mentioned D'Avenant's irritating practice of literalizing Shakespeare's figures of speech. This trick has the same effect on the reader as explaining the point of a joke. The worst case I have met occurs in *Macbeth*:

II iii 85-6: "Approach the Chamber, and behold a sight  
Enough to turn spectators into stone."  
For: "Approch the Chamber, and destroy your sight  
With a new Gorgon."

But by far the largest number of D'Avenant's alterations are due, apparently, to his zeal in elucidation. Shakespeare's text seemed full of obscurities in language and thought, and for the sake of making it transparent to the audience at Lincoln's Inn Fields the Laureate was willing to sacrifice metre, imagination, or anything else. Examples:

I ii 5-7: "if we may guess  
His message by his looks, He can relate the  
Issue of the Battle!"  
For: "he can report,  
As seemeth by his plight, of the reuolt  
The newest state."

I ii 10: "To save my liberty." For: "'Gainst my Captiuitie."

I ii 11-12: "Inform the King in what condition you  
Did leave the Battle?"

For: "Say to the King, the knowledge of the Broyle,  
As thou didst leaue it."

I ii 78: "Our *confidence*." For: "Bosome interest."

I iii 61: "Fortune." For: "hauing."

I iii 62: "With which he seems surpriz'd."

For: "That he seemes wrapt withall."

I iii 65-6: "who neither beg your favour,/Nor fear your hate."

For: "who neyther begge, nor feare  
Your fauors, nor your hate."

I iii 101-2: "His wonder and his praises then contend  
*Which shall exceed.*"

For: "Which should be thine, or his."

I iii 125-7: "Or did assist the Rebel privately;  
Or whether he concurr'd with both, to cause  
His Country's danger, Sir, I cannot tell."

For: "Or did lyne the Rebelle with hidden helpe,  
And vantage; or that with both he labour'd  
In his Countreyes wracke, I know not."

I iii 135-7: "If all be true  
You have a Title to a Crown, as well  
As to the Thane of Cawdor."

For: "That trusted home,  
Might yet enkindle you vnto the Crowne,  
Besides the Thane of Cawdor."

I iii 170-1: "I was reflecting upon past transactions."

For: "Giue me your fauour:  
My dull Braine was wrought with things forgotten."

I v 50: "no relapses into mercy."

For: "no compunctious visitings of Nature."

II iii 41-3: "who could then refrain,  
That had an heart to love; and in that heart  
Courage to *manifest his affection*."

For: "make's loue knowne?"

II iv 6: "Has made that knowledge void."

For: "Hath trifled former knowings."



III i 59: "I am no King till I am safely so."

For: "To be thus, is nothing, but to be safely thus."

III ii 47: "But they are not Immortal."

For: "But in them, Natures Coppie's not eterne."

These examples might be greatly multiplied. Acts IV and V are, however, more D'Avenant's own than the first three, and I have not thought it worth while to make further citations under this head.

Not a few of D'Avenant's verbal changes defy, for me at least, reasonable classification except as wanton tampering. Perhaps the example which follows may serve as well as any to show how unrestricted the improver felt.

III ii 25-33: "Better be with him  
Whom we to gain the Crown, have sent to peace;  
Then on the torture of the Mind to lye  
In restless Agony. Duncan is dead;  
He, after life's short feavor, now sleeps; Well:  
Treason has done it's worst; nor Steel, nor Poyson,  
No Ferreign force, nor yet Domestick Malice  
Can touch him further."

For: "Better be with the dead,  
Whom we, to gayne our peace, haue sent to peace,  
Then on the torture of the Minde to lye  
In restlesse extasie.  
Duncane is in his Graue:  
After Lifes fitfull Feuer, he sleepes well,<sup>81</sup>  
Treason ha's done his worst: nor Steele, nor Poyson,  
Mallice domestique, forraine Leuie, nothing,  
Can touch him further."

The chorus of disapproval of this outrageous alteration began at least as early as 1674, when Thomas Duffet's *The Empress of Morocco* was printed.<sup>82</sup> This was a burlesque of the very successful *The Emperor of Morocco* by Elkanah Settle, which had been produced shortly before at Dorset Garden. The Theatre Royal thereupon employed the hog Duffet, as Furnivall

<sup>81</sup> Lord Morley has praised this line as "the most melting and melodious single verse in all the exercises of our English tongue." It seemed otherwise to D'Avenant.

<sup>82</sup> "The Empress of Morocco. A Farce. Acted by His Majesties Servants. London . . . 1674."

aptly terms him, to ridicule their rivals' success, as at about the same time they used his *The Mock Tempest* to satirize the D'Avenant-Dryden-Shadwell opera. Duffet had a distinct turn for flinging mud at Shakesperean idealism, and even when his game was Settle could not resist a shot at the great Elizabethan.<sup>53</sup> To the *Empress* is appended:

"An Epilogue spoken by Witches, after the mode of Macbeth." Title page: Epilogue. Being a new Fancy after the old, and most surprising way of Macbeth, Perform'd with new and costly machines, Which were invented and managed by the most ingenious Operator Mr. Henry Wright. P. G. Q. London, Printed in the Year 1674.

There is a spice of wit in the cast of characters; it includes: Hecate, Mr. Powel; 1 Witch, Mr. Harris; 2 Witch, Mr. Adams; 3 Witch, Mr. Lyddal; Thunder, Mr. Goodman; Lightning, Mr. Kew; Spirits, Cats, and Musicians. The *Epilogue* begins:

The most renowned and melodious Song of John Dory, being heard as it were in the Air sung in parts by Spirits, to raise the expectation, and charm the audience with thoughts sublime, and worthy of that Heroick Scene which follows. The Scene opens. Thunder and lightning is discover'd, not behind Painted Tiffany to blind and amuse the Senses, but openly, by the most excellent way of Mustard-bowl, and Salt-Peter. Three Witches fly over the Pit Riding upon Beesomes. Heccate descends over the Stage in a glorious Charriot, adorn'd with Pictures of Hell and Devils, and made of a large Wicker Basket.

Then follows a burlesque of Hecate's reproaches and instructions to the Witches, with parodies of their songs, which, to borrow the trusty formula of John Genest, must not be quoted here.

That robust admirer of Duffet's genius, Mr. Montague Summers, would have us believe the great man's travesties designed to ridicule the errors of Shakespeare's adapters. To the present writer this distinction is not apparent; at any rate the contempt of the *Epilogue* for the Dorset Garden *Macbeth* seems to spring more from financial than artistic considerations. "Being in the nature of an opera," the play delighted the public, and remained, as we have noticed, a stock piece with Betterton throughout the remainder of his career. Not, in fact, till Shakespeare's play was revived by David Garrick in 1744

<sup>53</sup> On page 22 there is a silly burlesque of Hamlet's ranting speech to Laertes at Ophelia's grave.

did D'Avenant's version relinquish its usurped place in the repertory.<sup>64</sup>

It can scarcely be denied that some of D'Avenant's interpolations are theatrically effective. Among these are the appearance of Duncan's Ghost to Lady Macbeth, and her accusation of her husband. I have little doubt that as acted by Mr. and Mrs. Betterton this scene must have inspired genuine pity and terror, and thus have been more than merely theatrically effective. Indeed, what makes D'Avenant's version contemptible is not so much the structural alteration, unhappy as a great deal of it is. In the first place, the Witches lose their mysterious flavor—they become vaudevillians. They sing, they dance, and above all they cavort on the "machines." The delight of the Restoration in these contraptions seems to us childish enough—till we think of our own theatre, where mechanical accessories have come to dominate the stage even more than in D'Avenant's-time, though now our mechanics sometimes achieve a pictorial prettiness which the Restoration producer only dreamed of.

The other depressing thing about D'Avenant's version is the ruin of some of Shakespeare's finest poetry. In spite of its apparent incompleteness and general appearance of having been tampered with, the Shakespearean *Macbeth* has several scenes which for sheer weight of tragic disaster and hopelessness have seldom been equalled in all the literature of the drama. This overpowering intensity of despair comes not so much from the unforgettable fact of a terrible or hideous situation (as it frequently does in Greek tragedy) as from the naked force of the phrasing. Macbeth is past the breaking-point in the fifth act, though in the second and third he is repeatedly near it—and knows it. He does not break, but he bends to the weight of horror that is crushing him; and his momentary collapses are made vocal by Shakespeare in those frantic outbursts like the great passage on sleep, when to the mind of the guilty thane comes the awful conviction that his crime is to isolate him. In the last act, breaking is no longer possible; unlike his wife, King Macbeth cannot find surcease in madness or in death. She snaps under the strain: he crumbles. And the utter bleakness and blankness of his despair are, again, phrased perfectly.

<sup>64</sup> See Odell, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, I, 30.

Sound and disordered sense combine to reveal a man dying daily, and out of the world long before his battered harness yields to the avenging sword. Of these great periods D'Avenant ruins line after line. Now smoothing the excited, tumbling verbiage into decorous decasyllabics, now sacrificing even smoothness to matter-of-factness, he trims and clips with complete assurance, only pausing now and then to let his own fancy, such as it is, soar to bombastic heights and swoop to bathetic vales with equal facility and equally disastrous consequences to the necessary question of the play.

By far the largest number of his verbal changes appears to be attributable to his passion for perspicuity. This, rather than subservience to the critical canons, seems to animate him chiefly. The latter, however, are not without their influence. A certain deference to the unities of place and time may be inferred from D'Avenant's removal to Birnam Wood of the conference between Malcom and Macduff. Yet, as in Shakespeare, the action is now at Forres, now at Inverness, now at Fife. Strict separation dictated the excision of the Porter, yet it allowed the aerial gyrations of the Witches, which must have been comic in effect, though perhaps not in intention. The rules were supposed to prohibit scenes of violence, yet Macbeth is killed on stage. This precept, indeed, never appealed to English audiences, and was rejected by many English critics. It remains the great barrier to British and American appreciation of the classical drama of France, a shortcoming which a great English poet has lately been endeavoring to correct.

Contemptible as this version of *Macbeth* assuredly is, it is far less outrageous than some of the alterations which followed it—those of Nahum Tate, for example. D'Avenant rarely penned absolutely idiotic lines, as Tate often did; yet when we compare with its source the result of his efforts to refine and improve, he seems puny and impertinent. How this Laureate, whose technique could change "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well" into "He, after life's short fever, now sleeps; well:" ever managed to achieve *The lark now leaves his watery nest*,<sup>46</sup> one of the finest aubades in English, is a question which I confess still troubles me.

HAZELTON SPENCER

<sup>46</sup> This beautiful lyric has been set to music with great success by Horatio Parker, *Old English Songs*, Op. 47.

### XXXII. THE SHAKSPERIAN ELEMENT IN MILTON

Scholarship has always delighted to render unto Shakspeare and Milton individually the tribute which is their natural due. Strangely enough, however, it has neglected the relationships between them. Specifically, no one hitherto, I believe, has undertaken a systematic investigation of the range and quantity of Shaksperian recollection in Milton, much less of the quality thereof. The present paper attempts such an investigation.

That there are numerous points of contact between Shakspeare and Milton, is, to be sure, a matter of common knowledge, and so is the fact that many likenesses between our poets were noted long ago by Thomas Warton, Warburton, Newton, and others. By 1800 many of these "coincidences of fancy's sweetest children" had been collected and enlarged upon by Todd in his Variorum edition of Milton,<sup>1</sup> and since then such scholars as Verity<sup>2</sup> and Hanford<sup>3</sup> have added much valuable material. Even so, the sum-total of probable Shakspeare-Milton relationships thus far recognized is far from complete. What is more, no one has systematically assembled and tested the evidence. It may well be that the inherent difficulties have served as a deterrent. Thus, Milton's "instinct of eager assimilation"<sup>4</sup> from all the world of great books necessarily makes somewhat difficult, not to say hazardous, the attempt to assign a definite source to any given thought or phrase of his. And even though it be granted that certain of these are evidently colored by Shaksperian reminiscence, it is not always possible to point to the exact passage in Shakspeare from which they are derived, for it is characteristic of the working of Milton's creative imagination that he fused—or transfused, into something new and strange—the rich and varied stores of his memory. Yet one must recognize, on the other hand, that surprisingly similar phrases

<sup>1</sup> First edition, London, 1801; revised and enlarged, 1809. References below are to the revised edition.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in his edition of *Paradise Lost*, Cambridge, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> See especially his article on "The Dramatic Element in *Paradise Lost*," *Studies in Philology*, 1917, XIV, 178-95.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Moody, Cambridge *Milton*, p. 95.

or ideas may be spontaneously and independently generated by any two poets.

To be sure, when one reads in *Paradise Lost* that—

Adam . . . wept

*Though not of woman born: compassion quelled*

*His best of man and gave him up to tears* (XI, 495-97,—of. infra, pp. 663, 674) .

one is moved to recall the coming of Birnam Wood to Dunsinane which cowed the better part of man in a son of Adam who was likewise of no woman born; that Adam gave himself up to tears reminds us that Exeter in *Henry V* literally did as much in mourning the loss of a comrade at Agincourt. Moreover, in this case suspicion virtually becomes certainty because many other passages in Milton prove definitely that he knew and cherished *Macbeth* and *Henry V*. Other cases, however, are by no means so obvious. Indeed, many Shaksperian lines cited by Milton's commentators, early and late, are neither close parallels nor even slight reminiscences, but merely illustrations of current Elizabethan idioms.<sup>5</sup> The student in search of actual evidence of Shaksperian reminiscence in Milton must therefore thread his way warily through the commentators. Again, commentators and editors usually content themselves with line by line notes or glosses upon Milton's text. When they quote Shaksperian "parallels" they rarely put two and two together. Yet to eliminate mere conjecture so far as may be, it is necessary to set side by side, not one or two possible reminiscences from say, *The Merchant of Venice* or *Julius Caesar*, but all possible or plausible echoes of any given play in all of Milton's work, so far as they can be discovered. This method, here adopted, makes it possible to test any single case by the whole body of the evidence. The cumulative effect of the evidence thus adduced frequently serves to establish the probability of Milton's indebtedness to Shakspeare in cases that, taken by themselves, might well be thought doubtful; whereas the absence of cumulative evidence suggests that other cases, not without interest in themselves, must be set aside as mere possibilities. This method will also bring out points of contact between our poets which seem hitherto to have escaped the

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Verity's notes on *Paradise Lost*, I, 206; VI, 373, etc.; and Todd's, *P. L.*, VIII, 62; *Il Penseroso*, 37, etc.

commentators—or, at worst, an occasional fresh “coincidency” which, since it concerns Shakspeare and Milton, may be of interest even if it is only a coincidence. Again, this systematic survey will indicate how many of Shakspeare’s plays Milton remembered and which ones he remembered best.

The method of presentation in the summaries below, further, is intended to indicate something of the nature and quality of Milton’s Shaksperian recollection. Of many possible classifications only two seemed finally practicable. Some of the plays remained in Milton’s memory not by virtue of their underlying dramatic concepts but solely by the spell of the Shaksperian word or the fascination of their imagery. Such echoes or likenesses—of epithet, phrase, or figure: all essentially *verbal* or *figurative*, and very often both in one—I have brought together, play by play, in group “A.” Reminiscences or striking likenesses more essentially *dramatic* in nature—echoes of dramatic theme, situation, or characterization—appear play by play, in so far as they occur, in group “B.” The underlying assumption here is that the presence of recognizable verbal or figurative echoes of any one play in Milton, establishes fair ground for considering the possibility that such a play *may* also have influenced Milton’s dramatic workmanship. Most of the material below I have independently collected, but it goes without saying that I owe many specific items, and much general aid and comfort, to Milton’s editors and commentators. All passages observed by them are noted *passim*.<sup>6</sup> New matter, —i.e., material not specifically credited to earlier students,—has, as a rule, been entered at the end of each of the two groups.

In addition to supplying a reasonably broad and systematic basis for the study of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of Shakspeare’s influence upon Milton, this paper will, I hope, be useful in another way. It should help to dispel a venerable misconception which has blinded many students; namely, the belief that the Elizabethan poets, especially the dramatists, influenced Milton only in his youth; that in his maturity they ceased to interest or inspire him; so that, as Thomas

<sup>6</sup> Usually by initials appended to the passages from Milton: D=Dunster; W=Thomas Warton; N=Newton; B=Bowle; S=Steevens; T=Todd (whose *Variorum*, ed. 1809, may be consulted for citations from these writers); V=Verity (see n. 2); H=Hanford (see n. 3).

Warton' has it, "his warmest poetical predilections were at last totally obliterated by civil and religious enthusiasm" or crowded out of his memory because classical standards and Puritan doctrine claimed him for their own. The critics would seem to have been misled by Milton's bitter comment (in the Preface to *Samson Agonistes*) upon the "infamy" into which "tragedy . . . with other common Interludes" had fallen in the Restoration theatre, when the sons of Belial held the stage. They fail to remember that in the Preface to *Paradise Lost* he justifies his choice of blank verse partly on the ground that "our best English tragedies" had "rejected rime." Only a year or two ago a writer in one of our journals<sup>8</sup> declared categorically, after a "very careful examination" of the prose and verse of this very Milton who thus cites the authority or example of the Elizabethan dramatists, that his "connections with [Elizabethan] dramatic literature were very slight." This astonishing conclusion may be a result of the traditional failure of the critics<sup>9</sup> to see a distinction which this paper is intended to emphasize; namely, that while Milton, as time went on lost patience with the stage and theatre, he always retained imaginative sympathy with the profound and challenging beauty of

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Todd, VII, 182.

<sup>8</sup> Professor Louis Wann, "*Lycidas and Barnavell*," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVII, 473, n.

<sup>9</sup> See also, for example, Professor Hales's "*Milton's Macbeth*" (*Nineteenth Century*, XXX, 919-32)—a valuable paper, which, however, repeats something of the old mistake. "Milton in his younger days . . . read Shakspeare with immense appreciation." But the *Samson* preface, according to Hales, is not to be explained by Milton's disgust with the Restoration theatre. Only the Greek drama was "meet and right" in his eyes. "The modern drama seemed a somewhat dubious growth . . . with which as an author he meant to have little to do, however he might peruse it as a reader." The evidence below will indicate that Milton as an author, even though he did not write dramas in the manner of the Elizabethans, had much to do with them by virtue of his memory. A notable exception to the usual critical blindness is to be found in the excellent paper already referred to, (see n. 3), by Professor Hanford. "There is no evidence," says Hanford, "that Milton ever outgrew his early love of Elizabethan drama. . . . What passes out of Milton is but the more sensuous and esthetic essence of Elizabethan poetry. . . . [His] sympathy with the English renaissance in its moral, philosophical, and human phases deepens with advancing years. Classicism moulds and modifies the Elizabethan influences. Puritanism makes them wear a special expression. But neither Classicism nor Puritanism can efface them."



Elizabethan dramatic poetry. He gave the best possible proof of this by remembering it. A glance at the many Shaksperian reminiscences in *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson*, recorded below, will remind readers that not the least glory of these last and greatest of Milton's works lies in their subtle over-tones of memory—their echoes of Shakspeare (and his fellows)<sup>10</sup> recollected in tranquillity amid the din of evil tongues in evil days.

## I. THE TRAGEDIES

### 1. *Romeo and Juliet*.

In Milton's first Latin elegy occurs his familiar description of "the pomp of the changing theatre" as he saw it in the days of his youth. Some of the stock characters of Roman comedy pass in review, and "awful tragedy" shakes her "bloody sceptre":

Bitterness mingles with sweet tears as I see some hapless boy, torn from his love, leave all his joys untasted, and fall lamentable; or when the fierce avenger of crime recrosses the Styx out of the shades. . . .

"By the youth," writes Thomas Warton,<sup>11</sup> "he perhaps intends Shakspeare's Romeo. In the second either Hamlet or Richard the Third. He then draws his illustrations from the ancient tragedians." That the hapless boy was Romeo several later scholars<sup>12</sup> have independently conjectured, and on the face of it no conjecture could be more plausible than that young Milton must have felt the spell of Shakspeare's immortal tragedy of youth. There is evidence—fairly substantial, though less far-reaching than in the case of the greater tragedies—to indicate that he did not soon forget it.

A.

(1) II, iii, 1:

The grey eye'd morn smiles on the  
frowning night.

*Paradise Lost*, V, 124:

When fair morning first smiles on the  
world.—(T)

*Id.*, IV, 424:

Dark, waste, and wild, under the  
frown of night.

<sup>10</sup> A subject to which I shall return in a later paper, on "Milton, and Shakspeare's Dramatic Contemporaries."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Todd, VII, 181.

<sup>12</sup> Cf., for example, E. N. S. Thompson, *Essays on Milton*, pp. 14-15.

(2) II, iii, 9-10 (*from the same speech as (1)*):

The earth that's *nature's mother* is her tomb,  
What is her *burying grave* that is her *womb*.

(3) I, iv, 100-101:

The *wind*, who *wooes*  
Even now the frozen bosom of the north. . . .

(4) III, ii, 1-21:

Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds,  
Towards Phoebus lodging; such a  
waggoner

As Phaeton would whip you to the west

And bring in *cloudy night* immediately.  
Spread thy close curtain, love-per-  
forming night,

That runaway's eyes may wink . . . .  
*Come, civil night*,

Thou *sober-suited* matron all in black. . . .

Hood my unmann'd blood, baiting in my cheeks,

With *thy black mant'e* . . . . *Come*,  
loving black-brow'd night,

Give me my Romeo.

P. L., II, 910-11:

This wild abyss,  
The *womb of nature* and perhaps *her grave*.—(T)

*Ode on the Nativity*, 37-38:

She [Nature] *wooes* the *gentle air*.

*Il Penseroso*, 122:

Till *civil-suited Morn* appear.—(T)

*Id.*, 31-33:

*Come*, pensive Nun, devout and pure,. . . *All in a robe of dar'est grain*. . . .

P. L., II, 962:

*Sable-vested Night*, eldest of things.

*The Passion*, 29-30:

*Befriend* me, *Night*, best Patroness of grief,  
Over the pole thy *thickest mantle* throw.

P. L., IV, 598-609:

Now came still evening on, and  
Twilight gray

Had in her *sober livery* all things clad.  
Silence accompanied . . . . *Hesperus*  
that led

The starry host, rode brightest, till  
the Moon

Rising in *clouded majesty*, at length  
Apparent queen, unveiled her peerless  
light

And o'er the dark her *silver mantle*  
threw.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Of the five passages from Milton here noted, the likeness in language between the first, and Juliet's "sober-suited matron, civil night" is the only one that has been generally recognized. Of the other passages the last two are of especial interest,—the lines from *The Passion* because that poem was written within a few years of the *Elegia Prima* (in which Milton, as we have seen, probably alludes to Romeo). The last passage may be more doubtful, but I

2. *Julius Caesar*.

## A.

- (1) II, ii, 18: *Graves have yawned and yielded up their dead.* *P. L., X, 635: Sin and Death and yawning grave.—(T)*
- (2) III, 1, 273: *Cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war.* *P. L., X, 616 (on Sin and Death coming to earth): See with what heat these dogs of Hell advance To waste and havoc yonder World. (V)*
- (3) II, i, 230: *Enjoy the honey-heavy dew of slumber.* *P. L., IV, 614: The timely dew of sleep.—(V)<sup>14</sup>*
- (4) IV, iii, 226: *The deep of night is crept upon our talk.* *P. L., IV, 674: Unbeheld in deep of night.—(V)<sup>15</sup>*

## B.

- (1) Compare Cassius's description of Caesar, and Samson's of himself:

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>I, ii, 135:<br/>         He doth bestride the narrow world<br/> <i>Like a Colossus</i>, and we petty men<br/>         Walk under his huge legs, and peep<br/>         about<br/>         To find ourselves dishonorable graves.</p> | <p><i>Samson</i>, 529-31:<br/>         Fearless of danger, <i>like a petty god</i>,<br/>         I walked about, admired of all and<br/>         dreaded<br/>         On hostile ground, none daring my<br/>         affront.</p> |
|--|---|

- (2) The lofty elegiac close of *Samson* is strikingly like the noble closing tribute to Brutus:

think it is at least possible—in view of Milton's habit of repeating himself in repeating Shakspeare—to recognize in this beautiful evening scene, written late in Milton's life, a memory, however shadowy, of Juliet's "cloudy night,"—of the sober-suited matron's mantle turned silver, as it were, in the star-light of memory. (This in spite of the fact that other poets employ the same figure, Todd, for example, citing Phineas Fletcher—*Purple Island*, VI, 54—"night's black livery," and Spenser—*Epithalamion*, 315-32, "Now welcome, Night . . . And in thy sable mantle us enwrap." (The phrase "sable night" occurs also in *Lucrece*. See below, n. 104.)

<sup>14</sup> Verity compares also *Richard III*, IV, i, 84: "The golden dew of sleep."

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also *Merry Wives*, IV, iv, 40: "In deep of night to walk by this Herne's oak" (V).—See also below, note 33, and p. 660, on *Lear*, A (4).

V, v, 56, 69-75:

Brutus only overcame himself . . . .  
This was the *noblest* Roman of them  
all . . . .

His life was gentle, and the elements  
So mix'd in him that Nature might  
stand up

And say to all the world, "This was a  
man."

*Samson*, 1709-10, 1720-1724:

*Samson* hath quit himself Like *Samson* . . . .

Nothing is here for tears, nothing to  
wail

Or knock the breast; no weakness,  
no contempt,

Dispraise, or blame; nothing but well  
and fair,

And what may quiet us in a death so  
*noble*.

### 3. *Hamlet*.

#### A.

(1) I, i, 44:

Most like, it *harrows* me with *fear* and  
wonder.

*Comus*, 565:

Amazed I stood, *harrowed* with grief  
and *fear*.—(S)

(2) I, iv, 51:

Thou, dead corpse, again *in complete*  
*steel*.

*Comus*, 421 (on chastity):

She that has that is clad *in complete*  
*steel*.—(T)

(3) I, v, 17-20:

Make . . . each particular *hair* to  
stand on end  
Like quills upon the *fretful porpentine*.

*Samson*, 1136-38:

Though all thy *hairs*  
Were bristles . . . .  
Of chafed wild boars or *ruffled por-*  
*cupines*.—(N)

(4) I, i, 118-23:

*Disasters* in the sun . . . . *The moist*  
*star*

Upon whose influence Neptune's em-  
pire stands

Was sick almost to doomsday with  
*eclipse* . . . .

As . . . prologue to the *omen* coming  
on.

*P. L.*, I, 592-99:

*The sun* new-risen  
Looks through the horizontal misty  
air

Shorn of his beams, or from behind  
*the moon*

In *dim eclipse*, *disastrous* twilight  
sheds

On half the nations, and with *fear of*  
*change*

Perplexes monarchs.—(T)<sup>16</sup>

(5) III, iv, 45-51:

O, such a *deed* . . . .  
Heaven's face doth glow,

*P. L.*, IX, 782-84:

*Earth* felt the *wound*, and Nature from  
her seat

<sup>16</sup> Verity compares a somewhat similar figure in *Hamlet*, I, i, 162, and *P. L.*, X, 412-414. See also *King Lear*, I, ii, 112, 130: "*eclipses* in the sun and moon"; "our *disasters*."

Yea, *this solidity and compound mass*  
With *tristful visage* as against the  
doom  
Is *thought-sick* at the act.

(6) III, iii, 97-98 (*Claudius praying*):  
*My words fly up*, my thoughts remain  
below,  
Words without thoughts never to  
heaven go.

(7) I, ii, 10-13 (*Claudius, opening speech*):  
As 'twere with a defeated joy,  
With one auspicious and one drooping  
eye,  
In equal scale weighing delight with  
dole.

(8) II, ii, 485-86:  
With *eyes like carbuncles*. . . Pyrrhus  
Old grandsire Priam seeks.

(9) II, ii, 508-509:<sup>18</sup>  
The dreadful *thunder*  
Doth *rend* the region . . .

(10) I, iii, 78-80:  
*To thine own self be true* . . .  
Thou canst not then be false to any  
man.

(11) III, iv, 51-52 (*the Queen to Hamlet*):  
*Ay me! What act*  
That roars so loud and *thunders* in the  
index?

(12) III, ii, 19-20:  
*Suit the action to the word*, the word to  
the action.

*Sighing* through all her works, gave  
signs of woe  
That all was lost.—(Davies)<sup>17</sup>

P. L., XI, 14-15:  
*To Heaven their prayers*  
*Flew up*, nor missed the way.—(V)

P. L., IV, 892-94:  
Change  
Torment with ease, and soonest  
*recompense*  
*Dole with delight*.—(T)

P. L., IX, 499-500 (*the serpent*):  
His head  
Crested aloft, and *carbuncle his eyes*.  
—(T)

P. L., XII, 181-82:  
*Thunder mixed with hail*  
. . . must *rend* the Egyptian sky.  
—(V)

Samson, 823-24 (*Samson to Dalila*; cf. 784):  
Bitter reproach though true  
*I to myself was false ere thou to me*.

P. L., X, 813-15 (*Adam on the fear of eternal punishment*):  
*Ay me! That fear*  
Comes *thundering* back with dreadful  
revolution  
On my defenceless head.

P. Regained, III, 9-10:  
*Thy actions to thy words accord*, thy  
words  
To thy large heart give utterance due.

<sup>17</sup> For this "sublime passage of the Earth's sympathizing with Adam and Eve when they ate the forbidden fruit," Milton may have been indebted to the lines quoted from Hamlet's remonstrance to his mother upon her crime (Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies*).

<sup>18</sup> Passages (8) and (9) are both from the player's ranting speech.

B. The characteristics, thoughts, deeds, and words of certain outstanding *persons* of the play have left their mark upon Milton's characters:

(1) The Ghost.

(a) I, v, 2-4: (*his return to torture*): *P. L.*, II, 89-91 (*Moloch, on "the pain of unextinguishable fire"*):  
*My hour is almost come* When the scourge  
 When I to sulphurous and tormenting flames  
 Inexorably, and the torturing hour<sup>19</sup>  
 Must render up myself. Calls us to penance.—(T)

(b) I, i, 145-46 (*his invulnerability*): *P. L.*, VI, 344-49:  
*It is as the air invulnerable,* *Spirits . . .*  
*And our vain blows malicious mockery.* Cannot but by annihilating die,  
*Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound*  
*Receive, no more than can the liquid air.—(V)*<sup>20</sup>

(2) King Hamlet's picture.

III, iv, 55-59: *P. L.*, II, 301-303 (*Beelzebub in Pandemonium*):  
 See what a grace was seated on this *In his rising seemed*  
*brow,* A pillar of state. Deep on his front  
 Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove Deliberation sat and public care  
 himself, And princely counsel . . . (V)  
*A station like the herald Mercury,*  
*New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill.*

*Id.*, V, 275-76, 285-87 (*Raphael reaches Eden*):  
 At once on the eastern cliff of Paradise  
 He lights . . . Like *Maia's son he stood*  
 And shook his plumes.—(N)

*P. R.*, II, 216-19 (*Salan on Christ*):  
 How would one look from his majestic  
*brow*  
*Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill*  
 Discountenance her despised . . . <sup>21</sup>  
 —(D)

<sup>19</sup> Cf. below, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, p. 677, and n. 96.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Macbeth*, V, viii, 9-10:

As easy mayst thou the intrenchant air  
 With thy keen sword impress as make me bleed,—  
 and *Tempest*, III, iii, 62.

<sup>21</sup> I.e., the lure of woman.

- (3) Claudius<sup>22</sup>: his prayer, and Satan's, frustrated by persistence in sin.

III, iv, 64-66:

What then? What rests?

*Try what repentance can.* What can it not?

Yet what can it when one cannot repent?

*P. L.*, IV, 79-82:

O then at last relent! *Is there no place*

*Left for repentance*, none for pardon left?

None left but by submission; and that word

Disdain forbids me.—(H)

- (4) Hamlet.—The influence of three of his speeches seems especially recognizable in Milton.

(a) I, ii, 129-46 (*Themes,—world-weariness, suicide, woman's inconstancy*):

O that this too, too solid flesh would melt . . . .

Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd His canon 'gainst self-slaughter. O

God! God!

How weary, stale, flat and unprofitable

Seems to me all the uses of this world . . . .

Let me not think on't. Frailty, thy name is woman.

*P. L.* X, 1001-02 (*Eve in despair, after the fall, suggests suicide*):

Let us seek death, or, he not found, supply

With our own hands his office on ourselves.

*Id.*, X, 1025-28 (*Adam replies that death*):

So snatched will not exempt us from the pain

We are by doom to pay; rather such acts

Of contumacy will provoke the highest To make death in us live.

*Samson*, 595-96, 1010-12 (*Samson, world-weary; the Chorus on Woman*):

Nature within me seems

In all her functions weary of herself.

—(Masson)<sup>23</sup>

It is not virtue, wisdom, valour, wit . . . .

That woman's love can win or long inherit.

- (b) Hanford<sup>24</sup> has shown that the "To be or not to be" soliloquy is closely related to Adam's self-communion after the fall.

<sup>22</sup> See also entries A (6) and (7) of this play, p. 653.

<sup>23</sup> *Milton's Poetical Works*, III, 415. Cf. below, p. 665, on *Macbeth*, B (3) (d), and, on the next two lines, n. 98.

<sup>24</sup> See n. 3.—Compare also p. 682, on *Measure for Measure*.

How gladly would I . . . . lay me down . . . .  
 And sleep secure . . . . Yet one doubt  
 Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die,  
 Lest . . . . the Spirit . . . . cannot together perish  
 With this corporeal clod. Then in the grave  
 Or in some other dismal place, who knows  
 But I shall die a living death . . . . (P. L., X, 775-788)

Undeniably the passage owes much, in language and sentiment, to the Book of Job, but "the weighing of the problem, the shrinking on the brink of the unknown, the sense of mystery which puzzles the will—"to die, to sleep! To sleep? Perchance to dream!"—all this is Hamlet." It may be worth while to add that other characters in *Paradise Lost* likewise reflect this characteristic "weighing of the problem": that Adam, tossed "in a troublous sea of passion" (like Hamlet's "sea of troubles," or Isaiah's)<sup>25</sup> has comrades in perplexity. Moloch *knows* that he wants war, but cannot shut his eyes to certain alternatives and questions:

What fear we then? . . . . . His utmost ire  
 Will either quite consume us . . . .  
 Or, if our substance be indeed divine  
 . . . . we are at worst  
 On this side nothing. (P. L., II, 94-101)

Belial, like Hamlet for at least one great moment, argues for the ills we have—

Though full of pain, this intellectual being,  
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity, (*Id.*, II, 146-47)

as preferable to annihilation in the unknown, for who knows whether oblivion—that "bestly oblivion" of which Hamlet speaks—would bring peace:

Who knows . . . . whether our angry Foe  
 Can give it, or will ever? (*Id.*, II, 151-53)

Eve, finally, meditates upon the now and the hereafter with Hamlet-like question and iteration even before she tastes the apple. God, says she,

Forbids us good, forbids us to be wise!  
 Such prohibitions bind not. *But if Death*  
*Bind us with after-bands*, what profits then  
 Our inward freedom? (*Id.*, IX, 759-62)

<sup>25</sup> *Hamlet*, III, i, 59; cf. Verity on P. L., X, 718.



And after eating she continues the debate before deciding to let Adam share the fruit.

(c) II, ii, 309-322 (*on the dust and divinity of the world, of man, and of woman*):

*This goodly frame, the earth,* seems to me a sterile promontory . . . this brave o'erhanging firmament . . . a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. *What a piece of work is man!* How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! In apprehension how like a god! The beauty of the world! *The paragon of animals!* And yet, to me, what is *this quintessence of dust?* *Man delights* not me,—no, nor *woman* neither. . . .

*P. L.*, VIII, 15:

When I behold *this goodly frame* this world —(T)<sup>28</sup>

*Samson*, 667:

God of our fathers! *what is Man* . . .

*P. L.*, X, 505-11:

There wanted yet *the master-work, the end*

Of all yet done—a creature who not prone

And brute as other creatures, but endued

With sanctity of reason, might erect His stature, and upright, with front serene

Govern the rest, self-knowing, and from thence

Magnanimous to correspond with Heaven.

*Id.*, VII, 524-25:

Man,

Dust of the ground . . .

*P. R.*, 153, 191-92 (*Belial, in council suggests that Christ be tempted with woman*):

[Belial] Set *women* in his eye . . .

[Satan] These . . . *Delight* not all.

All readers of Milton are familiar with the opening echo here noted, but the probability that he recalled Hamlet's speech as an organic whole has escaped notice. The last phrase, "Man delights not me . . ." would seem to have left its mark, however slightly and strangely, upon *Paradise Regained*, and the rest reappears in *Samson* and *Paradise Regained* in the weighing of man in the balance—man as the quintessence of dust, and man as the paragon of animals, the master-work, the end.

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4. *Othello*.

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Three . . . noble swelling spirits  
Have I to-night flustered with *flowing*  
*cups*.<sup>27</sup>

*P. L.*, V, 443-45:

Meanwhile . . . Eve . . . their *flow-*  
*ing cups*  
With pleasant liquor crowned.—(V)

(2) II, iii, 212:

Though he had twinn'd with me, both  
*at a birth* . . . .

*P. L.*, VII, 453-55:

The earth . . . *teemed*<sup>28</sup> *at a birth*  
Innumerable living creatures.—(V)

(3) III, i, 52:

To take the safest *occasion* by the  
*front* . . . .

*P. R.*, III, 172-73:

Zeal and duty are not slow,  
But on *occasion's forelock*<sup>29</sup> watchful  
wait.—(D)

(4) III, iii, 355-57:

And O you mortal *engines*, whose *rude*  
*throats*  
The immortal *Jove's dread thunder*  
counterfeit,  
Farewell!

*P. L.*, VI, 585-87 (*Cannon, invented*  
*in hell, directed against the*  
*heavenly hosts*):

All Heaven appeared  
From those *deep-throated engines*  
belched.—(N)<sup>30</sup>

*Id.*, VI, 490-91 (*Satan boasts*):

They shall fear we have disarmed  
The *Thunderer* of his only *dreaded bolt*.

## B.

- (1) Hanford<sup>31</sup> finds in the situation of Adam and Eve in relation to Satan "an essential repetition of that of Othello, Desdemona, and Iago," and observes that Satan resembles Iago in his malignity, his motive-hunting, and his half-pity for his victims. (I may note incidentally that Walter Savage Landor, in one of the *Imaginary Conversations*—between Southey and Landor, on the comparative merits of Shakspeare and Milton—touches upon the same point: "*Landor*.—Othello was loftier than the citadel of Troy; and what a Paradise fell before him!")

<sup>27</sup> Verity notes also *Henry V*, IV, iii, 55: "Be in their flowing cups freshly remembered."

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Macbeth*, IV, iii, 176: "Each minute *teems* a new" grief.

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Hanford calls attention especially to the similarity between Satan's great soliloquy, and Iago's, upon first beholding their unconscious victims:

*Oth.*, II, i, 201-02:

O you are well tun'd now!  
But I'll set down the pegs that make  
this music . . . .

*P. L.*, IV, 505-35:

Sight hateful, sight tormenting! . . .  
these two  
Imparadised in one another's arms . .  
Yet, happy pair, enjoy till I return  
Short pleasures; for long woes are to  
succeed.

I believe there is another curious recollection of Iago in *Paradise Regained*, in the scene in which the tempter tries upon Christ an argument similar to that which Iago had urged home to Roderigo:

*Oth.* I, iii, 322, 344, 353:

*Virtue!* a fig! . . . . *Put money in thy  
purse; . . . fill thy purse with money.*

*P. R.*, 427-31:

*Get riches first, get wealth . . . .*  
They whom I favour thrive in wealth  
again  
While *virtue*, valour, wisdom, sit in  
want.

(2)

Many are the sayings of the wise,  
In ancient and in modern books enrolled,  
Extolling patience as the truest fortitude . . . . (*Samson*, 652-54)

This venerable commonplace—the bestowal upon sufferers of proverbial comfort, or “sentences” of “studied argument”—Shakspere dramatized both early<sup>32</sup> and late. Samson's refusal to listen to Manoa's attempt to comfort him, whether or not it owes anything directly to Shakspere, may be worth comparing with Brabantio's negative response to the Duke's sentences:

*Oth.* I, iii, 199-209; 216-19:

*Duke.* Let me . . . lay a sentence . .  
When remedies are past, the  
griefs are ended . . . .  
Patience her injury a mockery  
makes,  
The robb'd that smiles steals  
something from the thief . . .

*Samson*, 504-505, 587:

*Man.* Repent the sin; but, if the  
punishment  
Thou canst avoid, self-preser-  
vation bids . . . .  
His might continues in thee not  
for naught . . . .

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Comedy of Errors*, II, i, 15-41.

*Bra.* These sentences . . . . are  
equivocal:  
But words are words; I never  
yet did hear  
That the bruised heart was  
pierced through the ear.

*Id.*, 590, 648:  
All otherwise to me my thoughts  
portend . . . .  
Hopeless are all my evils, all remediless

*Id.*, 652-54 (quoted above); 660-62:  
*Chor.* With the afflicted in his  
pangs . . . .  
Little prevails, or . . . . seems  
a tune  
Harsh and of dissonant mood.

### 5. *King Lear*.

#### A.

(1) I, i, 84-85 (*Cordelia*):  
Our joy,  
*Although the last, not least.*

*P. L.*, III, 276-78:  
Dear  
To me are all my works, nor *Man the*  
*least.*  
*Though last created.*<sup>22</sup>—(N)

(2) III, iii, 12-13; III, iv, 16:  
These injuries . . . . will be revenged  
*home . . . .*  
But I will punish *home*.

*P. L.*, VI, 621-22:  
The terms we sent were full of . . . .  
force urged *home*.—(V)

(3) I, iv, 248-49:  
His *notion* weakens, his discernings  
Are lethargized.

*P. L.*, VII, 176-79:  
The acts of God . . . .  
So told as earthly *notion* can receive.  
—(V)<sup>24</sup>

(4) IV, vii, 34-35:  
In the most terrible and nimble stroke  
Of quick, *cross* lightning . . . .  
(Cf. *Julius Caesar*, I, iii, 46-51:  
I  
Have bared my bosom to the thunder-  
stone  
. . . . When the *cross blue* lightning  
seemed to open  
The breast of heaven.)

*Arcades*, 51-52:  
And heal the harms of thwarting  
thunder *blue*  
Or what the *cross* dire-looking planet  
smites.—(T)

#### B.

(1) IV, i, 69-74 (*Gloucester to Poor Tom, on giving him his purse; the heavenly "ordinance" requiring*

*Comus*, 768-773 (*The Lady, refuting Comus's argument against temperance*):

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Julius Caesar*, III, i, 189: "Though last, not least, in love."

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Macbeth*, III, i, 83: "To half a soul and to a *notion* crazed."

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>that the rich give of their superfluity<br/>to the poor</i> ):        | If every just man that now pines with<br>want   |
| Heavens, deal so still!  | Had but a moderate and beseeching<br>share  |
| Let the <i>superfluous</i> and <i>lust-dieted</i><br><i>man</i> ,        | Of that which <i>lewdly pampered Luxury</i><br>Now heaps upon some few with vast<br><i>excess</i> , |
| That slaves your ordinance, that will<br>not see                         | Nature's full blessings would be well<br>dispensed  |
| Because he does not feel, feel your<br>power quickly;                    | In <i>unsuperfluous</i> even proportion.  |
| So distribution should undo <i>excess</i> ,<br>And each man have enough. | —(T)  |

(2) The storm in *Paradise Regained* serves the same dramatic purpose as the storm in *Lear*. In the centre of one stands Lear, "bare-headed"; in the other, Christ, "ill shrouded," endures, unappalled, the malice of Satan. In each case the violent uproar in nature is a symbol of spiritual malignity. Details—which are not of prime importance in this case—are different in some respects, alike in others. All storms have their clouds and winds, lightning and thunder, but not all their "oak-cleaving" thunderbolts; nor are all storms of such intensity as to threaten to annihilate the cosmos:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| III, ii, 1-7, 60:                                       | <i>P. R.</i> , IV, 408-421:                                     |
| Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks!                     | Either tropic now   |
| Rage! Blow!   | 'Gan thunder, and both ends of<br>heaven . . . .                |
| You cataracts and hurricanoes,<br>spout . . . .         | Fierce rain with lightning mixed,<br>water with fire            |
| You sulphurous and thought-execut-<br>ing fires,        | In ruin reconciled; nor slept the winds                         |
| Vaunt-couriers of <i>oak-cleaving</i><br>thunderbolts,  | Within their stony caves, but rushed<br>abroad                  |
| Singe my white head! And thou, all-<br>shaking thunder, | From the four hinges of the world,<br>and fell                  |
| Strike flat the thick rotundity o' the<br>world!        | On the vexed wilderness, whose tallest<br>pines                 |
| Crack nature's moulds . . . .                           | Though rooted deep as high, and<br><i>sturdiest oaks</i>        |
| <i>Kent.</i> — Alack, <i>bare-headed</i> !              | Bowed their stiff necks, loaden with<br>stormy blasts,          |
|   | Or <i>torn up sheer</i> . Ill wast thou<br><i>shrouded</i> then |
|   | O patient Son of God!   |

How gladly would I . . . lay me down . . .  
 And sleep secure . . . Yet one doubt  
 Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die,  
 Lest . . . the Spirit . . . cannot together perish  
 With this corporeal clod. Then in the grave  
 Or in some other dismal place, who knows  
 But I shall die a living death . . . (P. L., X, 775-788)

Undeniably the passage owes much, in language and sentiment, to the Book of Job, but "the weighing of the problem, the shrinking on the brink of the unknown, the sense of mystery which puzzles the will—to die, to sleep! To sleep? Perchance to dream!"—all this is Hamlet." It may be worth while to add that other characters in *Paradise Lost* likewise reflect this characteristic "weighing of the problem": that Adam, tossed "in a troublous sea of passion" (like Hamlet's "sea of troubles," or Isaiah's)<sup>25</sup> has comrades in perplexity. Moloch *knows* that he wants war, but cannot shut his eyes to certain alternatives and questions:

What fear we then? . . . His utmost ire  
 Will either quite consume us . . .  
 Or, if our substance be indeed divine  
 . . . we are at worst  
 On this side nothing. (P. L., II, 94-101)

Belial, like Hamlet for at least one great moment, argues for the ills we have—

Though full of pain, this intellectual being,  
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity, (*Id.*, II, 146-47)

as preferable to annihilation in the unknown, for who knows whether oblivion—that "bestly oblivion" of which Hamlet speaks—would bring peace:

Who knows . . . whether our angry Foe  
 Can give it, or will ever? (*Id.*, II, 151-53)

Eve, finally, meditates upon the now and the hereafter with Hamlet-like question and iteration even before she tastes the apple. God, says she,

Forbids us good, forbids us to be wise!  
 Such prohibitions bind not. *But if Death*  
*Bind us with after-bands*, what profits then  
 Our inward freedom? (*Id.*, IX, 759-62)

<sup>25</sup> *Hamlet*, III, i, 59; cf. Verity on P. L., X, 718.

And after eating she continues the debate before deciding to let Adam share the fruit.

(c) II, ii, 309-322 (*on the dust and divinity of the world, of man, and of woman*):

(*This goodly frame, the earth,*) seems to me a sterile promontory . . . this brave o'erhanging firmament . . . a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. *What a piece of work is man!* How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! In apprehension how like a god! The beauty of the world! *The paragon of animals!* And yet, to me, what is *this quintessence of dust?* Man *delights* not me,—no, nor woman neither. . . .

*P. L.*, VIII, 15:

When I behold *this goodly frame* this world —(T)<sup>28</sup>

*Samson*, 667:

God of our fathers! *what is Man* . . .

*P. L.*, X, 505-11:

There wanted yet *the master-work, the end*

Of all yet done—a creature who not prone

And brute as other creatures, but endued

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The acts of God . . .  
So told as earthly notion can receive.  
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Of quick, cross lightning . . .  
(Cf. *Julius Caesar*, I, iii, 46-51:  
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Have bared my bosom to the thunder-  
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. . . . When the cross blue lightning  
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| So distribution should undo <i>excess</i> ,<br>And each man have enough. | —(T)  |

(2) The storm in *Paradise Regained* serves the same dramatic purpose as the storm in *Lear*. In the centre of one stands Lear, "bare-headed"; in the other, Christ, "ill shrouded," endures, unappalled, the malice of Satan. In each case the violent uproar in nature is a symbol of spiritual malignity. Details—which are not of prime importance in this case—are different in some respects, alike in others. All storms have their clouds and winds, lightning and thunder, but not all their "oak-cleaving" thunderbolts; nor are all storms of such intensity as to threaten to annihilate the cosmos:

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| You sulphurous and thought-execut-<br>ing fires,       | In ruin reconciled; nor slept the winds                         |
| Vaunt-couriers of <i>oak-cleaving</i><br>thunderbolts, | Within their stony caves, but rushed<br>abroad                  |
| Sing me white head! And thou, all-<br>shaking thunder, | From the four hinges of the world,<br>and fell                  |
| Strike flat the thick rotundity o' the<br>world!       | On the vexed wilderness, whose tallest<br>pines                 |
| Crack nature's moulds . . .                            | Though rooted deep as high, and<br><i>sturdiest oaks</i>        |
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|  | Or <i>torn up sheer</i> . Ill wast thou<br><i>shrouded</i> then |
|  | O patient Son of God!   |

6. *Macbeth*

The closing entry in the list of ninety-nine subjects which Milton jotted down in the course of his reading between 1639 and 1642, while he was pluming his wings for a greater flight than any he had yet attempted, runs as follows:

Kenneth, who having privily poison'd Malcolm Duffe that his own son might succeed, is slain by Fenella (Scotch Hist. P. 157, 158).

Mackbeth. Beginning at the arrivall of Malcom at Mackduffe. The matter of Duncan may be express't by the appearing of his ghost.<sup>25</sup>

Professor Hales<sup>26</sup> has suggested that Milton may have thought of writing an independent drama on the theme of *Macbeth* for two reasons—first, because his “profound respect for historic fact” may have been outraged by Shakspeare’s free and easy treatment of history in this play, and second, because Milton, being inclined to deal with the problem of evil “in the spirit of the dogmatist,” would have wished to emphasize the “wilfulness of *Macbeth*’s ruin” more than did Shakspeare. The entry, however, suggests another consideration—perhaps as important as any—upon which Hales touches only in passing. Milton was thinking “of immortality” when he was jotting down these several plans for the great poem he meant to write, and his was not the nature to emulate anything but excellence itself. The very fact, then, of his proposing to treat this theme, suggests that Shakspeare’s *Macbeth* must have impressed him profoundly. His writings prove that it did, though happily no new *Macbeth* is among them.

## A.

(1) I, iii, 75-78:

Say . . . why

Upon this *blasted heath* you stop our  
way

With such prophetic greeting.

P. L., I, 614-15 (*The mountain pines*):

Their stately growth, though bare,

Stands on the *blasted heath*.—(D)

(2) III, ii, 53:

*Night's black agents* to their preys do  
rouse.<sup>27</sup>

*Comus*, 432:

*No evil thing that walks by night*.—(W)

<sup>25</sup> So printed by Todd, V, 503, from the Trinity College MS.

<sup>26</sup> See n. 9.

<sup>27</sup> See (6) for an echo from *Macbeth*’s speech immediately preceding this.

(3) V, viii, 30-32, 17-18:

Though . . . thou oppos'd, *being of*  
*no woman born* . . .

Accursed be the tongue that tells me  
me so,

For it hath cow'd *my better part of man*.

*P. L.*, XI, 495-497:

Adam . . . wept

*Though not of woman born*, com-  
passion quelled

*His best of man*.<sup>28</sup>—(Whalley)

(4) III, iv, 128-29:

How say'st thou, that Macduff denies  
his person

At our *great bidding*?

*P. L.*, XI, 314:

Therefore to His *great bidding* I  
submit.—(T)

(5) II, i, 50-51:

Wicked dreams abuse

*The curtain'd sleep*.

*Comus*, 554:

The litter of *close-curtained*  
*sleep*.—(T)

(6) III, ii, 40-43:

Ere the bat hath flown

His cloistered *flight*, ere to black  
Hecate's summons

The shard-borne beetle with his *drowsy*  
hums

Hath rung Night's yawning peal . . .

*Comus*, 552-54:

Till an unusual stop of sudden silence  
Gave respite to the *drowsy-flighted*  
steeds

That draw the litter of close-curtained  
*sleep*.<sup>29</sup>

(7) III, i, 42-44:

To make *society*

The *sweeter* welcome, we will keep our-  
self

Till supper time *alone*.

*P. L.*, IX, 249-250:

For *solitude* sometimes is best *society*,  
And short retirement urges *sweet*  
return.

B.

- (1) Hales notes that *Macbeth* and *Paradise Lost* both treat of the origin of evil and the ruin of man; and Hanford points to the similarity between the relations of Adam and Eve and those of Macbeth and his lady, growing out of

<sup>28</sup> See below, *Henry V*, A (1), p. 674.

<sup>29</sup> Warton thinks there can be no doubt that in painting his drowsy-flighted steeds, Milton "had his eye upon 'the jades'" who, in the 2 *Henry VI* (IV, i, 3-6) "drag the tragic melancholy night," and with "their drowsy, slow, and flagging wings Clip dead men's graves." No one has ventured to put forward the claims of the great passage from *Macbeth* here suggested as an at least equally probable source of Milton's adjective. If there was a Shaksperian source, this, indeed, would seem the more probable, in proportion to its immense superiority to the *Henry VI* passage, and Milton's far more intimate relationships to *Macbeth*. Incidentally the *Macbeth* passage supports the Cambridge MS. reading, "drowsy-flighted," as against the "drowsy-frighted" of all other early editions of *Comus*.—Cf. also *King John*, III, iii, 38, on the midnight bell, sounding "into the drowsy ear of night."

"Milton's adoption of romantic love as an essential motive."

(2) The weird sisters.

(a) Like the witches in *Macbeth*, Comus and his rout  
have many guileful spells

To inveigle and invite the unwary sense  
Of them that pass unweeting by the way, (*Comus*, 538-39)

and Thyrsis has heard them, night by night, howling

Like stabled wolves or tigers at their prey,  
Doing abhorred rites to Hecate. (*Id.*, 534-35)

(b) III, v, 23 (*Hecate to the witches*): *Comus*, 1013-17 (*Thyrsis's song*):  
Upon the corner of the moon I can . . . . soar as soon

There hangs a vaporous drop profound. To the corners of the moon.—(V)

(c) IV, i, 138-39; III, v, 20-21; IV, i, 30-31: *P. L.*, II, 539-40 (*Satan's crew*)  
*Ride the air*

Infected be the air on which they ride, In whirlwind —(V)  
And damn'd all those that trust them.

*Id.*, II, 662-65:

I am for the air; this night I'll spend The night-hag . . . . riding through  
Unto a dismal and a fatal end. the air she comes,

Lured with the smell of infant blood,  
to dance

Finger of birth-strangled babe  
Ditch-delivered by a drab.

With Lapland witches, while the  
laboring moon  
Eclipses at their charms.—(V)

(3) *Macbeth*.

(a) Professor Hales points out that just as Malcolm's preferment to the principality of Cumberland is the signal for the unleashing of Macbeth's evil ambition (I, iv, 48-50), so does the appointment of the Son as Vice-regent of Heaven mark the beginning of Satan's rebellion (*P. L.*, V, 609, 679).

(b) II, ii, 36: *P. L.*, IV, 883 (*Satan comes to Eden*):  
Macbeth does murder sleep. To violate sleep.—(N)

(c) Mental and spiritual torment besets Macbeth and Samson.

V, iii, 40-42: *Samson*, 610-627 (*Samson describes his torment of the "inmost mind" after his fall as a*)  
Canst thou not minister to a mind  
diseased,

|                                      |                                    |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pluck from the memory a rooted sor-  | Dire inflammation which no cooling |
| row,                                 | herb                               |
| Raze out the written troubles of the | Or medicinal liquor can assuage.   |
| brain . . . .                        | —(T) <sup>40</sup>                 |

## (d) Final despair, Macbeth and Samson.

|                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| V, vii, 49-50:                        | <i>Samson</i> , 595-98:                       |
| I gin to be <i>awear</i> y of the sun | Nature within me seems                        |
| And wish the estate of the world were | In all her functions <i>weary</i> of herself, |
| now undone.—                          | My race of glory run and race of              |
|                                       | shame,  |
|                                       | And I shall shortly be with them that         |
|                                       | that rest. <sup>41</sup>                      |

7. *Timon of Athens*.

A.

|                                      |                                       |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) IV, iii, 3-5:                    | <i>P. L.</i> , XII, 83-85:            |
| <i>Twinn'd</i> brothers of one womb, | True liberty                          |
| Whose procreation, residence, and    | . . . . Always with right reason      |
| birth,                               | dwells                                |
| Scarce is <i>dividant</i> .          | <i>Twinn'd</i> , and from her hath no |
|                                      | <i>dividual</i> being.—(D)            |

8. *Antony and Cleopatra*.

A.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) II, v, 43:                                     | <i>P. L.</i> , II, 3-4:                           |
| If thou say Antony lives . . . .                   | The gorgeous East <sup>42</sup> with richest hand |
| I'll set thee in a <i>shower</i> of gold, and hail | <i>Showers</i> on her kings <i>barbaric pearl</i> |
| <i>Rich pearls</i> upon thee.                      | and gold.—(V)                                     |
| (2) V, ii, 215-17:                                 | <i>Samson</i> , 203-204:                          |
| Scald rhymers [will]                               | Am I not sung and proverb'd for                   |
| Ballad us out o' tune. The quick                   | a fool  |
| comedians  | In every street? <sup>43</sup>                    |
| Extemporally will stage us . . . .                 |   |

<sup>40</sup> Eds. find similar expressions in Æschylus, Sidney, and Spenser, but nowhere else is the likeness in thought and word so unmistakable as in Shakspeare and Milton. See also *Othello*, III, iii, 330-33:

Not poppy nor mandragora . . . .  
Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep  
Which thou ow'dst yesterday.

<sup>41</sup> See above, on *Hamlet*, B(4)(a), p. 655.

<sup>42</sup> This phrase appears in *Love's Labour's Lost*, A(3), see below, p. 676.

<sup>43</sup> Todd here cites *Job*, XXX, 9: "And now I am their song, yea . . . their byword," but it seems to me just as likely that Milton had in mind the scurrilous Elizabethan street-ballads "sung to filthy tunes" mentioned also by Falstaff (*I Henry IV*, II, ii, 48).





## II. THE HISTORIES

10. 2 *Henry VI.*<sup>48</sup>

(1) IV, ii, 195:

Spare none but such as go in *clouded*  
*shoon.**Comus*, 634-35:The dull swain  
Treads on it daily with his *clouded*  
*shoon.*—(N)<sup>49</sup>

(2) I, i, 75:

Brave peers of England, *pillars of the*  
*state.**P. L.*, II, 299:302:Beezlebub . . . . rose . . . .  
*A pillar of state.*—(N)<sup>50</sup>11. 3 *Henry VI.*

(1) II, iii, 9:

Our hap is loss, our *hope* but sad *de-*  
*spair.**P. L.*, 142-43:Thus repulsed, our final *hope*  
Is flat *despair.*—(Malone)12. *Richard III.*Milton remarks, in a well-known passage of his *Eikonoklastes*:—

The poets have been so mindful of decorum as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person than of a tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse author . . . . but one whom we well know was the closet companion of these his solitudes, William Shakspeare, who introduces the person of Richard the Third speaking in as high a strain of piety and mortification as is uttered in . . . . this book [the *Eikon Basilike*]:

I do not know that Englishman alive  
With whom my soul is any jot at odds  
More than the infant that is born to-night.  
I thank my God for my humility.

Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the whole tragedy.

Obviously<sup>51</sup> Milton is here attacking not Shakspeare but Charles I. His close and frequent recollections of *Richard III* prove that this play impressed him strongly.

A.

(1) I, i, 9:

*Grim-visag'd war* hath smooth'd his  
wrinkled front.*P. L.*, VI, 236:The ridges of *grim war.*—(T)<sup>48</sup> See also n. 39.—On *1 Henry VI* see n. 53.<sup>49</sup> Warton adds the passage from *Cymbeline*, IV, ii, 213-14: "I put My *clouded brogues* from off my feet."<sup>50</sup> I reproduce *this* parallel for what it may be worth. Todd finds this phrase also in Gascoigne.<sup>51</sup> Though the contrary has sometimes been supposed. For discussion see Masson, *Life of Milton*, III, 515.

- (2) IV, iii, 54:  
Then *fiery expedition* be my wing.
- (3) I, ii, 228-229:  
Was ever woman in this humour woo'd  
Was ever woman in this humour won?
- (4) II, iii, 28:  
The queen's sons and brothers, *haught  
and proud . . .*
- (5) I, iii, 264:  
Our *aery* [eyry] *buildeth* in the cedar's  
*top*.
- (6) V, iii, 311:  
Our strong arms be our conscience,  
*swords our law*.
- (7) V, iii, 175:  
*God and good angels* fight on Rich-  
mond's side.
- (8) I, iv, 58-59:  
With that, methought, *a legion of foul  
fiends*  
*Environed* me, and *howled* in mine ears.
- (9) I, iv, 37-39:  
Still the envious flood  
Stopp'd in my soul, and would not let  
it forth  
To find the *empty, vast, and wandering*  
*air*.<sup>42</sup>
- (10) III, vii, 94:  
So *sweet* is zealous *contemplation*.
- Samson*, 1283-85:  
With *winged expedition . . .* he *ex-  
ecutes* <sup>43</sup>  
His errand on the wicked.—(T)
- P. L.*, VIII, 503 (*Eve, conscious of  
her worth*)  
That would be *wooed*, and not un-  
sought be *won*.—(T)<sup>44</sup>
- Psalm LXXX, 31-35:  
Thou . . . drov'st out nations, *proud  
and haul*.—(T)
- P. L.*, VII, 423-24:  
The eagle and the stork  
On cliffs and *cedar-tops* their *eyries*  
*build*.—(V)
- P. L.*, XI, 671-72:  
So violence  
Proceeded, and oppression, and *sword-  
law*.—(T)
- P. L.*, X, 1033:  
*God and good angels* guard.—(T)
- P. R.*, IV, 422-23:  
*Infernal ghosts* and *hellish furies* round  
*Environed* thee; some *howled*, some  
yelled; some shrieked.—(D)
- P. L.*, II, 404-409 (*Satan bound for  
earth, tempts*):  
With *wandering feet*  
The dark, unbottomed, *infinite*  
*abyss . . .*  
Upborne with *indefatigable wings*  
*O'er the vast Abrupt*, ere he arrive. . .
- Comus*, 376-77:  
*Sweet* retired solitude,  
. . . With her best nurse, *Con-  
templation*.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Richard II*, I, iii, 79: "Be *swift* like lightning in the *execution*."

<sup>43</sup> Shakspeare, as Verity notes, was especially fond of this proverbial phrase. It reappears in *I Henry VI*, V, iii, 77; *Titus Andronicus*, II, i, 82-83, and Sonnet 41.

<sup>44</sup> This passage, like (8), is from Clarence's description of his dream.

B.<sup>55</sup>

- (1) Hanford points out that Satan resembles Richard III in that both of them, unable to partake of the delights they see about them, with irresistible determination adopt evil as their good:

I, i, 18-31:

I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion . . . .

To entertain these fair, well-spoken days,

I am determined to prove a villain  
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.

*P. L.*, IX, 119-121; IV, 110:

The more I see  
Pleasures about me, so much more  
I feel  
Torment within me . . . .  
Evil, be thou my Good.<sup>56</sup>

13. *King John*.

## A.

(1) III, i, 77-80:

To solemnize this day the glorious sun  
Stays in his course, and *plays* the al-  
chemist,

Turning with splendour of his *precious*  
eye

The meagre cloddy earth to *glittering*  
gold.

*P. L.*, III, 606-11:

What wonder then if fields and regions  
here

Breathe forth elixir pure, and rivers  
run

*Potable gold*, when, with one virtuous  
touch

*The arch-chimic Sun* . . . . Produces  
Here in the dark so many *precious*  
things.—(N)

(2) V, vii, 46 (*King John*, dying):  
*Within me is a hell.*

*P. L.*, IV, 18-21 (*Satan in Eden*):  
Horror and doubt . . . . from the  
bottom stir

*The hell within him.*—(T)<sup>57</sup>

## B.

- (1) Adam's reflections upon death, already referred to above,<sup>58</sup> remind one also of Constance's great apostrophe in this play. Both characters refuse all comfort but the last:

<sup>55</sup> See also n. 65.

<sup>56</sup> Blackstone's conjecture (Cf. Todd, II, 423) that Milton might have gotten "the hint" for his allegory of Sin and Death (*P. L.*, II, 648), from *Richard III*, I, iii, 293,—“Sin, death, and hell have set their marks on him”—is not to be taken seriously. The source, as Verity notes, is Scriptural,—*James*, I, 15.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *P. L.*, IV, 75-80; I, 254 (“the mind is its own place”), and see below, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, A(5), p. 677. The *thought* is the common property of all the poets, from Dante to Marlowe.

<sup>58</sup> See p. 655, *Hamlet*, B(4)(a).

III, iv, 23-36:-

Death, death! *O amiable lovely death!* . . .  
Come, grin on me. . . . Misery's love. . . .  
*O, come to me!*

*P. L.*, X, 854-56:

Why comes not *Death*  
*With one thrice-acceptable stroke*  
To end me?

#### 14. *Richard II.*

A.

(1) V, i, 5-6:

Here let us *rest*, if this rebellious earth  
*Have any resting.*

*P. L.*, 183-85:-

Let us . . . .  
There *rest*, if any *rest* can harbor  
there.—(B)

(2) III, ii, 24-25 (*Richard on touching*  
*English earth*):

*This earth shall have a feeling*, and  
these stones  
Prove armed soldiers.

*Comus*, 796-97 (*the Lady, on her*  
*cause*):

Dumb things would be moved to  
*sympathize*,  
And the *brute Earth* would lend her  
nerves and shake. (Steevens)

(3) III, iii, 62-68:

King Richard doth . . . . appear  
As doth the *blushing discontented sun*  
From out the fiery portal of the east,  
When he perceives the *envious clouds*  
are bent  
To dim his glory . . . .

*P. L.*, I, 592-96:

Nor appeared [Satan]  
Less than Archangel ruined, and the  
excess  
Of glory obscured: as when the *sun*  
*new-risen*  
Looks through the *horizontal misty air*  
Shorn of his beams . . . .(D)

(4) I, iv, 33 (*Bolingbroke and the com-*  
*mons*):

[They] had the tribute of his *supple*  
*knee*

*P. L.*, V, 787-88:

Will ye submit your necks, and choose  
to bend  
The *supple knee*?—(T)

(5) I, iii, 129-30:

The *eagle-winged pride*  
Of sky-aspiring and ambitious  
thoughts.

*P. L.*, VI, 762:

At his right hand *Victory*  
Sat *eagle-winged*.—(T)

(6) II, iii, 65:-

Evermore *thanks*, the exchequer of the  
poor.

*P. R.*, III, 127-29:-

*Thanks*,  
The slightest, easiest, readiest recom-  
pense  
From them who could return him  
nothing more.

(7) II, i, 252-55 (*on the treasure wasted*  
*by Richard*):

*Wars hath not wasted it*, for warr'd he  
hath not  
But *basely yielded* . . . .  
More hath he spent *in peace* than they  
*in war*.

*P. L.*, XI, 784:

*Peace to corrupt* no less than *war* to  
*waste*.

## B.

- (1) Milton echoes the patriotic theme of the play, as set forth in John of Gaunt's speech:

II, i, 40, 46:

This scept'red *isle*,  
This *precious stone* set in the silver sea.

*Comus*, 21-23:

All the sea-girt *Isles*  
That, like to *rich and various gems*,  
*inlay*  
The unadorned bosom of the deep.  
—(W)

- (2) Adam and Eve start upon their exile from Paradise very much in the mood—and language—of Mowbray, upon facing exile from England:

I, iii, 206-07:

Now no way can I stray  
Save back to England, *all the world's*  
*my way*.—

*P. L.*, XII, 646-47:

Some natural tears they dropped, but  
wiped them soon;  
*The world was all before them*, where to  
choose  
Their place of rest.—(Johnson)

Again, the Archangel's comforting exhortation to Eve, who is lamenting the prospect of exile, resembles in effect Gaunt's fatherly counsel as Bolingbroke goes into exile from his English paradise:

I, iii, 275-76:

All places that the eye of heaven visits  
Are to a wise man ports and happy  
havens . . . .

*P. L.*, XI, 290-92:

Thy going is not lonely; with thee goes  
Thy husband; him to follow thou art  
bound;—  
Where he abides, think there thy  
native soil.—(V)<sup>60</sup>

### 15. 1 Henry IV.

#### A.<sup>60</sup>

(1) III, i, 221-22 (*the dawn*):

*The hour* before the heavenly-har-  
ness'd team  
Begins his *golden progress* in the east.

*P. L.*, XI, 173-75:

*The morn* . . . . begins  
Her *rosy progress* smiling.—(N)

<sup>60</sup> The thought, as eds. note, is sufficiently familiar. It appears in *Euphues*, and elsewhere.

<sup>60</sup> See also *H. IV*, V, iv, 85-86: "Thou art . . . *food for* . . . *worms*, brave Percy," and *P. L.*, X, 983-86: "Our own begotten . . . *Food for* so foul a monster" [death],—but cf. *Job*, XXIV, 20.

(2) I, i, 9-10:

*Hostile paces . . . like the meteors of  
a troubled heaven.*

*P. L.*, II, 533-34:—

*War appears  
Waged in the troubled sky.—(N)<sup>61</sup>*

(3) I, ii, 235-38:

*Like bright metal on a sullen ground,  
My reformation, glitt'ring o'er my  
fault,*

*Shall show more goodly and attract  
more eyes*

*Than that which hath no foil to set it  
off.*

*Lycidas*, 78-79:—

*Fame is no plant that grows on mortal  
soil,*

*Nor in the glistering foil*

*Set off to the world . . . .(W)*

## B.

- (1) It seems to me that Milton, in depicting the relations between Jehovah and the rebellious angels did not altogether forget those between Henry IV and his rebellious lords as represented here and in Part II of this play. At all events, the two poets hold identical views as to the difficulty of reconciliation between mighty opposites, and concerning the penalties of war.

(a) V, ii, 4-23 (*Worcester, like Satan,  
persists in rebellion because rec-  
onciliation seems to him impos-  
sible*):

*It is not possible, it cannot be . . . .*

*He will suspect us still, and find a time*

*To punish this offence . . . .*

*For treason is but trusted like the  
fox . . . .*

*We . . . . shall pay for all.*

*P. L.*, IV, 98-99:

*For never can true reconcilment  
grow*

*Where wounds of deadly hate  
have pierced so deep.*

- (b) Belial—like Morton and Lord Bardolph in *2 Henry IV*—urges his comrades to take their punishment calmly since they had taken the chance of war with a full knowledge of the penalties.

*2 Henry IV*, I, i, 166-68, 180-84:

*You cast the event of war . . . .*

*And summ'd the account of chance*

*before you said,*

*"Let us make head." . . . .*

*P. L.*, II, 204-208:

*I laugh when those who at the spear  
are bold*

*And ventrous, if that fail them, shrink,  
and fear*

<sup>61</sup> Todd quotes two somewhat similar—but not especially significant—sets of parallelism in figure,—*H. IV*, V, iv, 59, and *P. L.*, VI, 313; *H. IV*, III, i, 15, and *P. L.*, I, 728.

We all that are engaged to this loss  
 Knew that we ventur'd on such dan-  
     gerous seas  
 That if we wrought our life 'twas ten  
     to one  
 And yet we ventur'd, for the gain  
     propos'd  
 Chok'd the respect of likely peril  
     fear'd . . . .

What yet they know must follow—to  
     endure  
 Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,  
 The sentence of their conqueror.

- (2) Milton gives Satan one trait which in the play belongs not to the chief rebel but to the king himself—a cringing humility<sup>62</sup> assumed for the purposes of the moment: in hopes of dispossessing the incumbent of the throne.

*1 Henry IV*, III, ii, 50-52:

And then I stole all courtesy from  
     heaven  
 And dress'd myself in such humility  
 That I did pluck allegiance from men's  
     hearts . . . .

*P. L.*, IV, 958-61 (*Gabriel to Satan*)

Who more than thou  
 Once fawned and cringed and servilely  
     adored  
 Heaven's awful Monarch? wherefore,  
     but in hope  
 To dispossess him, and thyself to  
     reign?—

## 16. 2 *Henry IV*.

A.

(1) IV, ii, 20-22 (*the Archbishop*):  
 The very opener and intelligencer  
 Between the grace, the sanctities of  
     Heaven

And our dull workings.

*P. L.*, III, 60 (*Jehovah*):

About him all the sanctities of Heaven  
 Stood thick as stars.—(V)

(2) IV, v, 184-86:

God knows, my son  
 By what *by-paths* and *indirect* crook'd  
     ways  
 I met this crown.

*P. L.*, XI, 628-30:

O pity and shame that they who to  
     live well  
 Entered so fair should *turn aside* to  
     tread  
*Paths indirect*, or in the midway  
     faint!—(V)

(3) III, i, 5-8:

O Sleep, O gentle Sleep,  
 Nature's soft nurse, how have I  
     frighted thee  
 That thou no more wilt weigh my  
     eyelids down

And steep my senses in forgetfulness.

*P. L.*, VIII, 287-89:

There gentle sleep<sup>63</sup>  
 First found me, and with soft op-  
     pression seized  
*My drowsed sense.*

<sup>62</sup> See also *Richard II*, I, iv, 23-36, and the *Eikonoklastes* passage, above, p. 667

<sup>63</sup> The phrase appears also in *Richard II* (I, iii, 133).

B.<sup>64</sup>

- (1) There can be little doubt but that Milton shared and remembered Shakspeare's views of the burdens and responsibilities of true kings, as expressed in *Henry IV* and *Henry V*.<sup>65</sup>

III, i, 31; IV, v, 23:

Uneasy lies the head that wears a  
crown.

P. R., II, 458-59:

A crown,  
Golden in shew, is but a wreath of  
thorns,

O polish'd perturbation, golden care . . .  
That keep'st the ports of slumber open  
wide . . . .

Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and  
sleepless nights  
To him who wears the regal diadem.

17. *Henry V*.

## A.

(1) IV, vi, 30-32:

But I had not so much of man in me,  
And all my mother came into mine  
eyes

And gave me up to tears.

P. L., XI, 496-97:

Compassion quelled  
His best of man, and gave him up to  
tears.—(Whalley)<sup>66</sup>

(2) II, Prol., line 8:

For now sits *Expectation* in the air . . .

P. L., VI, 306-307:

*Expectation* stood  
In horror.—(N)<sup>67</sup>

(3) IV, iii, 25:

Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost.

P. R., II, 421:

Longer than thou canst feed them on  
thy cost.—(D)

## B.

- (1) In *Paradise Lost* as well as in *Paradise Regained* there are passages strikingly like those in which Henry V speaks of the burdens which rest upon kings,<sup>68</sup> and of the idol Ceremony:

<sup>64</sup> See also p. 672, *1 H. IV*, B(1)(b).

<sup>65</sup> Though, as Hanford has shown (*P. M. L. A.*, XXXVI, 310-11), Shakspeare was by no means the sole formative influence that shaped Milton's ideal of kingship.—On *Henry V* see below. Compare also *Richard III*, I, iv, 78-83,—“Princes have but their titles for their glories.” . . .

<sup>66</sup> See above, p. 663, on *Macbeth*, A(3).

<sup>67</sup> Todd, however, finds the phrase (“Expectation . . . took stand”) in Fletcher's *Bonduca*, III, i. Verity cites *Troilus and Cressida*, Prol., 20-22: “Now Expectation, tickling skittish spirits . . . Sets all on hazard.”

<sup>68</sup> See above on *2 Henry IV*, B(1).



IV, i, 247-259:

*Upon the King!* let us our lives, our  
souls,

Our debts, our careful wives,  
Our children, and our sins lay on the  
King!

*We must bear all . . . .* What infinite  
heart's-ease

Must kings neglect, that private men  
enjoy!

And what have kings, that privates  
have not too,

Save ceremony, save general cere-  
mony?

And what art thou, *thou idol Ceremony?*  
What kind of god art thou, that suf-  
fer'st more

Of mortal griefs than do thy worship-  
pers?

18. *Henry VIII.*

A.

(1) III, ii, 353-58:

This is the state of man; to-day he  
puts forth

*The tender leaves of hopes*, to-morrow  
blossoms, . . . .

The third day comes a frost, a killing  
*frost*,

And . . . . *nips* his root.

(2) II, i, 77-78:

Make of your prayers one sweet sacri-  
fice

And *lift my soul to heaven*.

P. R., II, 462-5:

*On his shoulders each man's burden lies*;  
For therein stands the office of a king  
His honour, virtue, merit, and chief  
praise,

That *for the public all this weight he*  
*bears*.

P. L., V, 354-57:

*The tedious pomp that waits*  
*On princes*, when their rich retinue  
long

Of horses led and grooms besmeared  
with gold

Dazzles the crowd and sets them all  
agape.

Samson, 1574-77:

What windy joy.... had I conceived . .  
Abortive as *the first-born bloom of*  
*spring*

*Nipt* with the lagging rear of winter's  
*frost!*—(Warburton)<sup>69</sup>

P. L., IV, 687-88:

Their songs  
Divide the night, and *lift our thoughts*  
*to Heaven*.—(T)<sup>70</sup>

## III. THE COMEDIES

19. *Love's Labour's Lost.*

A.

(1) I, i, 171:

This *child of fancy*, that Armado hight.

L'Allegro, 130:

Sweetest Shakspeare, *Fancy's child*.

—(T)<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Newton compares *Love's Labour's Lost*, I, i, 100-101: "Biron is like an envious sneaping frost That bites the first-born infants of the spring."

<sup>70</sup> Todd also quotes Drummond, "And lift a reverent eye and thought to heaven." Obviously, the Shakspeare-Milton likeness here is not especially significant.

<sup>71</sup> If this is, as Todd says, an "obvious parallel," there is a deal of unconscious irony in it.

(2) IV, iii, 340-43:

Is not love . . . as sweet and *musical*  
As bright *Apollo's lute*?

*Comus*, 476-78:

How charming is divine Philosophy  
Not harsh and crabbed . . .  
But *musical as is Apollo's lute*.—(B)

(3) IV, iii, 222-23:

Like a rude and savage man of *Ind*,  
At the first opening of the gorgeous east.

*P. L.*, II, 2-4 (*Satan's throne*)

Outshone the wealth of Ormus and  
of *Ind*

Or where the gorgeous East with  
richest hand . . . (T)<sup>73</sup>

(4) II, i, 245-46 (*Boyet's description of  
the King, smitten by the Princess's  
charms*):

His face's own margent did quote such  
*amazes*

That all eyes saw his eyes enchanted  
with *gazes*.

*Ode on the Nativity*, 69-70:

The stars with deep *amaze*  
Stand fixed with *steadfast gaze*.<sup>74</sup>

20. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

A.

(1) I, i, 45-46:

The most forward bud  
Is eaten by the *canker* ere it blow.

*Lycidas*, 45:

As killing as the *canker* to the rose.  
—(W)<sup>75</sup>

21. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*.<sup>76</sup>

A.

(1) II, I, 249-51:

I know a *bank* . . .

Quite *over-canopi'd* with luscious wood-  
*bine* . . .

*Comus*, 543-45:*A bank*

With ivy *canopied*, and interwove  
With *flaunting honeysuckle*.—(W)<sup>77</sup>

(2) II, i, 28-29, 141:

And now they never meet in *grove* or  
*green*

*P. L.*, I, 781-85:*Faery elves*

Whose *midnight revels*, by a *forest-side*

<sup>73</sup> Editors compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, III, iv, 23, on "the wealth of th' East and pompe of Persian kings," but these lines are not nearly so close to Milton's as are Shakspeare's.—See above, p. 665, *Antony and Cleopatra*, A(1).

<sup>74</sup> This curious likeness in rhyme-words, if it is nothing more, has escaped the commentators.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. *Twelfth Night*, II, iv, 114-115: "concealment, like a worm i' the bud." Warton and Todd hold that "frequent repetition of this image" by Shakspeare "suggested it to Milton."—See also n. 85.

<sup>76</sup> "A play," says Verity, "constantly imitated by Milton."

<sup>77</sup> Compare also *M. N. D.*, II, i, 15 and *Lycidas*, 146; and the whole flower passage in *Lycidas* (140-150) with Oberon's flowers.

- By *fountain clear* or spangled starlight  
sheen . . . .  
And see our *moonlight revels*.  
Or fountain, some belated peasant  
sees,  
Or dreams he sees, while overhead  
the *Moon*  
Sits arbitress.—(V)
- (3) III, ii, 382-84:  
Damned spirits all . . . .  
Already to their *wormy beds* are gone.  
*Death of a Fair Infant*, 31:  
Thy beauties lie in *wormy bed*.—(W)
- (4) V, i, 37:  
To ease the anguish of a *torturing hour*.  
*P. L.*, II, 90-92:  
The scourge  
Inexorably and the *torturing hour*  
Calls us to penance.—(Thyer)
- (5) II, i, 243:  
I'll follow thee, and *make a heaven of hell*.  
*P. L.*, I, 254:  
The mind is its own place, and in itself  
Can *make a Heaven of Hell*, a Hell of  
Heaven.—(V)<sup>77</sup>
- (6) V, i, 398-99:  
Through this house give *glimmering light*  
By the dead and drowsy fire.  
*Il Penseroso*, 79-80:  
Where *glowing embers* through the  
room  
Teach *light* to counterfeit a *gloom*.  
—(W)<sup>78</sup>
- (7) II, i, 161-64:  
But I might see young Cupid's fiery  
shaft  
*Quench'd* in the *chaste beams* of the  
*watery moon*,  
And the *imperial votaress* passed on  
*In maiden meditation*, fancy-free.  
Yet mark'd I where the *bolt of Cupid*  
fell . . . .  
*Comus*, 428-445 (*She that has chastity*):  
Where very desolation dwells  
*She may pass on with unblenched majesty* . . . .  
Hence . . . the huntress Dian . . . .  
*Fair silver-shafted Queen* for ever  
chaste,  
. . . . Set at nought  
The frivolous *bolt of Cupid*.

B.<sup>79</sup>

(1) Puck.

(a) Puck's mischief-making is echoed in *Comus* and  
*Paradise Lost*:

<sup>77</sup> See above, p. 669, *King John*, A(2).

<sup>78</sup> "Much the same image" as Shakspeare's, says Warton, but he cites also Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, I, i, 14: "A little glooming light, much like a shade." Malone quotes from *Lucrece* (1378-79) "Ashy lights, Like dying coals burnt out in tedious nights."

<sup>79</sup> Verity remarks that the passage in *P. L.*, X, 896-908 (on the "innumerable mischiefs" wrought by "female snares" reads "like a commentary" on the proverbial line, "The course of true love never did run smooth" (*M. N. D.*, I, i, 134).

(2) I, i, 9-10:

*Hostile paces . . . like the meteors of  
a troubled heaven.*

P. L., II, 533-34:—

*War appears  
Waged in the troubled sky.—(N)<sup>41</sup>*

(3) I, ii, 235-38:

*Like bright metal on a sullen ground,  
My reformation, glitt'ring o'er my  
fault,*

*Shall show more goodly and attract  
more eyes*

*Than that which hath no foil to set it  
off.*

Lycidas, 78-79:—

*Fame is no plant that grows on mortal  
soil,*

*Nor in the glistering foil*

*Set off to the world . . . .(W)*

## B.

- (1) It seems to me that Milton, in depicting the relations between Jehovah and the rebellious angels did not altogether forget those between Henry IV and his rebellious lords as represented here and in Part II of this play. At all events, the two poets hold identical views as to the difficulty of reconciliation between mighty opposites, and concerning the penalties of war.

(a) V, ii, 4-23 (*Worcester, like Satan,  
persists in rebellion because rec-  
onciliation seems to him impos-  
sible*):

*It is not possible, it cannot be . . . .*

*He will suspect us still, and find a time*

*To punish this offence . . . .*

*For treason is but trusted like the  
fox . . . .*

*We . . . . shall pay for all.*

P. L., IV, 98-99:

*For never can true reconcilement  
grow*

*Where wounds of deadly hate  
have pierced so deep.*

- (b) Belial—like Morton and Lord Bardolph in *2 Henry IV*—urges his comrades to take their punishment calmly since they had taken the chance of war with a full knowledge of the penalties.

2 *Henry IV*, I, i, 166-68, 180-84:

*You cast the event of war . . . .*

*And summ'd the account of chance  
before you said,*

*"Let us make head." . . . .*

P. L., II, 204-208:

*I laugh when those who at the spear  
are bold*

*And ventrous, if that fail them, shrink,  
and fear*

<sup>41</sup> Todd quotes two somewhat similar—but not especially significant—sets of parallelism in figure,—*H. IV*, V, iv, 59, and *P. L.*, VI, 313; *H. IV*, III, i, 15, and *P. L.*, I, 728.

We all that are engaged to this loss  
 Knew that we ventur'd on such dan-  
     gerous seas  
 That if we wrought our life 'twas ten  
     to one  
 And yet we ventur'd, for the gain  
     propos'd  
 Chok'd the respect of likely peril  
     fear'd . . . .

What yet they know must follow—to  
     endure

Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,  
 The sentence of their conqueror.

- (2) Milton gives Satan one trait which in the play belongs not to the chief rebel but to the king himself—a cringing humility<sup>62</sup> assumed for the purposes of the moment: in hopes of dispossessing the incumbent of the throne.

1 *Henry IV*, III, ii, 50-52:

And then I stole all courtesy from  
     heaven  
 And dress'd myself in such humility  
 That I did pluck allegiance from men's  
     hearts . . . .

*P. L.*, IV, 958-61 (*Gabriel to Satan*)

Who more than thou  
 Once fawned and cringed and servilely  
     adored  
 Heaven's awful Monarch? wherefore,  
     but in hope  
 To dispossess him, and thyself to  
     reign?—

## 16. 2 *Henry IV*.

A.

(1) IV, ii, 20-22 (*the Archbishop*):  
 The very opener and intelligencer  
 Between the grace, the sanctities of  
     Heaven

*P. L.*, III, 60 (*Jehovah*):

About him all the sanctities of Heaven  
 Stood thick as stars.—(V)

And our dull workings.

(2) IV, v, 184-86:

God knows, my son  
 By what *by-paths* and *indirect* crook'd  
     ways  
 I met this crown.

*P. L.*, XI, 628-30:

O pity and shame that they who to  
     live well  
 Entered so fair should *turn aside* to  
     tread  
*Paths indirect*, or in the midway  
     faint!—(V)

(3) III, i, 5-8:

O Sleep, O gentle Sleep,  
 Nature's soft nurse, how have I  
     frighted thee  
 That thou no more wilt weigh my  
     eyelids down

*P. L.*, VIII, 287-89:

There gentle sleep<sup>63</sup>  
 First found me, and with soft op-  
     pression seized  
*My drowsed sense.*

And sleep my senses in forgetfulness.

<sup>62</sup> See also *Richard II*, I, iv, 23-36, and the *Eikonoklastes* passage, above, p. 667

<sup>63</sup> The phrase appears also in *Richard II* (I, iii, 133).

B.<sup>64</sup>

- (1) There can be little doubt but that Milton shared and remembered Shakspeare's views of the burdens and responsibilities of true kings, as expressed in *Henry IV* and *Henry V*.<sup>65</sup>

III, i, 31; IV, v, 23:

Uneasy lies the head that wears a  
crown.

*P. R.*, II, 458-59:

A crown,  
Golden in shew, is but a wreath of  
thorns,

O polish'd perturbation, golden care . . .  
That keep'st the ports of slumber open  
wide . . . .

Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and  
sleepless nights  
To him who wears the regal diadem.

17. *Henry V.*

## A.

(1) IV, vi, 30-32:

But I had not *so much of man* in me,  
And all my mother came into mine  
eyes

*And gave me up to tears.*

*P. L.*, XI, 496-97:

Compassion quelled  
His *best of man*, and gave him up to  
tears.—(Whalley)<sup>66</sup>

(2) II, Pro., line 8:

For now sits *Expectation* in the air . . .

*P. L.*, VI, 306-307:

*Expectation* stood  
In horror.—(N)<sup>67</sup>

(3) IV, iii, 25:

Nor care I who doth *feed upon my cost*.

*P. R.*, II, 421:

Longer than thou *canst feed them on  
thy cost*.—(D)

## B.

- (1) In *Paradise Lost* as well as in *Paradise Regained* there are passages strikingly like those in which Henry V speaks of the burdens which rest upon kings,<sup>68</sup> and of the idol Ceremony:

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*On princes*, when their rich retinue  
long

Of horses led and grooms besmeared  
with gold

Dazzles the crowd and sets them all  
agape.

Samson, 1574-77:

What windy joy.... had I conceived . .  
Abortive as *the first-born bloom of*  
*spring*

*Nipt* with the lagging rear of winter's  
*frost!*—(Warburton)<sup>69</sup>

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Divide the night, and *lift our thoughts*  
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## III. THE COMEDIES

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A.

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Sweetest Shakspeare, *Fancy's child*.

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Like a rude and savage man of *Ind*,  
At the first opening of the gorgeous east.

*P. L.*, II, 2-4 (*Satan's throne*)

Outshone the wealth of *Ormus* and  
of *Ind*

Or where the gorgeous *East* with  
richest hand . . . (T)<sup>72</sup>

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*Ode on the Nativity*, 69-70:

The stars with deep amaze  
Stand fixed with steadfast gaze.<sup>73</sup>

## 20. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

A.

(1) I, i, 45-46:

The most forward bud  
Is eaten by the canker ere it blow.

*Lycidas*, 45:

As killing as the canker to the rose.  
—(W)<sup>74</sup>

## 21. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*.<sup>75</sup>

A.

(1) II, I, 249-51:

I know a bank . . .

Quite over-canopied with luscious wood-  
bine . . .

*Comus*, 543-45:

A bank

With ivy canopied, and interwove  
With flaunting honeysuckle.—(W)<sup>76</sup>

(2) II, i, 28-29, 141:

And now they never meet in grove or  
green

*P. L.*, I, 781-85:

Faery elves

Whose midnight revels, by a forest-side

<sup>72</sup> Editors compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, III, iv, 23, on "the wealth of th' East and pompe of Persian kings," but these lines are not nearly so close to Milton's as are Shakspeare's.—See above, p. 665, *Antony and Cleopatra*, A(1).

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sheen . . . .  
And see our *moonlight revels*.  
Or fountain, some belated peasant  
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the *Moon*  
Sits arbitress.—(V)
- (3) III, ii, 382-84:  
Damned spirits all . . . .  
Already to their *wormy beds* are gone.  
*Death of a Fair Infant*, 31:  
Thy beauties lie in *wormy bed*.—(W)
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To ease the anguish of a *torturing hour*.  
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The scourge  
Inexorably and the *torturing hour*  
Calls us to penance.—(Thyer)
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I'll follow thee, and *make a heaven of hell*.  
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The mind is its own place, and in itself  
Can *make a Heaven of Hell*, a Hell of  
Heaven.—(V)<sup>77</sup>
- (6) V, i, 398-99:  
Through this house give *glimmering light*  
By the dead and drowsy fire.  
*Il Penseroso*, 79-80:  
Where *glowing embers* through the  
room  
Teach *light* to counterfeit a *gloom*.  
—(W)<sup>78</sup>
- (7) II, i, 161-64:  
But I might see young Cupid's fiery  
shaft  
*Quench'd* in the *chaste beams* of the  
*watery moon*,  
And the *imperial votaress* passed on  
*In maiden meditation*, fancy-free.  
Yet mark'd I where the *bolt of Cupid*  
fell . . . .  
*Comus*, 428-445 (*She that has chastity*):  
Where very desolation dwells  
*She may pass on with unblenched majesty* . . . .  
Hence . . . the huntress Dian . . . .  
*Fair silver-shafted Queen* for ever  
chaste,  
. . . . Set at nought  
The frivolous *bolt of Cupid*.

B.<sup>79</sup>

(1) Puck.

(a) Puck's mischief-making is echoed in *Comus* and  
*Paradise Lost*:

<sup>77</sup> See above, p. 669, *King John*, A(2).

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II, i, 9 (*he*)*Mislead[s] night-wanderers*, laughing  
at their harm.*P. L.*, IX, 640:*Misleads the amazed night-wanderer*  
from his way.—(T)*Comus*, 39:*Threats the forlorn and wandering*  
*passenger.*(b) The Attendant Spirit in *Comus*, says Moody,<sup>80</sup> "in  
his closing song reminds us of Puck":

II, i, 175-76:

I'll put a girdle round about the earth  
In forty minutes.*Comus*, 1013-14:I can fly or I can run  
Quickly to the green earth's end.

(c). The opening speech of Thyriss confirms their resemblance:

III, ii, 100:

I go, I go; look how I go,  
*Swifter* than arrow from the Tartar's  
bow.*Comus*, 80-81:*Swift* as the sparkle of a glancing star  
I shoot from heaven.(2) Change of seasons, as an affliction visited upon man,  
follows in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* upon the dis-  
turbance of the fairies' sports by Oberon's jealous brawls;  
in *Paradise Lost* upon man's tasting the apple.

II, i, 88-116:

*The winds*, piping to us in vain,  
As in revenge have suck'd up from the  
sea*Contagious fogs . . . the moon*, the  
governess of floods,*Pale* in her anger washes all the air  
That rheumatic diseases do abound....*The seasons alter*; hoary-headed frosts  
Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson roseAnd on *old Hiems thin and icy crown*  
An odorous chaplet of sweet summer  
budsIs as in mockery set. The spring, the  
summer,The chiding autumn, angry winter,  
changeTheir wonted liveries, and the mazed  
worldBy their increase now knows not  
which is which . . . .*P. L.*, X, 651-66, 677-96, 736:The Sun  
Had first his precept so to move, so  
shineAs might affect the Earth with cold  
and heatScarce tolerable, and from the north  
to call*Decrepit winter. . . . To the blanc*  
*Moon*Her office they prescribed . . . . To  
*the winds* they setTheir corners when with bluster to  
confoundSea, air, and shore . . . . to bring in  
*change**Of seasons* to each clime. Else had the  
springPerpetual smiled on Earth with vernal  
flowers . . . .

These changes . . . . slow, produced

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

And *this* progeny of evil comes  
 . . . . From our dissension.

*Vapour, and mist, and exhalation hot,  
 Corrupt and pestilent . . . .  
 For this we may thank Adam.*

## 22. *Merchant of Venice*.

A.

(1) V, i, 294-95:

Fair ladies, you *drop manna* in the way  
 Of starved people.

*P. L.*, II, 112-14:

His tongue  
*Drop manna* and could make the  
 worse appear  
 The better reason.—(N)

(2) V, i, 60-65:

There's not the *smallest orb* which thou  
 thou beholdest  
 But in *his motion* like an angel sings . .  
 But whilst *this muddy vesture* of decay  
 Doth *grossly* close us in, we cannot  
 hear it.

*Arcades*, 72-73 (*On the music of the  
 spheres*):

*The heavenly tune, which none can hear  
 Of human mould, with gross unpurged  
 ear.—(W)<sup>21</sup>*

(3) II, vii, 65:

All that *glisters* is not gold.

*P. L.*, VIII, 90-94:

*Great*  
*Or bright infers not excellence.* The  
 Earth . . . so small  
 Nor *glistering*, may of solid good  
 contain  
 More plenty than the Sun that barren  
 shines.—(V)

(4) IV, i, 196-97:

Earthly power doth then show likest  
 God's  
 When *mercy* seasons *justice*.

*P. L.*, X, 58-60, 77-78:

I intend  
*Mercy* colleague with *justice*, sending  
 thee  
 Man's friend, his Mediator . . . . I  
 shall temper . . . .  
*Justice* with *mercy*.—(T)<sup>22</sup>

## 23. *The Taming of the Shrew*.

A.

(1) I, ii, 204-05:

*P. L.*, II, 714-15:

<sup>21</sup> "I think this was more immediately . . . suggested by Shakspeare" than by Plato (Warton).—Verity compares another passage from Lorenzo's speech,—*"Look how the floor of heaven Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold,"* (V, i, 58-59)—with Milton's "road of Heaven, star-paved" (*P. L.*, IV, 976).

<sup>22</sup> Compare also *Measure for Measure*, II, ii, 75-78:

How would you be  
 If He which is the top of judgment should  
 But judge you as you are? O, think on that  
 And mercy then will breathe within your lips.

Have I not heard great ordinance in  
the field  
And *heaven's artillery* thunder in the  
skies?

As when two black clouds  
With *heaven's artillery* fraught come  
rattling on.—(T)<sup>83</sup>

4  
24. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.<sup>84</sup>

A.

(1) V, v, 55-56:  
Rein up *the organs of her fantasy*,  
Sleep she as sound as careless infancy.

P. L., IV, 800-02 (*Eve, tempted by  
Satan*):  
Squat like a toad . . . .  
Assaying by his devilish art to reach  
*The organs of her fancy*.—(T)

25. *As You Like It*.

A.

(1) IV, iii, 109-13:  
A green and gilded *snake* . . . . un-  
link'd itself  
And *with indented glides* did slip away

P. L., IX, 495-97:  
The . . . . *serpent* . . . .  
Addressed his way—not *with indented  
wave*,  
Prone on the ground, as since . . . .  
—(N)

(2) I, iii, 110-12:  
Alas, what *danger* will it be to us,  
*Maids* as we are, to travel forth so far.  
*Beauty* provoketh thieves sooner than  
gold.

Comus, 393-402:  
*Beauty* . . . . had need the guard  
Of dragon-watch with unenchanted  
eye . . . .  
*Danger* will [not] wink on Oppor-  
tunity  
And let a single helpless *maiden* pass.  
—(W)

26. *Twelfth Night*.<sup>85</sup>

A.

(1) II, iv, 21-22:  
It gives a very echo to *the seat*  
Where *love* is throned.

P. L., 589-91:  
*Love* . . . . hath his *seat*  
In reason.—(V)

(2) III, i, 89:  
My *legs* do better *understand* me than  
I understand what you mean.

P. L., VI, 621-25 (*Belial, punning on  
the terms of weight sent from the  
cannon's mouth*):

<sup>83</sup> This single and unimportant phrase, which, as eds. note, is used also by Crashaw, Vaughn, and Dryden, clearly does not prove that Milton remembered the play. The same applies to the item given under *The Merry Wives*.

<sup>84</sup> See also n. 15.

<sup>85</sup> See also n. 74.

Who receives them right  
Had need *from head to foot well under-*  
*stand.*—(T)<sup>86</sup>

## 27. *Troilus and Cressida.*

### A.

(1) III, iii, 239:  
Great Hector in his *weeds of peace.*

*L'Allegro*, 119-20:  
Throngs of Knights and Barons  
bold  
In *weeds of peace* high triumphs  
hold.—(T)

(2) IV, i, 8:  
Witness the *process of your speech.*

*P. L.*, VII, 176-78:  
The acts of God . . . to human  
ears  
Cannot without *process of speech* be  
told.—(T)

(3) IV, iv, 120-21:  
The *lustre* in your eye, *heaven* in your  
cheek  
Pleads your fair usage.

*P. L.*, VIII, 488:  
Grace was in all her steps, *heaven* in  
her eye.—(N)<sup>87</sup>

## 28. *All's Well That Ends Well.*

### A.

(1) I, i, 99-100 (*Helena upon her*  
*"bright particular star"*):  
In his bright *radiance* and *collateral*  
light  
Must I be comforted.

*P. L.*, X, 85 (*Christ rising to judge*  
*Man*):  
From his *radiant* seat he rose  
Of high *collateral* glory.—(T)

(2) III, iii, 5-6 (*Bertram accepting his*  
*commission*):  
We'll strive to bear it for your worthy  
sake  
To the *extreme edge of hazard.*

*P. R.*, I, 94-95 (*Satan on the coming*  
*of Christ*):  
Ye see our danger on the *utmost edge*  
of *hazard.*

(3) I, i, 136-138 (*Parolles to Helena*):  
*It is not politic* in the commonwealth  
of *nature* to *preserve virginity.* Loss of  
virginity is rational increase.

*Comus*, 720-738 (*Comus to the Lady*):  
If all the world  
Should in a fit of temperance, feed  
on pulse . . .

<sup>86</sup> Todd and Verity suggest that Milton borrowed this "miserable equivocation" from Shakspeare, and quote also, *Two Gentlemen*, II, v, 28: "My staff understands me." The pun, however, had had a wide currency. Jonson and others laughed frequently at the "grave understanders of the pit."

<sup>87</sup> Todd, however, quotes from *Philaster*, "Heaven is in your eyes," and, less closely, from Phineas Fletcher.

We should . . . live like *Nature's*  
 bastards, not her sons,  
*Who would be quite surcharged with her*  
*own weight . . .*  
 List, Lady be not coy and be not  
 cozened  
 With that same vaunted name,  
*Virginity . . .*<sup>88</sup>

29. *Measure for Measure.*

A. and B.

(1) III, i, 116-28 (*Claudio on the fear  
 of death*):

To die and go we know not where;  
 To lie in cold obstruction and to rot;  
*This sensible warm motion* to become  
 A kneaded clod, and the delighted  
 spirit

*To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside  
 In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice;*  
 To be imprison'd in the viewless winds  
*And blown with restless violence round*  
 about<sup>89</sup>

*The pendent world . . . 'tis too hor-*  
 rible.

*P. L.*, II, 146-51:

Sad cure . . . To perish . . .  
 In the wide womb of uncreated light  
*Devoid of sense and motion.*—(T)<sup>90</sup>

*Id.*, II, 598-601:

The bitter change . . . Of fierce  
 extremes . . .  
 From beds of raging fires to starve in ice  
*Their soft ethereal warmth.*—(N)<sup>90</sup>

*Id.*, III, 487-89 (*When unworthy  
 seekers of heaven reach Limbo*):  
 A violent cross wind from either coast  
 Blows them transverse, ten thousand  
 leagues awry  
 Into the devious air.

*Id.*, II, 1051-52:

*This pendent world.*—(T)<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> This theme, of course, had wide currency in the literature of the Renaissance. (It was a favorite with the sonneteers, including Shakspeare, and appears prominently in Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, Jonson's *Volpone*, and elsewhere.) But, though the theme was a commonplace, Shakspeare's treatment of it—for which see also *Romeo and Juliet*, I, i, 222-25—is not likely to have escaped Milton.

<sup>89</sup> "Milton evidently alludes to Shakspeare, in the expression as well as the sentiment" (Todd).

<sup>90</sup> This antithesis is a familiar one (eds. cite examples from the *Book of Job*, Dante, Surrey, etc.), but Milton apparently remembered this whole speech.

<sup>91</sup> Verity compares this and the preceding line with *P. L.*, II, 178-82:

We perhaps . . .  
 Caught in a fiery tempest, shall be hurled,  
 Each on his rock transfix'd, the sport and prey  
 Of racking whirlwinds.

The Limbo passage quoted in the text seems to me the more apposite.

<sup>92</sup> For another parallelism, based upon a common (Biblical) source, cf. *Meas.*, II, ii, 122; *P. L.*, VIII, 77-78; and *Psalms*, II, 4.

None of the commentators, so far as I know, has noted the organic quality of Milton's recollection of Claudio's speech, nor has anyone called attention to the likeness between the close of the speech and Milton's description of the violent winds of Limbo. The cumulative effect of the evidence supports the inference that Milton remembered Shakspeare in this as in the other details.

### 30. *Pericles*.

A.

(1) II, ii, 4-7:

Our daughter,  
In honor of whose birth *these triumphs*  
are,  
Sits here, like *beauty's child*, whom  
*nature* gat  
For men to see, and seeing wonder at.

*Comus*, 745-47:

*Beauty is Nature's brag, and must be  
shown  
In courts, at feasts, and high solemnities,  
Where most may wonder at the work-  
manship.*—(T)<sup>88</sup>

### 31. *Cymbeline*.

A.<sup>84</sup>

(1) II, iii, 21:

Hark hark, the lark at heaven's gate  
sings.

*P. L.*, V, 197-98:

Ye birds  
That singing up to Heaven-gate as-  
cend.—(T)<sup>85</sup>

(2) IV, ii, 278:

*Ghost unlaid* forbear thee.

*Comus*, 432-37:

Stubborn *unlaid ghost*.—(T)<sup>86</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Todd, however, quotes also a passage, equally close to Milton, from Drayton's *Legend of Matilda*:

Nature thee ordayned  
As her brav'st Piece . . .  
(Wherein her former workmanship she stayned) . . .  
Hoard not thy beauty when thou hast such store.

<sup>84</sup> See n. 49. Todd compares also

*Cymb.* II, iv, 87-88 (*Imogen's  
chamber*):

The roof o' the chamber  
With golden cherubims is  
fretted.

*P. L.*, I, 714 (*from the description  
of Pandemonium*):

Doric pillars overlaid  
With golden architrave.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Sonnet 29, "The lark at break of day arising." Eds. cite somewhat similar passages from Phineas Fletcher and John Lyly, but there can be little doubt that Shakspeare's line was immediately in Milton's memory here.

<sup>86</sup> See also *P. R.*, IV, 426-30:

Till morning fair . . . *laid* the winds  
And *griesly spectres*, which the Fiend had raised,—

## B.

- (1) One of the most dramatic moments in *Paradise Lost* is that which pictures Satan's emotions when, bent upon consummating the fall of man, he sees Eve—who remains unconscious of his presence and whose beauty and innocence for a moment deter him from his evil purpose. In dramatic conception, and perhaps also in language, the passage seems to me to owe something to the very similar one in *Cymbeline* which describes Iachomo's equally malignant descent—equally delayed by stirrings of conscience—upon the sleeping Imogen. Satan, in other words, belongs to a dramatic tradition which includes Iachomo as well as Iago.<sup>97</sup>

II, i, 12-50:

Our Taquin thus  
Did softly press the rushes ere he  
waken'd  
*The chastity he wounded.* Cytherea!  
How bravely thou becom'st thy bed,  
fresh lily,  
And whiter than the sheets! *That I*  
*might touch!*  
But kiss one kiss! . . . I lodge in  
fear,  
*Though this is a heavenly angel, hell is*  
*here.*<sup>98</sup>

*P. L.*, IX, 457-68:

*Her heavenly form*  
Angelic, but more soft and feminine,  
Her graceful innocence . . . over-  
awed  
His malice, and *with rapine sweet*  
bereaved  
His fierceness of the fierce intent it  
brought . . .  
*But the hot hell that always in him burns*  
. . . Tortures him now more, the  
more he sees.

### 32. *The Winter's Tale*.

A.<sup>99</sup>

(1) IV, iv 122-23:

*Lycidas*, 142:

---

with which Warton compares *Hamlet*, I, i, 147-49:

It was about to speak, when the cock crew.—  
And then it started like a guilty thing  
Upon a fearful summons.

(See above, n. 19, and text.)

<sup>97</sup> See above, p. 658, *Othello*, B(1).

<sup>98</sup> Compare with Posthumus's outbreak on woman's inconstancy (when Iachomo has succeeded in tricking him),—

It is the woman's part . . .

They are not constant, but are changing still . . . (II, v, 20-32)  
the *Samson* passage on the same theme. See p. 655, *Hamlet* B(4)(a).

<sup>99</sup> The phrase "forsake the court" occurs in *W. T.*, I, ii, 362, and in the *Ode*, line 13; but this is a pastoral commonplace.



Pale *primroses*  
That die unmarried.

The rather *primrose* that forsaken  
dies.—(W)<sup>100</sup>

### 33. *The Tempest*.

#### A.

(1) V, i, 16-17:

Winter's drops  
From eaves of reeds.

*Il Penseroso*, 130:

Minute drops from off the eaves.  
—(Malone)

(2) IV, i, 62:

Thy turfy mountains where live  
nibbling sheep.

*L'Allegro*, 71-72:

Russet lawns and fallows gray,  
Where the nibbling sheep do stray.  
—(W)

(3) I, ii, 376-79:

Come unto these yellow sands,  
And then take hands.  
Curtisied when you have, and kiss'd  
The wild waves whist.

*Ode on the Nativity*, 64-65:

The winds with wonder whist  
Smoothly the waters kissed  
Whispering new joys to the mild  
Ocean.

#### B.

- (1) Thyrsis—in *Comus*—is, as Moody notes,<sup>101</sup> "manifestly akin to Ariel." Both are spirits of air, and each serves as guardian and attendant upon virtue and innocence. They resemble each other in song as in deed.

V, i, 88-94:

Where the bee sucks, there suck I . . .  
Merrily, merrily, shall I live now  
Under the blossom that hangs on the  
bough.

*Comus*, 976-81:

To the ocean now I fly . . .  
Up in the broad fields of the sky  
There I suck the liquid air  
All amidst the Gardens fair . . .  
(Warburton)

Another line of Thyrsis's closing song is reminiscent of Prospero's epilogue.

Epilogue, line 1:

Now my charms are all o'erthrown . .

*Comus*, 1012:

Now my task is smoothly done . . .  
—(W)

- (2) *The Tempest's* airy voices re-echo through Paradise (before Adam and Eve lose it) as well as through *Comus's* enchanted wood.

<sup>100</sup> "It is obvious that the general texture and sentiment of this line is from *The Winter's Tale* . . . especially as [Milton] had first written 'unwedded' for 'forsaken' " (Warton). Cf. Mark Pattison, *Milton*, p. 25.

<sup>101</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

III, ii, 144-49; cf. III, iii.

This isle is full of noises

*Sounds and sweet airs*, that give delight and hurt not.

Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments

Will hum about mine ears, and sometimes *voices*

That if I then had wak'd after long sleep,

Will make me sleep again.

*P. L.*, IV, 680-82:

How often . . . have we heard  
*Celestial voices* to the midnight air.

—(D)

*Id.*, V, 547-48

Cherubic songs by night . . .

Aerial music.

*Comus*, 208:

Airy tongues that syllable men's  
names.

- (3) *Comus's* first greeting to the Lady is staged and written in the spirit of the dramatic romances, and probably with specific memories of Ferdinand's<sup>102</sup> first scene with Miranda. Ariel's song, and the Lady's, furnish a lyric setting, and then *Comus*, like Ferdinand, hails the Lady as a wondrous being, and inquires whether she be mortal or goddess.

I, ii, 421-27 (after *Ariel's* song):

Most sure, the goddess

On whom *these airs attend* . . . My  
prime request

Which I do last pronounce, is, *O you wonder!*

If you be maid or no?

*Comus*, 244-68 (after the *Echo* song):

Can any mortal mixture of earth's  
mould

Breathe such *divine* *enchanting* *ravishment?*

. . . *Hail, foreign wonder!*

Whom certain these rough shades did  
never breed

*Unless the Goddess* that in rural shrine  
Dwell'st here.

- (4) The feast in *Paradise Regained*, prepared by Satan to tempt Christ, in its stage-setting, and in the final disposition made of it, distinctly resembles that prepared by Ariel for the ship-wrecked mariners, if the stage-directions of the play may be trusted.

IV, I, 35 (THE *TEMPEST* banquet is  
arranged by Ariel and his "meaner  
fellows.")

*P. R.*, II, 236-39 (In preparing for his  
banquet, Satan):

Takes a chosen band

<sup>102</sup> What appears to be an uncomplimentary allusion on Milton's part to another character of this play—the passage in the *Apolo*gy for *Smeectymnus* in which Milton scores the "antic and dishonest gestures of *Trinculos*, buffoons and bawds"—has been thought to refer not to *The Tempest* but to the play of *Albumazor*, acted at Cambridge in 1614 (See Johnson's *Life of Milton*, *Works of Samuel Johnson*, London, 1825, VII, 70, n.).

III, iii, 17 (*Stage direction for the Banquet scene*):

*Solemn and strange music . . .*

Enter several *strange shapes*, bringing in a banquet; and *dance about it* with gentle actions of salutation; and, *inviting* the King etc., to eat, they depart.

*Alon.* What harmony is this? . . .

*Gon.* Marvellous sweet music!

(*As they try to eat,—Stage direction, III, iii, 53*)

Thunder and lightning. Enter *Ariel*, like a *harpy*; claps his wings upon the table; and, with a strange device, the banquet *vanishes*.

Of spirits likest to himself in guile  
To be at hand and at his beck appear  
If cause were to unfold some active  
scene.

*Id.*, II, 340-67:

A table richly spread in regal mode . .

By the wine . . . in order stood

Tall stripling youths rich-clad . . .

Under the trees *now tripped, now*  
solemn stood

Nymphs of Diana's train . . . <sup>103</sup>

And all the while *harmonious airs* were.  
heard . . .

The Tempter now

His *invitation* earnestly renewed.

*Id.*, II, 402-03 (*Christ refuses to eat*):

With that

Both table and provision *vanished*  
quite,

With sound of *harpies' wings* and  
talons heard.

Newton, it should be said, compares Satan's banquet with Armida's in *Jerusalem Delivered* (X, lxiv), and Todd reminds us that similar temptations appear frequently in the romances. Milton's stage-setting, at all events (the music, dance, and the rest), is closer to Shakspeare than to Tasso, and Tasso says nothing of the disappearance of the banquet with the flapping of the harpies' wings at the end. *Jerusalem Delivered* and *The Tempest*, however, may each have contributed something, for both lived in Milton's memory.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Satan commends the gay attendants to Christ as "Spirits of air, and woods, and springs . . . who come to pay Thee homage (*Id.*, II, 374-76). "These spirits," says Dunster, "remind us of Shakspeare's 'Elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves'," to whom Prospero bids farewell just before he abjures his magic. But Dunster, like the rest of the commentators, remains silent as to the stage-management of the two banquet scenes.

<sup>104</sup> The commentators have been able to accumulate scarcely half a dozen instances of possible contacts between Milton and Shakspeare's non-dramatic poems, and I can add nothing to these findings at present. So far as quantity goes, I think it may safely be said that these relationships are comparatively unimportant. I subjoin the instances referred to.

I cannot here attempt a full analysis of the material assembled above, but it may be useful—with special reference to the purposes of this study as indicated at the outset—to point to certain evident conclusions which would seem to follow.

I. If our materials may be trusted to prove anything, they prove conclusively that Milton did not forget Shakspeare in his later years, for of the Shaksperian reminiscences or likenesses pointed out above<sup>106</sup> well over two-thirds appear in *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson*.

II. Shakspeare's influence upon Milton, whether by way of verbal and figurative recollection or as a more or less immediate model in matters of dramatic technique, is surprisingly large. This conclusion seems to me inescapable, even though all reasonable discount be made for accidental or uncertain elements.<sup>106</sup> The thirty-three plays considered above<sup>107</sup> include

*Venus and Adonis*

A. (1) 453-56:

A red morn that ever yet  
betoken'd . . . .  
*Gusts and foul flaws* to herd-  
men and to herds.

*P. L.*, X, 698:

Snow and hail, and stormy  
*gust and flaw*.—(N)

(2) 956-57:

She vail'd her eyelids, who  
like *sluices*, stopt  
The *crystal* tide.

*P. L.*, V, 132-33:

Two other precious drops . . . .  
Each in their *crystal sluice*.—(T)

*Lucrece*.

A. (1) 117-18:

Till sable night . . . . *dim*  
*darkness* doth display.

*Comus*, 278:

*Dim darkness*, and this leafy  
labyrinth.—(W)

(2) See n. 78.

*Sonnets*.

A. (1) Sonnet 132:

That full *star* that ushers in  
*the even*.

*P. L.*, IV, 355:

The *stars* that usher evening.

(2) See n. 95.

<sup>106</sup> Approximately fifty in the early poems, as against over a hundred in *Paradise Lost*, and about thirty in *Paradise Regained* and *Samson*.

<sup>106</sup> Not all the illustrative material presented above may commend itself to every reader. On the other hand, some things that might be accepted without question have doubtless escaped me. Errors of omission—and perhaps of judgment—are inevitable in a study of this kind. The writer will welcome suggestions for corrections or additions.

<sup>107</sup> To which may be added *Titus Andronicus* and *1 Henry VI* (see n. 53). Of the entire Shakspeare canon only *The Comedy of Errors* and *Much Ado* are not represented in some way.

all those of major importance, with the single exception of *Much Ado*. If from this list we subtract the six or eight plays<sup>108</sup> which seem not to have yielded at least two or more fairly recognizable echoes, there remain twenty-five which Milton did not forget, and these include the greatest of the tragedies, histories, and comedies. It would be difficult to say which of the three types made the strongest impression upon him, were it not for the fact that the influence of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* is easily recognizable as the most important of all. Next in order among the tragedies are *Lear* and *Othello*. First among the histories stands the group of plays centering about Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, with *Richard III* scarcely less important. Among the comedies Milton drew most heavily upon *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*. It is evident, finally, that quantitatively as well as qualitatively the several plays contributed their quota of recollection or influence in various ways. In the case of *Measure for Measure*, for instance, a single speech impressed itself indelibly upon Milton's memory, whereas scarcely an act or a major theme of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* escaped him.

III. Further study of the materials presented above may yield more definite conclusions as to the exact nature of Shakspeare's influence upon Milton than I can undertake to formulate at present. The problem, however, would necessarily present difficulties at any time. At best, perhaps, it admits of an estimate of general probabilities rather than of an exact analysis of facts.

For one thing, the reader will have observed that the two classifications under which I have grouped the material—like any that might have been adopted—overlap to some extent. I believe, however, that they have served to emphasize a distinction worth making. Two-thirds of Milton's Shaksperian recollection—to employ the quantitative test once more—is verbal or figurative. The remaining fraction, which is dramatic, though less in bulk is no less interesting in kind.

<sup>108</sup> I.e., *The Two Gentlemen*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Merry Wives*, *Pericles*, *Timon*, 3 *Henry VI*, and perhaps *Twelfth Night* and *Henry VIII*. (I do not include 2 *Henry VI* and *The Winter's Tale* in this list of eliminations, because one or two of the few echoes from these plays have been generally accepted as clear and unmistakable.)

As regards the verbal and figurative material, one or two obvious remarks must suffice. In studying the evidence it is constantly to be remembered that the two poets drew upon a common stock of poetic diction and imagery, the heritage of the Renaissance. This fact, however, does not seriously diminish the sum total of Milton's verbal indebtedness to Shakspeare. His borrowings vary in degree and kind. Some, especially his appropriations of descriptive nouns and adjectives, are as sharp and clean-cut as "complete" steel, as sturdily obvious as clouted shoon treading upon this goodly frame, the earth. Others ("drowsy-flighted") steal upon the ear less obviously. These draw in their train shadowy recollections of a turn of phrase, a cadence, or modulation well-loved though scarce remembered; and these have no less power to haunt and startle and waylay. Shakspeare's personifications—grim-visaged war, fiery expedition, and their kin—are Milton's familiars as much as Shakspeare's. Again, Shaksperian imagery is constantly recognizable in Milton's description of nature—of flowers, birds and trees, dawn and night, moon and stars and tempest, and in the visible forms he gives to such abstractions as sleep and war, death and peace.

Of the probable or possible influence of Shakspeare upon Milton's dramaturgy I have given numerous instances in the body of this paper. These may be said to fall into three categories. In the first place, there are many likenesses in dramatic theme—the *Paradise Lost* theme in *Othello* and *Macbeth*, the compound echoes of the *Hamlet* soliloquies in *Paradise Lost*, and the ideal of kingship as developed in the histories, in *Paradise Lost*, and *Paradise Regained*. Next, Milton is probably indebted to Shakspeare for certain details in his stage-settings and backgrounds (the aerial voices and the magic shadow-shapes of attendant spirits in *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*, the *Tempest*-like banquet of *Paradise Regained*); and perhaps also for occasional hints of dramatic incident (Antony's challenge, and Samson's), and dramatic symbolism (the change of seasons in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *Paradise Lost*, the storm in *Lear* and in *Paradise Regained*). Finally, the true inwardness as well as the outward appearances of Shakspeare's characters are reflected in Milton's. The majestic figure of the elder Hamlet rises again in the shape of Beelzebub addressing his

peers in Pandemonium; Hecate and the weird sisters cast their spells over the dark shades in which dwell Comus and Sin and Death; but Puck and Ariel lend their airy might to aid Thyrsis in undoing these charms. For the rest, we have seen that Eve, in *her* infinite variety, suggests Desdemona and Lady Macbeth and Cleopatra, and that Samson lives and dies with something of the same tragic intensity, disillusionment, and nobility as Macbeth, and Antony, and Julius Caesar. Adam, in rare moments, proclaims himself a worthy progenitor of Hamlet, and Satan, noblest of them all, holds in solution all the black malice of Iachomo, Iago, and Richard III, together with the indomitable strength and the lamentable human weakness of Henry IV, and King Claudius, and Macbeth.

ALWIN THALER.

### XXXIII. THE PASSIONATE SHEPHERD; AND ENGLISH POETRY

The aim of the following paper is two-fold. First, its endeavor is to point out the probable source of Christopher Marlowe's posthumously published pastoral poem, "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love," and to trace the direct influence of this set of verses through English literature down to the present time. Second, the article strives to demonstrate the fact that, initiated by Marlowe's poem and its frequent imitation, a literary device, "the invitation to love," became established in English literature and has persisted in it down to our own time. My design, therefore, may be briefly given as a discussion of "The Passionate Shepherd" and its influence, with an incidental history of the invitation to love so far as it is related to Marlowe's poem.

"The Passionate Shepherd," as the title indicates, is addressed by a shepherd lover to his beloved. The version printed in 1600 in *England's Helicon*<sup>1</sup> opens with the line,

Come live with me and be my love.

The remainder of the stanza sets the scene in rural surroundings, where the appropriate pleasures will be enjoyed. These delights, enumerated in the five stanzas following, consist, first, of sitting by a river, watching the shepherds with their flocks and listening to the birds sing to the accompaniment of a waterfall; second, of rosy beds and flower-adorned garments;

<sup>1</sup> *England's Helicon*, ed. Bullen, London, 1887. Pp. 229-30. The poem, as printed in *England's Helicon*, consisted of six stanzas, whereas in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, where it had appeared first in 1599, only four had been given. The added stanzas are the fourth and sixth of the 1600 version. Jaggard had included "The Passionate Shepherd" in his *The Passionate Pilgrim*, perhaps because of the title of the poem and because of the occurrence of snatches of it in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, III, 1, ll. 17ff. Ingram in his *Christopher Marlowe and his Associates* (pp. 222-23) prints a version of Marlowe's poem from a sixteenth century manuscript. This differs in certain details from the Elizabethan published forms of the lines. From the same source Ingram prints Raleigh's "The Nymph's Reply," giving a text somewhat different from that usually published.



third, of a lambs-wool gown and gold-buckled slippers; fourth, of a belt of straw and ivy with coral clasps and amber studs; fifth, of entertainments by the shepherds on May mornings. Stanza five—the concluding stanza as printed in *The Passionate Pilgrim*<sup>2</sup>—ends with the couplet,

And if these pleasures may thee move,  
Come live with me and be my love.

The final stanza—added in *England's Helicon*—closes similarly:

If these delights thy mind may move,  
Then live with me and be my love.

The difference in texts may be due to the existence of two versions of the poem, one in five stanzas, the other in four, and with differing last stanzas.<sup>2a</sup> Jaggard printed the shorter text, but the next editor published the longer version and also both conclusions, as well.

In the imitations of "The Passionate Shepherd" and of the invitations to love, pastoral and non-pastoral, of which it was the forerunner in English, we may expect to find certain characteristic features: first, the formula of invitation or its equivalent, which, normally, the lover addresses to his mistress; next, the catalogue of pleasures which the speaker will provide for the nymph if she will accept his invitation. Often the opening formula is repeated at the end of the poem. Actually, however, the formal invitation is sometimes omitted; and the joys themselves are by no means always pastoral, but are perhaps merely extravagant exaggerations designed to appeal to the luxurious tastes of the lady. Sometimes they are purely fanciful rustic joys. Although frequently the invitation follows the metrical scheme of Marlowe's verses—octosyllabic iambics, rhyming in couplets and grouped in stanzas of four verses,—yet practically every measure is employed, to say nothing of prose. In such cases, as well as in those which involve other variations

<sup>2</sup> *The Passionate Pilgrim*. Photo-lithographic facsimile. Intro. by Dowden. London, 1883.

<sup>2a</sup> It may be that the two conclusions may result from two versions, each of five stanzas, of which the *England's Helicon* editor printed both last stanzas. Walton's form of the song, it should be noted, has seven stanzas, the added one being inserted between the fifth and sixth of the 1600 text.

from the material or the form of "The Passionate Shepherd," the indebtedness is not so much to that poem directly as it is to the tradition formulated in it and established by it.

Other poems there are, containing invitations to love, which derive neither from the classics, nor from Marlowe or the Marlovian tradition. The delights in store for the yielding nymph are not those of the literary pastoral, but the more prosaic and earthly joys to be expected by the wife of a more or less well-to-do yeoman. The invitation, although often formally expressed, is more realistic, or even naturalistic, than the usual pastoral invitation. The origin of such sets of verses—which are usually broadsides or plainly "popular" songs<sup>3</sup>—is to be sought in contemporary life, in negotiations for dowries and the like, rather than in literature. Accordingly, poems which appear to be based wholly upon real life and not upon literary pastoralism are omitted from the present discussion. On the other hand, I shall not exclude from consideration poems which, although obviously for popular consumption, show signs of distinctly literary influence, whether from Marlowe, or from his classical forbears, or from his imitators. They represent a song-writer's attempt to rise somewhat above the usual level of performance in his class.

# I

The ultimate source of Marlowe's poem, "The Passionate Shepherd to his Love," seems to be the "Idyl XI" of Theocritus. Here the Cyclops Polyphemus, a shepherd, courts the nymph Galatea. In his address to her, he attempts to offset his personal defects and to overcome her repugnance by enumerating his possessions and listing the rustic delicacies and pleasures which she shall enjoy if she will come to him. A formal invitation occurs in the course of the Cyclops' speech.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> As for instance, "The Faithful Farmer" (*Roxburghe Ballads*, IV, 372-75), which does suggest, though, Doni's "Stanze dello Sparpaglio alla Silvana"; "The Countryman's Delight" (*ibid.*, III, 593-96); "The Country Lover's Conquest" (*ibid.*, VII, 338-39), and "Daintie, Come Thou to Me" (*Twenty-five Old Ballads and Songs from Manuscripts*, ed. Collier, London, 1869). A complete list would be much longer.

<sup>4</sup> L. 42. See *Idylls of Theocritus*, ed. Cholmeley, London, 1919. Giles Fletcher the Elder has what has been called an adaptation of "Idyl XI" in his *Licia*, 1593. He gives the source, however, as Lucian.

A more immediate classical source for "The Passionate Shepherd" is to be found in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Bk. XIII,<sup>6</sup> which also gives a version of the legend of Polyphemus and Galatea. The Cyclopean lover here tells the nymph of his cave in the mountains; of his orchards; of his flocks; of the abundance of milk; of the choice pets his love shall have. This inventory of delights concludes with the line,

Jam, Galatea, veni; nec munera despicere nostra.<sup>6</sup>

Although "Idyl XI" was translated into English in *Six Idyllia*<sup>7</sup> and although Marlowe pretty certainly read Greek, the English poem resembles more closely the Ovidian passage than the Greek pastoral or its English version. There seems to be no evidence that "The Passionate Shepherd" owes anything to Virgil's "Eclogue II,"<sup>8</sup> where the invitation is addressed to a boy, or to Calpurnius' "Eclogue II," in which a contention in gifts occurs, or to his "Eclogue XI." Nor is there indebtedness to Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, Bk. II.

A number of fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian pastoral poems, both Latin and vernacular, contain invitations to love accompanied by offers of gifts.<sup>9</sup> Research has revealed few invitations in sixteenth century French poetry. There is, however, no evidence that Marlowe was acquainted with any of these poems.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 789 ff.

<sup>7</sup> L. 839.

<sup>8</sup> Oxford, 1588.

<sup>9</sup> Vergil's eclogues were translated into English by Fleming, 1589; "Eclogue II" appeared Englished in Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetry*, 1586; and in Fraunce's *Lawyer's Logic*, 1588, and in his *Ivychurch*, 1591. This same Vergilian pastoral Barnfield imitated in his *The Affectionate Shepherd*, 1594.

<sup>10</sup> For example, in Lorenzo de Medici, *La Nencia da Barberino*, stanzas 14, 34; Jacopo Sannazaro, "Ecloga II" (trans. by Nahum Tate, and published in *Poems by Several Hands*, London, 1685); Baldassar Castiglione, "Ecloga" (founded upon Theocritus or Ovid); Francesco Molza, *La Ninfa Tiberina*; Francesco Doni, "Stanze dello Sparpaglio alla Silvana, sua Innamorata." The invitation is to be found in Italian plays, as Niccolo da Correggio, *Cefalo*, Act I (see Greg. *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 165-66); Battista Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido*, II, 2, 3. It should be noted that Doni's and Guarini's passages of invitation are strongly comic and that comedy is not absent from Lorenzo's charming pastoral.

<sup>11</sup> Ronsard's "Eclogue II" has an invitation with a list of delights which depend on the maid's accepting her lover. The same poet's "Le Cyclope Amoureux" is merely an expanded version of the Ovidian passage.

In English before Marlowe's time there are traces of the invitation to love, though they are few. The early fifteenth century religious lyric, once attributed to Lydgate, "Quia Amore Languo,"<sup>10</sup> contains an invitation with a list of pleasures. The poem is based upon the *Canticles*, the refrain, which serves as title, being taken from V, 8. It is an allegorization of the Hebrew love song: the speaker is Christ and his mistress, the Church. The specific source is probably *Canticles*, VII, 11-13. Another poem which owes its suggestion to the *Canticles* is the mystical "After Mydnyght, when Dremes Dothe Fawll."<sup>11</sup> In this a voice addresses the poet, inviting him to come forth into the morning, together with a description of its beauties. Finally, the invitation and the joys are interpreted in terms of religious symbolism. Again, an invitation passage appears in the January eclogue of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.<sup>12</sup> Here Colin tells how Hobbinol courts him with "dayly suit" and gives him "clownish gifts" of kids, cracknells, and early fruit. These Colin disdains, presenting them to Rosalind, his own love. The source of the Spenserian passage is, no doubt, Vergil's "Eclogue II," although in the gloss, E. K. mentions Plato's "Alcibiades," with its account of the love of Socrates for Alcibiades. The annotator quotes also Xenophon and Maximus Tyrius upon Socrates and Alcibiades.<sup>13</sup> Almost coincident<sup>14</sup> with *The Shepherd's Calendar*, was *The May Lady* of Sidney, in which was introduced "Espilus and Therion, Their Contention for the Maylady."<sup>15</sup> The rivals are Espilus, a shepherd, and Therion, a forester. They bid for her, each enumerating his

<sup>10</sup> Most recently printed by Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, No. 132, pp. 234-37.

<sup>11</sup> *Songs and Ballads . . . Chiefly of the Reign of Phillip and Mary*, ed. by T. Wright. Roxburghe Club. London, 1860. Pp. 32-34.

<sup>12</sup> Ll. 56-60. Spenser's *Complete Poems*, ed. by R. E. N. Dodge, Boston, 1908.

<sup>13</sup> Evidently here E. K. is forestalling possible criticism of the morality of the passage, by recalling the affection of Socrates for Alcibiades. In the note preceding that cited, he points out a borrowing from a line in Vergil's eclogue. The references are to Plato's *Alcibiades I*, pp. 106-07 (ed. Croiset, Paris, 1920); cf. also the *Symposium*; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, Bk. I, Ch. 2; Maximus Tyrius, *Logoi*, III, 8, XXV, 3.

<sup>14</sup> In 1578.

<sup>15</sup> In *England's Helicon*, Bullen's ed., pp. 138-39.

possessions, which are appropriate to their respective occupations. Of this the source is perhaps Calpurnius' "Eclogue II." It should be noted, however, that the so-called "contention of the Clerk and Knight" of Middle English literature bears some resemblance to the pastoral contention in gifts. This is well illustrated in an Elizabethan poem, subsequent to Sidney's mask, *Phyllis and Flora*, by "R. S."<sup>16</sup> A description of the pleasures of the shepherd's life, in which its peacefulness and ease are contrasted with the strife and toil of other callings, is found in William Warner's *Albion's England* (1586).<sup>16a</sup> The passage, which is addressed by Curan to Argenteile, is cast as advice rather than as an invitation.<sup>16b</sup>

What seems to be the earliest employment of the genuine invitation to love in English<sup>17</sup> is by Marlowe himself in his earliest produced play, *Tamburlaine, Part I*,<sup>18</sup> which dates apparently from 1587-88. In I, 2, the shepherd conqueror Tamburlaine courts the captive Princess Zelmane. The passage is almost certainly an adaptation of the wooing of Polyphemus in the *Metamorphoses*. Both lovers are shepherds of great stature and of violent dispositions; and both slay their rivals.

Tamburlaine opens his suit with

Disdaines Zenocrate to liue with me?

He then promises her various luxuries, including an escort of Tartars and rich garments. His army's booty

<sup>16</sup> Ed. by T. Wright in Appendix, *The Latin Poems . . . Attributed to Walter Mapes*. Camden Society. London, 1841. Pp. 364-70. For this reference, as for other valuable suggestions, I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown.

<sup>16a</sup> *Poems*, ed. Chalmers. *English Poets*. London, 1810. V, 553.

<sup>16b</sup> Professor W. M. Dixon cites the speech, nevertheless, as an invitation to love earlier than Marlowe's (*English Epic and Heroic Poetry*. London, 1912. P. 175).

<sup>17</sup> In Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris*, II, 1 (produced before 1584) had been a passage with suggestions of the matter and method of the invitation. To influence their judge, the shepherd Paris, Juno, Pallas, and Venus, respectively, offer him wealth and power, wisdom, and love. But there is no question of exciting love toward them in their addresses to Paris, so that the scene must be set down as only a kind of forerunner of those of Marlowe in style, and as foreshadowing also his non-amorous passages in invitation style.

<sup>18</sup> For this and other references to Marlowe's writings, see *Works*, ed. by Tucker Brooke. Oxford, 1910.

Shall all we offer to *Zenocrate*—  
And then my selfe to faire *Zenocrate*.

A few lines later, in Tamburlaine's appeal to the Persian general Theridamas to join with him, Marlowe adopts the method of the later invitation to love. The Scythian's inducements are prefaced by the line,

If thou wilt stay with me, renowned man,

and conclude with the couplet,

Then shalt thou be Competitor with me,  
And sit with *Tamburlaine* in all his majestie.

A third passage in the same tragedy, significant because of its suggestion of the author's great lyric, occurs in III, 2, where, in explaining the cause of her disquiet, Zenocrate reveals her love for Tamburlaine in the lines:

Ah, life and soule, still houer in his Breast,  
And leaue my body sencelesse as the earth.  
Or els vnite you to his life and soule,  
That I may liue and die with *Tamburlaine*.

In *Tamburlaine, Part II*, I, 3, is another passage which exhibits a certain affinity to "The Passionate Shepherd." Callapine, the son of Bajazet, and a prisoner of Tamburlaine, bribes his keeper Almeda to free him. The Turk promises his jailor that he shall have the choice of tributary kingdoms, a thousand galleys for piratical raids, Grecian virgins to wait upon him, naked negroes to draw his coach over Turkey-carpeted pavements, and a gem-adorned canopy to be borne over him. At this point, the eloquence or the imagination of Callapine failing, he breaks down in his appeal. There is, of course, no formula of invitation in the passage, since love is not the theme. But there is an application of the idea: of moving someone to a course of action through an appeal to his desire for luxury, by means of exaggeratedly rich joys and delicacies. Later on in the same play (IV, 2) a love scene occurs in which the invitation is used in courtship in its normal fashion. Theridamas woos the captive Olympia, telling her she shall be "stately Queene of faire *Argier*," and in a robe of cloth of gold, seated upon the

marble turrets of his palace, shall command all she sees, being accompanied by her suitor who will give up war for her sake and talk to her of love. A formal invitation is lacking.

In the passages thus far cited we seem to have a series of advance hints rather than echoes of "The Passionate Shepherd." But when we come to *The Jew of Malta* (1589) we find an invitation to love (IV, 4) which is so close in its phrasing to the lyric that it must be regarded as a direct reminiscence.<sup>19</sup> Ithimore, the slave of Barabas, exhorts Bellamira, the courtesan, to flee with him to Greece, the rustic beauties of which he extols and names to her as delights to be enjoyed. The passage, which is in decasyllabic couplets, begins with a virtual invitation, and concludes with the octosyllabic lines:

Thou in those Groues, by *Dis* aboue,  
Shalt liue with me and be my loue.

In putting these ornamental lines into the mouth of a villainous and foolish Thracian slave as addressed to a Maltese courtesan who is hoodwinking him, possibly Marlowe was mischievously parodying his own "Passionate Shepherd."

At least three passages in Marlowe's *Edward II* (1591-92) show traces of the influence of its author's pastoral lyric. The first of these is in Gaveston's opening soliloquy (I, 1, ll. 1-5). Here the banished favorite enters, reading a letter from King Edward, in which the latter invites Gaveston to return to court. Gaveston thus comments upon the invitation:

What greater blisse can hap to *Gaueston*,  
Then liue and be the favorit of a king?

Further on in the same scene (ll. 51-73), Gaveston, still soliloquizing, formulates his plans for maintaining himself in the royal favor. They include the provision of a series of delights suited to Edward's tastes, emphasizing music and poetry, these being offered in the shape of elaborate masques and "disguisings." Again, at ll. 136-37, Edward himself borrows from "The Passionate Shepherd." In reply to the expostulations of the nobles against his renewed relations with Gaveston, he concludes an angry speech with

<sup>19</sup> Ward points out the resemblance (*Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, I, 321, note).

III, ii, 144-49; cf. III, iii.

This isle is full of noises

*Sounds and sweet airs*, that give delight and hurt not.

Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments

Will hum about mine ears, and sometimes *voices*

That if I then had wak'd after long sleep,

Will make me sleep again.

*P. L.*, IV, 680-82:

How often . . . have we heard  
*Celestial voices* to the midnight air.

—(D)

*Id.*, V, 547-48

Cherubic songs by night . . .

Aerial music.

*Comus*, 208:

Airy tongues that syllable men's names.

- (3) Comus's first greeting to the Lady is staged and written in the spirit of the dramatic romances, and probably with specific memories of Ferdinand's<sup>102</sup> first scene with Miranda. Ariel's song, and the Lady's, furnish a lyric setting, and then Comus, like Ferdinand, hails the Lady as a wondrous being, and inquires whether she be mortal or goddess.

I, ii, 421-27 (after *Ariel's song*):

Most sure, the goddess

On whom these *airs attend* . . . My prime request

Which I do last pronounce, is, O you wonder!

If you be maid or no?

*Comus*, 244-68 (after the *Echo song*):

Can any mortal mixture of earth's mould

Breathe such *divine* *inchanting* *ravishment*?

. . . Hail, foreign wonder!

Whom certain these rough shades did never breed

Unless the Goddess that in rural shrine Dwell'st here.

- (4) The feast in *Paradise Regained*, prepared by Satan to tempt Christ, in its stage-setting, and in the final disposition made of it, distinctly resembles that prepared by Ariel for the ship-wrecked mariners, if the stage-directions of the play may be trusted.

IV, I, 35 (THE TEMPEST banquet is arranged by Ariel and his "meaner fellows.")

*P. R.*, II, 236-39 (In preparing for his banquet, Satan):

Takes a chosen band

<sup>102</sup> What appears to be an uncomplimentary allusion on Milton's part to another character of this play—the passage in the *Apology for Smectymnus* in which Milton scores the "antic and dishonest gestures of *Trinculos*, buffoons and bawds"—has been thought to refer not to *The Tempest* but to the play of *Albunazor*, acted at Cambridge in 1614 (See Johnson's *Life of Milton*, *Works of Samuel Johnson*, London, 1825, VII, 70, n.).



- Of spirits likest to himself in guile  
To be at hand and at his beck appear  
If cause were to unfold some active scene.
- III, iii, 17 (*Stage direction for the Banquet scene*):  
*Solemn and strange music . . .*  
Enter several *strange shapes*, bringing  
in a banquet; and *dance about it* with gentle actions of salutation; and, *inviting* the King etc., to eat, they depart.
- Alon.* What harmony is this? . . .  
*Gon.* Marvellous sweet music!
- Id.*, II, 340-67:  
A table richly spread in regal mode . .  
By the wine . . . in order stood  
Tall stripling youths rich-clad . . .  
Under the trees *now tripped, now*  
solemn stood  
Nymphs of Diana's train . . . <sup>103</sup>  
And all the while *harmonious airs* were.  
heard . . .  
The Tempter now  
His *invitation* earnestly renewed.
- (*As they try to eat,—Stage direction, III, iii, 53*)  
Thunder and lightning. Enter *Ariel, like a harpy*; claps his wings upon the table; and, with a strange device, the banquet *vanishes*.
- Id.*, II, 402-03 (*Christ refuses to eat*):  
With that  
Both table and provision *vanished*  
quite,  
With sound of *harpies' wings* and talons heard.

Newton, it should be said, compares Satan's banquet with Armida's in *Jerusalem Delivered* (X, lxiv), and Todd reminds us that similar temptations appear frequently in the romances. Milton's stage-setting, at all events (the music, dance, and the rest), is closer to Shakspeare than to Tasso, and Tasso says nothing of the disappearance of the banquet with the flapping of the harpies' wings at the end. *Jerusalem Delivered* and *The Tempest*, however, may each have contributed something, for both lived in Milton's memory.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Satan commends the gay attendants to Christ as "Spirits of air, and woods, and springs . . . who come to pay Thee homage (*Id.*, II, 374-76). "These spirits," says Dunster, "remind us of Shakspeare's 'Elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves,'" to whom Prospero bids farewell just before he abjures his magic. But Dunster, like the rest of the commentators, remains silent as to the stage-management of the two banquet scenes.

<sup>104</sup> The commentators have been able to accumulate scarcely half a dozen instances of possible contacts between Milton and Shakspeare's non-dramatic poems, and I can add nothing to these findings at present. So far as quantity goes, I think it may safely be said that these relationships are comparatively unimportant. I subjoin the instances referred to.

I cannot here attempt a full analysis of the material assembled above, but it may be useful—with special reference to the purposes of this study as indicated at the outset—to point to certain evident conclusions which would seem to follow.

I. If our materials may be trusted to prove anything, they prove conclusively that Milton did not forget Shakspeare in his later years, for of the Shaksperian reminiscences or likenesses pointed out above<sup>105</sup> well over two-thirds appear in *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson*.

II. Shakspeare's influence upon Milton, whether by way of verbal and figurative recollection or as a more or less immediate model in matters of dramatic technique, is surprisingly large. This conclusion seems to me inescapable, even though all reasonable discount be made for accidental or uncertain elements.<sup>106</sup> The thirty-three plays considered above<sup>107</sup> include

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*Venus and Adonis*

A. (1) 453-56:

A red morn that ever yet  
betoken'd . . . .  
*Gusts and foul flaws* to herd-  
men and to herds.

*P. L.*, X, 698:

Snow and hail, and stormy  
*gust and flaw*.—(N)

(2) 956-57:

She vail'd her eyelids, who  
like *sluices*, stopt  
The *crystal* tide.

*P. L.*, V, 132-33:

Two other precious drops . . . .  
Each in their *crystal sluice*.—(T)

*Lucrece*.

A. (1) 117-18:

Till sable night . . . *dim*  
*darkness* doth display.

*Comus*, 278:

*Dim darkness*, and this leafy  
labyrinth.—(W)

(2) See n. 78.

*Sonnets*.

A. (1) Sonnet 132:

That full *star* that ushers in  
*the even*.

*P. L.*, IV, 355:

The *stars* that usher evening.

(2) See n. 95.

<sup>105</sup> Approximately fifty in the early poems, as against over a hundred in *Paradise Lost*, and about thirty in *Paradise Regained* and *Samson*.

<sup>106</sup> Not all the illustrative material presented above may commend itself to every reader. On the other hand, some things that might be accepted without question have doubtless escaped me. Errors of omission—and perhaps of judgment—are inevitable in a study of this kind. The writer will welcome suggestions for corrections or additions.

<sup>107</sup> To which may be added *Titus Andronicus* and *1 Henry VI* (see n. 53). Of the entire Shakspeare canon only *The Comedy of Errors* and *Much Ado* are not represented in some way.

all those of major importance, with the single exception of *Much Ado*. If from this list we subtract the six or eight plays<sup>108</sup> which seem not to have yielded at least two or more fairly recognizable echoes, there remain twenty-five which Milton did not forget, and these include the greatest of the tragedies, histories, and comedies. It would be difficult to say which of the three types made the strongest impression upon him, were it not for the fact that the influence of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* is easily recognizable as the most important of all. Next in order among the tragedies are *Lear* and *Othello*. First among the histories stands the group of plays centering about Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, with *Richard III* scarcely less important. Among the comedies Milton drew most heavily upon *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*. It is evident, finally, that quantitatively as well as qualitatively the several plays contributed their quota of recollection or influence in various ways. In the case of *Measure for Measure*, for instance, a single speech impressed itself indelibly upon Milton's memory, whereas scarcely an act or a major theme of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* escaped him.

III. Further study of the materials presented above may yield more definite conclusions as to the exact nature of Shakspeare's influence upon Milton than I can undertake to formulate at present. The problem, however, would necessarily present difficulties at any time. At best, perhaps, it admits of an estimate of general probabilities rather than of an exact analysis of facts.

For one thing, the reader will have observed that the two classifications under which I have grouped the material—like any that might have been adopted—overlap to some extent. I believe, however, that they have served to emphasize a distinction worth making. Two-thirds of Milton's Shaksperian recollection—to employ the quantitative test once more—is verbal or figurative. The remaining fraction, which is dramatic, though less in bulk is no less interesting in kind.

<sup>108</sup> I.e., *The Two Gentlemen*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Merry Wives*, *Pericles*, *Timon*, 3 *Henry VI*, and perhaps *Twelfth Night* and *Henry VIII*. (I do not include 2 *Henry VI* and *The Winter's Tale* in this list of eliminations, because one or two of the few echoes from these plays have been generally accepted as clear and unmistakable.)

As regards the verbal and figurative material, one or two obvious remarks must suffice. In studying the evidence it is constantly to be remembered that the two poets drew upon a common stock of poetic diction and imagery, the heritage of the Renaissance. This fact, however, does not seriously diminish the sum total of Milton's verbal indebtedness to Shakspeare. His borrowings vary in degree and kind. Some, especially his appropriations of descriptive nouns and adjectives, are as sharp and clean-cut as "complete" steel, as sturdily obvious as clouted shoon treading upon this goodly frame, the earth. Others ("drowsy-flighted") steal upon the ear less obviously. These draw in their train shadowy recollections of a turn of phrase, a cadence, or modulation well-loved though scarce remembered; and these have no less power to haunt and startle and waylay. Shakspeare's personifications—grim-visaged war, fiery expedition, and their kin—are Milton's familiars as much as Shakspeare's. Again, Shaksperian imagery is constantly recognizable in Milton's description of nature—of flowers, birds and trees, dawn and night, moon and stars and tempest, and in the visible forms he gives to such abstractions as sleep and war, death and peace.

Of the probable or possible influence of Shakspeare upon Milton's dramaturgy I have given numerous instances in the body of this paper. These may be said to fall into three categories. In the first place, there are many likenesses in dramatic theme—the *Paradise Lost* theme in *Othello* and *Macbeth*, the compound echoes of the *Hamlet* soliloquies in *Paradise Lost*, and the ideal of kingship as developed in the histories, in *Paradise Lost*, and *Paradise Regained*. Next, Milton is probably indebted to Shakspeare for certain details in his stage-settings and backgrounds (the aerial voices and the magic shadow-shapes of attendant spirits in *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*, the *Tempest*-like banquet of *Paradise Regained*); and perhaps also for occasional hints of dramatic incident (Antony's challenge, and Samson's), and dramatic symbolism (the change of seasons in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *Paradise Lost*, the storm in *Lear* and in *Paradise Regained*). Finally, the true inwardness as well as the outward appearances of Shakspeare's characters are reflected in Milton's. The majestic figure of the elder Hamlet rises again in the shape of Beelzebub addressing his

peers in Pandemonium; Hecate and the weird sisters cast their spells over the dark shades in which dwell Comus and Sin and Death; but Puck and Ariel lend their airy might to aid Thyrsis in undoing these charms. For the rest, we have seen that Eve, in *her* infinite variety, suggests Desdemona and Lady Macbeth and Cleopatra, and that Samson lives and dies with something of the same tragic intensity, disillusionment, and nobility as Macbeth, and Antony, and Julius Caesar. Adam, in rare moments, proclaims himself a worthy progenitor of Hamlet, and Satan, noblest of them all, holds in solution all the black malice of Iachomo, Iago, and Richard III, together with the indomitable strength and the lamentable human weakness of Henry IV, and King Claudius, and Macbeth.

ALWIN THALER.

### XXXIII. THE PASSIONATE SHEPHERD; AND ENGLISH POETRY

The aim of the following paper is two-fold. First, its endeavor is to point out the probable source of Christopher Marlowe's posthumously published pastoral poem, "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love," and to trace the direct influence of this set of verses through English literature down to the present time. Second, the article strives to demonstrate the fact that, initiated by Marlowe's poem and its frequent imitation, a literary device, "the invitation to love," became established in English literature and has persisted in it down to our own time. My design, therefore, may be briefly given as a discussion of "The Passionate Shepherd" and its influence, with an incidental history of the invitation to love so far as it is related to Marlowe's poem.

"The Passionate Shepherd," as the title indicates, is addressed by a shepherd lover to his beloved. The version printed in 1600 in *England's Helicon*<sup>1</sup> opens with the line,

Come live with me and be my love.

The remainder of the stanza sets the scene in rural surroundings, where the appropriate pleasures will be enjoyed. These delights, enumerated in the five stanzas following, consist, first, of sitting by a river, watching the shepherds with their flocks and listening to the birds sing to the accompaniment of a waterfall; second, of rosy beds and flower-adorned garments;

<sup>1</sup> *England's Helicon*, ed. Bullen, London, 1887. Pp. 229-30. The poem, as printed in *England's Helicon*, consisted of six stanzas, whereas in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, where it had appeared first in 1599, only four had been given. The added stanzas are the fourth and sixth of the 1600 version. Jaggard had included "The Passionate Shepherd" in his *The Passionate Pilgrim*, perhaps because of the title of the poem and because of the occurrence of snatches of it in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, III, 1, ll. 17ff. Ingram in his *Christopher Marlowe and his Associates* (pp. 222-23) prints a version of Marlowe's poem from a sixteenth century manuscript. This differs in certain details from the Elizabethan published forms of the lines. From the same source Ingram prints Raleigh's "The Nymph's Reply," giving a text somewhat different from that usually published.

third, of a lambs-wool gown and gold-buckled slippers; fourth, of a belt of straw and ivy with coral clasps and amber studs; fifth, of entertainments by the shepherds on May mornings. Stanza five—the concluding stanza as printed in *The Passionate Pilgrim*<sup>2</sup>—ends with the couplet,

And if these pleasures may thee move,  
Come live with me and be my love.

The final stanza—added in *England's Helicon*—closes similarly:

If these delights thy mind may move,  
Then live with me and be my love.

The difference in texts may be due to the existence of two versions of the poem, one in five stanzas, the other in four, and with differing last stanzas.<sup>2a</sup> Jaggard printed the shorter text, but the next editor published the longer version and also both conclusions, as well.

In the imitations of "The Passionate Shepherd" and of the invitations to love, pastoral and non-pastoral, of which it was the forerunner in English, we may expect to find certain characteristic features: first, the formula of invitation or its equivalent, which, normally, the lover addresses to his mistress; next, the catalogue of pleasures which the speaker will provide for the nymph if she will accept his invitation. Often the opening formula is repeated at the end of the poem. Actually, however, the formal invitation is sometimes omitted; and the joys themselves are by no means always pastoral, but are perhaps merely extravagant exaggerations designed to appeal to the luxurious tastes of the lady. Sometimes they are purely fanciful rustic joys. Although frequently the invitation follows the metrical scheme of Marlowe's verses—octosyllabic iambics, rhyming in couplets and grouped in stanzas of four verses,—yet practically every measure is employed, to say nothing of prose. In such cases, as well as in those which involve other variations

<sup>2</sup> *The Passionate Pilgrim*. Photo-lithographic facsimile. Intro. by Dowden. London, 1883.

<sup>2a</sup> It may be that the two conclusions may result from two versions, each of five stanzas, of which the *England's Helicon* editor printed both last stanzas. Walton's form of the song, it should be noted, has seven stanzas, the added one being inserted between the fifth and sixth of the 1600 text.

from the material or the form of "The Passionate Shepherd," the indebtedness is not so much to that poem directly as it is to the tradition formulated in it and established by it.

Other poems there are, containing invitations to love, which derive neither from the classics, nor from Marlowe or the Marlovian tradition. The delights in store for the yielding nymph are not those of the literary pastoral, but the more prosaic and earthly joys to be expected by the wife of a more or less well-to-do yeoman. The invitation, although often formally expressed, is more realistic, or even naturalistic, than the usual pastoral invitation. The origin of such sets of verses—which are usually broadsides or plainly "popular" songs<sup>3</sup>—is to be sought in contemporary life, in negotiations for dowries and the like, rather than in literature. Accordingly, poems which appear to be based wholly upon real life and not upon literary pastoralism are omitted from the present discussion. On the other hand, I shall not exclude from consideration poems which, although obviously for popular consumption, show signs of distinctly literary influence, whether from Marlowe, or from his classical forbears, or from his imitators. They represent a song-writer's attempt to rise somewhat above the usual level of performance in his class.

# I

The ultimate source of Marlowe's poem, "The Passionate Shepherd to his Love," seems to be the "Idyl XI" of Theocritus. Here the Cyclops Polyphemus, a shepherd, courts the nymph Galatea. In his address to her, he attempts to offset his personal defects and to overcome her repugnance by enumerating his possessions and listing the rustic delicacies and pleasures which she shall enjoy if she will come to him. A formal invitation occurs in the course of the Cyclops' speech.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> As for instance, "The Faithful Farmer" (*Roxburghe Ballads*, IV, 372-75), which does suggest, though, Doni's "Stanze dello Sparpaglio alla Silvana"; "The Countryman's Delight" (*ibid.*, III, 593-96); "The Country Lover's Conquest" (*ibid.*, VII, 338-39), and "Daintie, Come Thou to Me" (*Twenty-five Old Ballads and Songs from Manuscripts*, ed. Collier, London, 1869). A complete list would be much longer.

<sup>4</sup> L. 42. See *Idylls of Theocritus*, ed. Cholmeley, London, 1919. Giles Fletcher the Elder has what has been called an adaptation of "Idyl XI" in his *Licia*, 1593. He gives the source, however, as Lucian.



A more immediate classical source for "The Passionate Shepherd" is to be found in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Bk. XIII,<sup>6</sup> which also gives a version of the legend of Polyphemus and Galatea. The Cyclopean lover here tells the nymph of his cave in the mountains; of his orchards; of his flocks; of the abundance of milk; of the choice pets his love shall have. This inventory of delights concludes with the line,

Jam, Galatea, veni; nec munera despice nostra.<sup>6</sup>

Although "Idyl XI" was translated into English in *Six Idyllia*<sup>7</sup> and although Marlowe pretty certainly read Greek, the English poem resembles more closely the Ovidian passage than the Greek pastoral or its English version. There seems to be no evidence that "The Passionate Shepherd" owes anything to Virgil's "Eclogue II,"<sup>8</sup> where the invitation is addressed to a boy, or to Calpurnius' "Eclogue II," in which a contention in gifts occurs, or to his "Eclogue XI." Nor is there indebtedness to Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, Bk. II.

A number of fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian pastoral poems, both Latin and vernacular, contain invitations to love accompanied by offers of gifts.<sup>9</sup> Research has revealed few invitations in sixteenth century French poetry. There is, however, no evidence that Marlowe was acquainted with any of these poems.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 789 ff.

<sup>7</sup> L. 839.

<sup>8</sup> Oxford, 1588.

<sup>9</sup> Vergil's eclogues were translated into English by Fleming, 1589; "Eclogue II" appeared Englished in Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetry*, 1586; and in Fraunce's *Lawyer's Logic*, 1588, and in his *Ivychurch*, 1591. This same Vergilian pastoral Barnfield imitated in his *The Affectionate Shepherd*, 1594.

<sup>10</sup> For example, in Lorenzo de Medici, *La Nencia da Barberino*, stanzas 14, 34; Jacopo Sannazaro, "Ecloga II" (trans. by Nahum Tate, and published in *Poems by Several Hands*, London, 1685); Baldassar Castiglione, "Ecloga" (founded upon Theocritus or Ovid); Francesco Molza, *La Ninfa Tiberina*; Francesco Doni, "Stanze dello Sparpaglio alla Silvana, sua Innamorata." The invitation is to be found in Italian plays, as Niccolo da Correggio, *Cefalo*, Act I (see Greg. *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 165-66); Battista Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido*, II, 2, 3. It should be noted that Doni's and Guarini's passages of invitation are strongly comic and that comedy is not absent from Lorenzo's charming pastoral.

<sup>11</sup> Ronsard's "Eclogue II" has an invitation with a list of delights which depend on the maid's accepting her lover. The same poet's "Le Cyclope Amoureux" is merely an expanded version of the Ovidian passage.

In English before Marlowe's time there are traces of the invitation to love, though they are few. The early fifteenth century religious lyric, once attributed to Lydgate, "Quia Amore Languo,"<sup>10</sup> contains an invitation with a list of pleasures. The poem is based upon the *Canticles*, the refrain, which serves as title, being taken from V, 8. It is an allegorization of the Hebrew love song: the speaker is Christ and his mistress, the Church. The specific source is probably *Canticles*, VII, 11-13. Another poem which owes its suggestion to the *Canticles* is the mystical "After Mydnyght, when Dremes Dothe Fawll."<sup>11</sup> In this a voice addresses the poet, inviting him to come forth into the morning, together with a description of its beauties. Finally, the invitation and the joys are interpreted in terms of religious symbolism. Again, an invitation passage appears in the January eclogue of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.<sup>12</sup> Here Colin tells how Hobbinol courts him with "dayly suit" and gives him "clownish gifts" of kids, cracknells, and early fruit. These Colin disdains, presenting them to Rosalind, his own love. The source of the Spenserian passage is, no doubt, Vergil's "Eclogue II," although in the gloss, E. K. mentions Plato's "Alcibiades," with its account of the love of Socrates for Alcibiades. The annotator quotes also Xenophon and Maximus Tyrius upon Socrates and Alcibiades.<sup>13</sup> Almost coincident<sup>14</sup> with *The Shepherd's Calendar*, was *The May Lady* of Sidney, in which was introduced "Espilus and Therion, Their Contention for the Maylady."<sup>15</sup> The rivals are Espilus, a shepherd, and Therion, a forester. They bid for her, each enumerating his

<sup>10</sup> Most recently printed by Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, No. 132, pp. 234-37.

<sup>11</sup> *Songs and Ballads . . . Chiefly of the Reign of Phillip and Mary*, ed. by T. Wright. Roxburghe Club. London, 1860. Pp. 32-34.

<sup>12</sup> Ll. 56-60. Spenser's *Complete Poems*, ed. by R. E. N. Dodge, Boston, 1908.

<sup>13</sup> Evidently here E. K. is forestalling possible criticism of the morality of the passage, by recalling the affection of Socrates for Alcibiades. In the note preceding that cited, he points out a borrowing from a line in Vergil's eclogue. The references are to Plato's *Alcibiades I*, pp. 106-07 (ed. Croiset, Paris, 1920); cf. also the *Symposium*; Xenophon, *Memoriabilia*, Bk. I, Ch. 2; Maximus Tyrius, *Logoi*, III, 8, XXV, 3.

<sup>14</sup> In 1578.

<sup>15</sup> In *England's Helicon*, Bullen's ed., pp. 138-39.

possessions, which are appropriate to their respective occupations. Of this the source is perhaps Calpurnius' "Eclogue II." It should be noted, however, that the so-called "contention of the Clerk and Knight" of Middle English literature bears some resemblance to the pastoral contention in gifts. This is well illustrated in an Elizabethan poem, subsequent to Sidney's mask, *Phyllis and Flora*, by "R. S."<sup>16</sup> A description of the pleasures of the shepherd's life, in which its peacefulness and ease are contrasted with the strife and toil of other callings, is found in William Warner's *Albion's England* (1586).<sup>16a</sup> The passage, which is addressed by Curan to Argenteile, is cast as advice rather than as an invitation.<sup>16b</sup>

What seems to be the earliest employment of the genuine invitation to love in English<sup>17</sup> is by Marlowe himself in his earliest produced play, *Tamburlaine, Part I*,<sup>18</sup> which dates apparently from 1587-88. In I, 2, the shepherd conqueror Tamburlaine courts the captive Princess Zelmane. The passage is almost certainly an adaptation of the wooing of Polyphemus in the *Metamorphoses*. Both lovers are shepherds of great stature and of violent dispositions; and both slay their rivals.

Tamburlaine opens his suit with

Disdaines Zenocrate to liue with me?

He then promises her various luxuries, including an escort of Tartars and rich garments. His army's booty

<sup>16</sup> Ed. by T. Wright in Appendix, *The Latin Poems . . . Attributed to Walter Mapes*. Camden Society. London, 1841. Pp. 364-70. For this reference, as for other valuable suggestions, I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown.

<sup>16a</sup> *Poems*, ed. Chalmers. *English Poets*. London, 1810. V, 553.

<sup>16b</sup> Professor W. M. Dixon cites the speech, nevertheless, as an invitation to love earlier than Marlowe's (*English Epic and Heroic Poetry*. London, 1912. P. 175).

<sup>17</sup> In Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris*, II, 1 (produced before 1584) had been a passage with suggestions of the matter and method of the invitation. To influence their judge, the shepherd Paris, Juno, Pallas, and Venus, respectively, offer him wealth and power, wisdom, and love. But there is no question of exciting love toward them in their addresses to Paris, so that the scene must be set down as only a kind of forerunner of those of Marlowe in style, and as foreshadowing also his non-amorous passages in invitation style.

<sup>18</sup> For this and other references to Marlowe's writings, see *Works*, ed. by Tucker Brooke. Oxford, 1910.

Shall all we offer to *Zenocrate*—  
And then my selfe to faire *Zenocrate*.

A few lines later, in Tamburlaine's appeal to the Persian general Theridamas to join with him, Marlowe adopts the method of the later invitation to love. The Scythian's inducements are prefaced by the line,

If thou wilt stay with me, renowned man,

and conclude with the couplet,

Then shalt thou be Competitor with me,  
And sit with *Tamburlaine* in all his majestie.

A third passage in the same tragedy, significant because of its suggestion of the author's great lyric, occurs in III, 2, where, in explaining the cause of her disquiet, Zenocrate reveals her love for Tamburlaine in the lines:

Ah, life and soule, still houer in his Breast,  
And leaue my body sencelesse as the earth.  
Or els vnite you to his life and soule,  
That I may liue and die with *Tamburlaine*.

In *Tamburlaine, Part II*, I, 3, is another passage which exhibits a certain affinity to "The Passionate Shepherd." Callapine, the son of Bajazet, and a prisoner of Tamburlaine, bribes his keeper Almeda to free him. The Turk promises his jailor that he shall have the choice of tributary kingdoms, a thousand galleys for piratical raids, Grecian virgins to wait upon him, naked negroes to draw his coach over Turkey-carpeted pavements, and a gem-adorned canopy to be borne over him. At this point, the eloquence or the imagination of Callapine failing, he breaks down in his appeal. There is, of course, no formula of invitation in the passage, since love is not the theme. But there is an application of the idea: of moving someone to a course of action through an appeal to his desire for luxury, by means of exaggeratedly rich joys and delicacies. Later on in the same play (IV, 2) a love scene occurs in which the invitation is used in courtship in its normal fashion. Theridamas woos the captive Olympia, telling her she shall be "stately Queene of faire *Argier*," and in a robe of cloth of gold, seated upon the

marble turrets of his palace, shall command all she sees, being accompanied by her suitor who will give up war for her sake and talk to her of love. A formal invitation is lacking.

In the passages thus far cited we seem to have a series of advance hints rather than echoes of "The Passionate Shepherd." But when we come to *The Jew of Malta* (1589) we find an invitation to love (IV, 4) which is so close in its phrasing to the lyric that it must be regarded as a direct reminiscence.<sup>19</sup> Ithimore, the slave of Barabas, exhorts Bellamira, the courtesan, to flee with him to Greece, the rustic beauties of which he extols and names to her as delights to be enjoyed. The passage, which is in decasyllabic couplets, begins with a virtual invitation, and concludes with the octosyllabic lines:

Thou in those Groues, by *Dis* aboue,  
Shalt liue with me and be my loue.

In putting these ornamental lines into the mouth of a villainous and foolish Thracian slave as addressed to a Maltese courtesan who is hoodwinking him, possibly Marlowe was mischievously parodying his own "Passionate Shepherd."

At least three passages in Marlowe's *Edward II* (1591-92) show traces of the influence of its author's pastoral lyric. The first of these is in Gaveston's opening soliloquy (I, 1, ll. 1-5). Here the banished favorite enters, reading a letter from King Edward, in which the latter invites Gaveston to return to court. Gaveston thus comments upon the invitation:

What greater blisse can hap to *Gaueston*,  
Then liue and be the favorit of a king?

Further on in the same scene (ll. 51-73), Gaveston, still soliloquizing, formulates his plans for maintaining himself in the royal favor. They include the provision of a series of delights suited to Edward's tastes, emphasizing music and poetry, these being offered in the shape of elaborate masques and "disguisings." Again, at ll. 136-37, Edward himself borrows from "The Passionate Shepherd." In reply to the expostulations of the nobles against his renewed relations with Gaveston, he concludes an angry speech with

<sup>19</sup> Ward points out the resemblance (*Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, I, 321, note).

Ile bandie with the Barons and the Earles,  
And eyther die, or liue with *Gaueston*,

Marlowe's tragedy of *Dido* (completed 1594), in which Nashe had some part, contains a number of reminiscences of "The Passionate Shepherd." The first of these is in the wooing of Ganymede by Jupiter (I, 1, ll. 1-49) who promises him celestial pleasures in return for his complaisance, such as Vulcan's dancing for the boy, the Muses' singing for him, a fan from the feathers of Juno's peacock, and a bed of the down of Venus' swans. At the opening of the scene, Jupiter says:

Come gentle *Ganimed* and play with me;

and at the conclusion Ganymede asks Jupiter for "a jewell for mine eare, And a fine brouch to put in my hat," to which the god responds:

And shall haue *Ganimed*, if thou wilt be my loue.

In II, 1, ll. 599-610, Venus bribes Ascanius to remain with her while Cupid, as Ascanius, fires Dido with love for Aeneas. The gifts she promises include those which would appeal to a child, such as "Sugar-almonds, sweete Conserues," as well as a silver girdle and a golden purse. Later in the play (III, 1, ll. 748ff.), Dido begs Aeneas to remain in Carthage.

Conditionally that thou wilt stay with me,

she promises him golden tackle for his ships, ivory oars, crystal anchors, silver masts, lawn sails, her treasures for ballast. Achates, she says, shall be so clad that sea-nymphs shall throng about the ships and mermaids shall woo him,

So that *Aeneas* may but stay with me.

In IV, 5, ll. 1374-83, Cupid as Ascanius is the object of the invitation of the Nurse who desires him to go with her "vnto my house," where are an orchard with numerous kinds of fruit; hives full of honey; roses and "a thousand sort of flowers." Through it runs a silver stream with fishes in it, and upon it swans and other water fowls. She concludes her invitation with:

Now speake, *Ascanius*, will ye goe or no?

The last passage in *Dido* which recalls "The Passionate Shepherd" is in V, 1, at ll. 1412-23. Aeneas is relating his plan to build a city for himself in the Carthaginian territories. From other lands he will bring various attractions. These include the Ganges from "golden *India*." The sun, too, shall bring rich odors from Egypt to perfume the suburbs. The lyric, it should be noted, is merely suggested in the fact that Aeneas vows that he will beautify his city by these extravagant and impossible means.

There are, then, fourteen passages in Marlowe's plays in which "The Passionate Shepherd" is suggested, in material, in purpose and, at times, in metre. Some of them follow closely the formula for the invitation poem. With few exceptions these invitations, too, seek to persuade through promising certain pleasures, sometimes of a fantastic sort. These passages in Marlowe's plays may even be used to fix within a twelve-month the date of "The Passionate Shepherd." Marlowe's lyric appears to have been composed between the appearance of *Tamburlaine* and of *The Jew of Malta*, that is to say, probably in 1588. In *Tamburlaine* and perhaps in the earlier fragments of *Dido*, we seem to have a series of hints in blank verse for the poem, whereas *The Jew of Malta* contains not only a reminiscence of the lyric, but a couplet in its identical metre. That "The Passionate Shepherd" cannot reasonably be placed before *Tamburlaine* seems probable, because of the mediocrity of Marlowe's early non-dramatic verse as displayed in his translation of Ovid's *Elegies*. On the other hand the poem cannot be placed after 1589, for Greene borrows from it in his *Menaphon* which was published in that year.<sup>20</sup>

## II

Whether or not 1588 is the precise date, it is certain that from the last of the 1580's the poem was widely known. It was set to music, and its air was one of the most popular in later Elizabethan times. Between 1599 and 1683, "The Passionate

<sup>20</sup> Greene no doubt knew the poem in MS., or perhaps from recitation by its author himself. See Brooke, Marlowe's *Works*, p. 549, for an opinion as to the date of the song.

Shepherd" appeared in print at least twelve times.<sup>21</sup> During the eighteenth century there were at least ten reprints down to 1770.<sup>22</sup> From this time to the present day republication of "The Passionate Shepherd" was frequent, through the increased interest in Elizabethan literature and the appearance of the collections of old verse edited by Ritson and Ellis and their successors. In view of the various reprints of Marlowe's poem and of its persistence as a popular song, one must hesitate to dismiss as merely an accidental resemblance any likeness to it in form, matter, or aim.

The earliest case of borrowing from "The Passionate Shepherd" is the paraphrase by Greene in his prose romance *Menaphon*<sup>23</sup> to which reference has already been made. The shepherd Menaphon (whose name comes from *Tamburlaine, Part I*) walks in the mountains with his mistress Samela, and shows her his pastures and the grazing flocks. He promises her garlands of different kinds of flowers; milk from his ewes; wool for her weaving; walks upon the mountains and in the valleys; and concludes with "As much as *Menaphon* owes shall be at *Samelas* command if she like to live with *Menaphon*." The relation of this passage to Marlowe's poem is evident, not only from the resemblance in matter and form, but, as well, from the wording of the conclusion.<sup>24</sup>

In *England's Helicon* an "answer" to "The Passionate Shepherd" and an imitation of it follow the poem. These probably are to be numbered among the first works to be influenced by Marlowe's verses. The first-mentioned, "The

<sup>21</sup> In three editions of *The Passionate Pilgrim*; two of *England's Helicon*; once in Shakespeare's *Poems*; five of *The Compleat Angler*; once as a street ballad (see *The Roxburghe Ballads*, Hertford, 1874. II, pp. 3-4).

<sup>22</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1752; four editions of *The Compleat Angler*; *The Bull-Finch*, London, 1761. Part I, p. 83 (where it is headed "... from Shakespear, Sung at Ranelagh"); *The Poetical Calendar*, London, 1763. II, 53-54 (assigned to "Marloe"); Percy's *Reliques*, 1765; *A Collection of the Most Esteemed Pieces of Poetry*, London, 1767. Pp. 147-48; *A Collection of English Poems*, ed. Pearch, London, 1770. III, 290-91.

<sup>23</sup> *Complete Works*. Ed. by Grosart, 1881-83. VI, 59.

<sup>24</sup> That Marlowe based his lyric upon the passage in *Menaphon* is wholly unlikely. Elements of "The Passionate Shepherd" appear earlier, as in *Tamburlaine* and perhaps in parts of *Dido* (if that be an early play). He was, also, apparently obsessed with the pastoral invitation during his whole literary career, as evinced by his frequent use of it.



Nymph's Reply," attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh,<sup>25</sup> stanza by stanza takes up the delights offered by the shepherd and opposes to them the cool objections of prosaic common sense.<sup>26</sup> "Another of the Same Nature Made Since," which follows, is an anonymous imitation of Marlowe's verses in eleven stanzas, elaborating upon the joys of the original and promising additional pleasures. These two poems were often reprinted with "The Passionate Shepherd" and so served to exemplify the variations which might be played upon their original. Usually closely connected<sup>27</sup> with these companion poems to Marlowe's verses is "The Bait"<sup>28</sup> of Donne, which Gosse assigns<sup>29</sup> to the summer of 1597, but which may be earlier. This poem, which is in the metre of its model, lists chiefly piscatory delights, possibly suggested by "Another of the Same Nature," and wanders into an elaborate compliment to the lady. I see no evidence of the satiric intent which Gosse finds in the lines.

An early adaptation of "The Passionate Shepherd" occurs in Lodge's poem "In Commendation of a Solitarie Life."<sup>30</sup> Here is an invitation addressed to the poet's Muse, desiring her to dwell with him in a secluded rural spot which he describes. Combined with the elements from Marlowe is satiric material; Lodge inveighs against the corruption of the court and the trials of urban life. In some respects these verses foreshadow the invitations to country pleasures of such poets as Randolph and Herrick.

<sup>25</sup> In *The Compleat Angler* (facsimile reprint of the first edition), p. 64.

<sup>26</sup> Reply poems are not uncommon in Elizabethan literature, as, for example, "The Wooing Eclogue" in Lodge's *Rosalynde*, ed. Greg, New York, 1907, pp. 86 ff.; Lodge, "Arsavachus to His Mistress" and "The Answer," *Glaucus and Silla*, ed. Singer, Chiswick, 1819, pp. 138, 139 (these verses are from *A Marguerite of America*); J. Danyel, *Songs for the Lute, Viol, and Voice*, 1606 (in Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*. Oxford, 1920. P. 401), "Poem no. i" and "Answer"; R. Jones, *Muses' Gardin for Delights*, 1610 (Fellowes, p. 541), "I cannot chuse but give a smile" and "The Answer"; "Master Johnson's Answer to Master Withers," Sidgwick, *The Poetry of George Wither*, London, 1902. I, 145-48.

<sup>27</sup> See, for instance, Bullen, Marlowe's *Complete Works*, London, 1885. III, 288. Bullen also calls attention to Herrick's "To Phillis" as imitating Marlowe's poem.

<sup>28</sup> *Poems*, ed. by Chambers. *Muses' Library*, London. I, 47-49.

<sup>29</sup> *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, New York, 1899. I. 71-72.

<sup>30</sup> Reprinted by Singer, *Glaucus and Silla*, Chiswick, 1819. Pp. 47-50.

Another poem<sup>31</sup> in which there is a combination of elements is "The Second Nymphall"<sup>32</sup> of Michael Drayton. Here we find the invitation to love associated with the contention in gifts (as in Calpurnius and Sidney), together with a touch from "The Nymph's Reply." A shepherd and a forester respectively promise in turn to their beloved pleasures appropriate to their callings. She responds to each much in the vein of Raleigh's nymph. The poem is in octosyllabic couplets with an invitation at the end of each suitor's speech; we even find the line—

So thou alone wilt live with me.

*The Passionate Shepherd* of Nicholas Breton, a collection of eclogues and pastorals published in 1604, bears witness in its title to the popularity of Marlowe's poem. "Sonet. 2" in this collection<sup>33</sup> shows the influence of "The Passionate Shepherd." Breton enumerates a series of delights and rustic employments in which his mistress Aglaia shall participate. There is some play upon the words "love" and "live." The metre is octosyllabic, the stanzas rhyming *ababcc*.

Other palpable imitations of "The Passionate Shepherd" include "A Sonnet," by William Third Earl of Pembroke<sup>34</sup>; "To Phillis to Love and Live with Him," by Robert Herrick<sup>35</sup>; "An Invitation to Phillis" and "The Entertainment to Phillis," by Charles Cotton<sup>36</sup>; and "A Shepherd Inviting a Nymph to His Cottage,"<sup>37</sup> by Sir Edward Sherburne. All are octosyllabic, but only Pembroke's poem is divided into the stanza of "The Passionate Shepherd." They agree in listing delights of a rustic sort. All save "The Entertainment to Phillis" contain the formula of invitation phrased distinctly like Marlowe's.

<sup>31</sup> Brett points out that these verses are indebted to Marlowe (*Minor Poems of M. Drayton*. Oxford, 1907. p. 12).

<sup>32</sup> *Poems*, ed. by Chalmers, in *English Poets*, London, 1810. IV, 448-51.

<sup>33</sup> *Works*, ed. by Grosart in *Chertsey Worthies*, 1879. I, 10-12. (Each reprinted work has a separate pagination). Breton, as Chappell notes (*Popular Music of the Older Time*, I, 214), specifically mentions "The Passionate Shepherd" in his *Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters*, Part II, Letter 8.

<sup>34</sup> *Poems* of William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke, K. G., and Sir Benjamin Rudyard. London, 1817. Pp. 38-39.

<sup>35</sup> *Works*, ed. Pollard. *Muses' Library*. London. I, 240-42.

<sup>36</sup> *Poems*, ed. Chalmers. *English Poets*, London, 1810. VI, 757-58, 758-59, respectively.

<sup>37</sup> *Poems*. *Idem*, VI, 630.

Some trace of the influence of "The Passionate Shepherd" occurs in such verses as Herrick's "The Wake,"<sup>38</sup> wherein Anthea is invited by the poet to accompany him to a wake where they shall see and enjoy the rustic sports which he enumerates. In another poem, "To the Maids to Walk Abroad,"<sup>39</sup> Herrick invites the maidens to go with him to sit under a tree where certain joys which he names shall be theirs. There is, however, about the lines more of the day-dream than of the invitation to love.

The invitation was not always addressed by lover to nymph; often the latter courts the swain. So in Thomas Campion's song, "If Thou Longest So Much to Learn,"<sup>40</sup> the coquettish teacher of amorous mysteries tells her "gentle boy" how they will employ themselves when he is in love with her. They will dance, sing, and dally, and climb the "grovy hills." At other times they will gather flowers. The poem in general suggests "The Nymph's Reply," although the second stanza shows traces of Marlowe. In Samuel Daniel's "Ulysses and the Syren"<sup>41</sup> the latter introduces her offers to the mariner thus:

Come, worthy Greek, Ulysses come.  
Possess these shores with me.

She then runs through a list of the pleasures which would be his, chief among them being idleness. The invitation finally degenerates into a debate as to whether idleness and pleasure are permissible. Another poem of a similar sort is William Browne's "The Syren's Song,"<sup>42</sup> from *The Inner Temple Masque*. This song, however, owes little to Marlowe and no more to Daniel.

Robert Herrick's poem "The Apparition of His Mistress Calling Him to Elysium"<sup>43</sup> begins with an invitation addressed by a lady to her lover:

Come then . . .  
Let our souls fly to the shades.

<sup>38</sup> *Poems*, II, 68-69.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 15.

<sup>40</sup> *Poems*, ed. Vivian, *Muses' Library*, p. 94.

<sup>41</sup> *Poems*, ed. Chalmers. *English Poets*, III, 573-74.

<sup>42</sup> *Poems*, ed. by Goodwin. *Muses' Library*, London, 1894. II, 170.

<sup>43</sup> *Poems*, ed. by Chambers. *Muses' Library*, II, 2.

The invitation, however, in this case is rather to die with her than to live with her. The delights are chiefly intellectual. She describes the scenery and promises him entertainment, such as the company of Musaeus, Homer, Linus, Pindar, Anacreon (who is reciting Herrick's verses), Vergil, Ovid, Catullus, Martial, Lucan, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Beaumont, Fletcher, and Jonson. The poem is in decasyllabic couplets. A poem addressed, not to the lover but to the mistress, and yet in matter seeming in some way related to Herrick's, is "The Rapture"<sup>44</sup> of Thomas Carew. The poet invites his Celia to

. . . . come  
And fly with me to Love's Elysium.

In detail and at length, he describes the joys they shall experience together; among these are a bed of roses and myrtle, pillows of doves' down, birds' songs, and gentle breezes. He promises her, too, the companionship of the great lovers of old.

During this period—1589-1650, roughly,—we find, as we might expect, that "The Passionate Shepherd" influenced a number of the lyrics in the songbooks of the time. First, in John Farmer's *Madrigals*,<sup>45</sup> "Song vii" and "Song viii" contain an invitation to love with a list of delights. Thomas Morley's "Canzonet i" in his *Canzonets . . . to Three Voyces* (1593)<sup>46</sup> runs:

See, see what I have for mine own sweet darling,  
A little robin redbreast and a starling!  
Both these I give in hope at length to move thee  
And yet thou sayest that I do not love thee.

Possibly we may recognize here a direct suggestion from the doves which Polyphemus offers Galatea in "Idyl XI" of Theocritus, or from those which Ovid's giant would give his nymph. In a later songbook, his *First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces* (1595), Morley again introduces lyrics ("iii" and "v")<sup>47</sup> which have elements of the invitation to love. John Dowland's *First Book of Songs* (1597) presents in "Song No.

<sup>44</sup> *Poems*, ed. by Vincent. *Muses' Library*. Pp. 70-75.

<sup>45</sup> Reprinted by Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*. Oxford, 1920.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120,

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

xi"<sup>48</sup> another instance of Marlovian influence. The three irregular stanzas contain an invitation to love in rural surroundings, and stress the joys of the early morn out of doors. In Thomas Ford's "Song vi" of his *Music of Sundry Kinds* (1607)<sup>49</sup> the imitation of "The Passionate Shepherd" is unmistakable. The verses are octosyllabic, rhyming in couplets, and arranged in two six-line stanzas, each of which opens with an invitation from the lover to his Phyllis. The second stanza closes with a repetition of the invitation. The swain begs the nymph to enter his bower, which is secret and where there are pleasures to be enjoyed. These include shelter from showers, protection from any dangers, cooling gales, birds' songs, and Echo to entertain her. Henry Youll's *Canzonets to Three Voyces* (1608) has in "Canzonets ii, iii, iv"<sup>50</sup> what is virtually a single poem of three six-line stanzas of octosyllabic couplets. This song was later reprinted as a broadside under the title of "The Lover's Delight."<sup>51</sup> In the earlier version, the lover asks his mistress "to walk into the Spring," where she can hear birds' songs, see the flowers, and visit a brook where Diana bathes. The song closes with the announcement of the approach of the goddess and her train. "No. xi" of William Corkine's *Second Book of Ayres* (1612)<sup>52</sup> has a verbal echo of "The Passionate Shepherd." It opens with the line:

My dearest mistress, let us live and love.

The remainder of the poem is merely a recommendation of the lover to the lady not to regard the carping of the older folk upon their conduct. The opening of Catullus' "Carmen V" is also suggested by Corkine's song, but nothing comes from the body of the Latin lyric. Only a touch of the invitation is discernible in "No. i" of Thomas Vautor's *The First Set, etc.* (1619).<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413-14.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 471.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>51</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, 611-16. Chappell notes there the occurrence of the verses in Youll's songbook. Ramsey, who reprinted the poem in *The Tea Table Miscellany*, pp. 407-08, as from MS., added two stanzas.

<sup>52</sup> Fellowes, *Madrigal Verse*, p. 399.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

## III

The songs mentioned above were probably intended for cultivated audiences. A less refined and graceful type of song addressed to a lower social rank shows perhaps even more traces of the influence of "The Passionate Shepherd" and of the invitation to love in general. This is the broadside ballad.<sup>1</sup>

Among the earliest of English broadsides which come under our consideration is "A Prettie Sonnet of the Disdainefull Sheppeardesse,"<sup>2</sup> which Schelling<sup>3</sup> dates before 1612. In two stanzas of this ballad, after an invitation in a preceding stanza, the lover offers Phillida, the flouting shepherdess, a diet of curds and cream all year, crystal water to drink, whig and whey, berries and pies, and garments of a wether's skin. He has for her also a stock-dove's nest (therein recalling Polyphemus), a cheese cake, rush rings, besides many other treasures. Another ballad of the same sort is "A Most Excellent Song of the Love of Young Palmus and Faire Sheldra, with Their Unfortunate Love."<sup>4</sup> Here Palmus, the ferryman, promises his love Sheldra various delights if she will relent. He will adorn his boat for her and will angle with her; they shall sit in the shade in the heat of the day; girls shall dance for her and the shepherds shall shout her a welcome. She remains obdurate, however, and Palmus drowns himself. In "A Lover's Desire for His Best Beloved"<sup>5</sup> occurs a formal invitation as the refrain of each stanza. It runs

Come away! Come away! Come away  
And doe not stay!

In the course of the ballad various rustic delights are listed. The metre is irregular. The "second part" of this poem,<sup>6</sup> as is

<sup>1</sup> Only those broadsides which seem definitely literary in origin and in pretense will be discussed in the following pages. As has been said above, many of the class certainly owe their inception directly to the events of real life and not to a literary fashion.

<sup>2</sup> *Shirburne Ballads*, Oxford, 1907, pp. 297-301. A version was printed in *Wit Restored* (1658).

<sup>3</sup> *Elizabethan Lyrics*, Boston, 1895, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> T. Evans, *Old Ballads, Historical and Narrative*, London, 1810. I, 50-58.

<sup>5</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, 617-19. Chappell there dates the poem before 1615.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 620-22.

generally the case when there are two parts, is a reply by the person addressed in the first. The lady responds to her lover favorably, using the same refrain to each stanza as does he in the first part. An imitation of "The Passionate Shepherd," or of one of the closer imitations of it, is "The Zealous Lover."<sup>7</sup> The lover offers his lady "all delights that e'er can be," rich clothes, jewels, music, a shady grove for her walks, a crystal spring by which to sit and around which the birds sing, pearls and new fashions. As a refrain he invites her:

Then, prithee, fairest, fancy me,  
And let me not languish in misery.

Still closer in its resemblance to Marlowe is "The Two Yorkshire Lovers."<sup>8</sup> Willy courts a lass, offering her if she will wed him, nuts, apples, cheese, and cream; lambs-wool gowns and down beds; bagpipes and vocal music; flowers and shady arbors; and a parade of sheep. The courtship ends with the reminiscent and significant couplet:

And all contents I'll give thee,  
So that thou wilt live with me.

The lines of seven syllables each are arranged in stanzas rhyming *aabba*.

Other examples of early seventeenth century ballads and popular songs, which are invitations to love containing, as inducements for the nymph, enumerated delights include "The True Lovers' Victory,"<sup>9</sup> in four-lined stanzas of decasyllabic couplets, wherein a gown, buskins, a chaplet, fishing, and birds' songs are offered the beloved; "Sweet *Williams* Answer to Amorous *Bettys* Delight,"<sup>10</sup> in which William lists in one stanza certain rural pleasures; "A Catch,"<sup>11</sup> in which the invitation is only to an assignation in a grove where the joys of rural surroundings shall be the lovers' during their stay.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 451-52.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 229-34.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 176-77. Ebsworth points out here that the ballad is an English version of "The New Scotch Song" of *Westminster Drollery*, Part II, p. 4 (1672).

<sup>10</sup> *Bagford Ballads*, Hertford, 1878. II, 581-84.

<sup>11</sup> "Come my Daphne, come away." *Merry Drollerie*, ed. Ebsworth. Boston [England], 1875. P. 91.

There is in the last poem a suggestion of Tibullus' "Ode 5," of Book I.

As with the more literary invitations, we find among the ballads, variations upon the conventional type of wooing. The maid, in some, courts the swain. Thus the heroine of "An Excellent Newe Dyttye, Wherein Fayre Dulcina Complayneth for the Absence of Her Dearest Corydon,"<sup>12</sup> after lamenting her lover's separation from her, promises him at his return to her a golden sheephook and garlands of rosebuds and hawthorne blossoms. She appends to each stanza as a refrain an expression of her wish for his arrival. The pastoralism of the poem is perhaps more striking than its use of the invitation form. No less romantic though perhaps less tangible are certain of the inducements offered by the lass to her beloved in "The Country Farmer."<sup>13</sup> If he will marry her, she will give him a garland of flowers, a lock of her hair, and will busy herself with her work.

But the broadside invitation ballads by no means concern themselves exclusively with the courtship of rustic lovers. Royalty figures in some of them, as, for example, in "A Courtly New Ballad of the Princely Wooing of the Faire Maid of London by King Edward."<sup>14</sup> In two of the eleven-syllabled four-line stanzas the monarch (Edward IV, no doubt) addresses a London maiden, telling her of the pleasures she shall enjoy if she will yield to him. These delights are not rustic, but veritably royal in their extravagance. It should be noted that in the second part of the ballad the maid repulses her kingly suitor. Of the same order is "A Song of the Wooing of Queen Catherine, widow of Henry the Fifth, by Owen Tudor, a Young Gentleman of Wales."<sup>15</sup> The "song" is in dialogue form. Owen courts the Queen Dowager, telling her in each stanza of various rustic Welsh delights. She objects in her replies, because of the prospect of becoming a mere Welsh lady, mentioning the regal pleasures which she would have to forego. Her persistent suitor

<sup>12</sup> *Shirburn Ballads*, pp. 64-66. Dated perhaps after 1610. See also Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, II, 771.

<sup>13</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 363-65.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 181-83.

<sup>15</sup> Evans, *Old Ballads*, II, 356-60. There it is said to be "translated out of the Welsh."



answers her, however, by promising her a rustic joy parallel to each royal delight, and so at last wins her consent.

The characters in "The Devonshire Nymph"<sup>16</sup> are not royal, but a country girl and a knight. He offers her the luxurious joys of the city but fails to move her until he promises marriage. The suitor in "The True-Lovers' Holidiaies"<sup>17</sup> is a soldier, who tries to win his beloved by promises of riches and pleasures which he will provide for his wife.

#### IV

The poems thus far considered have been almost exclusively amorous. Not all the imitations of "The Passionate Shepherd," however, are of this type; many sets of verses in which the influence of the invitation to love is perceptible have nothing to do with courtship or with lovers. For example, Nicholas Breton seems to imitate Marlowe in a celebration of Heavenly Love in his *The Countesse of Penbrooke's Love*.<sup>18</sup> There is, however, a possibility that Breton derived this idea from the *Canticles*, as had the author of "Quia Amore Languet." In any case, the invitation line appears in the poem. One line of Breton's "A Solemn Passion of the Sovles Love"<sup>19</sup> seems based upon the invitation formula of "The Passionate Shepherd." Although the imagery of Richard Crashaw's "In the Glorious Assumption of Our Blessed Lady"<sup>20</sup> recalls the *Canticles*, there is distinctly a recollection of secular English invitation poetry. Much of the hymn is an ecstatic invitation of "the dear immortal Dove" to "his silver mate" to the springtime blisses of Heaven, and then to her earthly destiny.

In another group of poems which present apparent resemblances to the invitation to love, at times with recollections of Marlowe, the aim is to celebrate the country as a place of residence. This is the case with Drayton's "Quest of Cynthia."<sup>21</sup> In the last thirteen stanzas, Cynthia, being finally discovered

<sup>16</sup> *A Collection of Old Ballads*, London, 1723. Reprinted by Pearson. Pp. 227-30.

<sup>17</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, VI, 73-75.

<sup>18</sup> Breton, *Works*, ed. Grosart. I, 24-25.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 8.

<sup>20</sup> *Poems*, ed. Tutin. *Muses' Library*, London. Pp. 119-21.

<sup>21</sup> *Poems*, ed. Chalmers. *English Poets*, IV, 162-63.

in her woodland bower by her lover, reviles the world and its follies, and then lists the pleasures which they will enjoy in the wood together. Among these are learning the uses of herbs, seeking wild honey, watching wild animals and insects, and angling. While they sleep, doves shall guard them. The passage begins with the line,

Here from the hateful world we'll live.

It is the poet who tells of rural delights in William Habington's "To Castara."<sup>22</sup> In eleven tercets rhyming *aaa*, he exhorts Castara to visit him at Hindlip; she shall enjoy the early spring and such joys as satyrs, fairies, nymphs, and at her sight Daphne and Narcissus shall be set free. The author of "To Phillis," a poem published in *Wit Restor'd*,<sup>23</sup> first attacks court life as false, and then invites Phillis "to some desert place," where they shall live humbly and contentedly. They will tend their flocks, dallying, and singing while the sheep feed. The poet will make garlands for his mistress or will write verses in her honor. The beginning of the second stanza contains a formal invitation. The mysterious John Chalkhill in "The Praise of a Countrymans Life," published by Walton in *The Compleat Angler*, as "Corydon's Song,"<sup>24</sup> lauds country pleasures and dispraises urban life. The last verse of each of the eight stanzas runs

Then, care away, and wend along with me.

A variation upon the direct address of the preceding poems occurs in "To the Nightingale Coming in the Spring; To Invite Chloe from the Tumults of the Town to the Innocent Retreat in the Country. Written by a Person of Quality, 1680."<sup>25</sup> The "Person of Quality" intrusts to the nightingale his invitation to Chloe. In this he enumerates the usual rural delights.

Sometimes it is not a woman but a man to whom the proof of rural superiority as a place of abode is addressed. Thus Drayton in his "Eclogue VII"<sup>26</sup> introduces Borril, an old

<sup>22</sup> *Poems*, ed. Arber. Pp. 20-21.

<sup>23</sup> *Facetiae*, pub. by Hotten. London, n.d. I, 221-23.

<sup>24</sup> Facsimile Ed., Chap. III, pp. 85-88.

<sup>25</sup> Nichols, *A Select Collection of Poetry*, London, 1780. II, 168-75.

<sup>26</sup> *Poems*, ed. Chalmers, *English Poets*, IV, 439-41.

shepherd, who endeavors to win the young Batte from his liking for the world. He invites the latter,

And wilt thou, Batte, come and sit with me?

and in a long speech tells him of the simple pleasures of the country, such as seeking simples, hunting hares, trapping foxes, reading ancient romances, or learning of earlier shepherds. The folly of society and the wisdom of the simple life are the points which Drayton strives to make. In that it is addressed to a man by a man the eclogue suggests Vergil's "Eclogue II," but there is no question of love. Possible ancestors for the anti-court sentiment are "Eclogue I" and "Eclogue II"<sup>27</sup> of Alexander Barclay. Another poem of the same sort is Thomas Randolph's "Ode to Master Anthony Stafford to Hasten Him into the Country."<sup>28</sup> The poet lists the delights which his friend will enjoy if he will go into the country. Herrick's "Ode to Sir Clipsby Crew"<sup>29</sup> resembles the preceding poem in intention and material. Both perhaps draw more from Horace's "Ad Virgilium"<sup>30</sup> than from Marlowe or the Ovidian invitations.

The invitation to love is not confined to shorter poems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is a strong suggestion, for example, of Marlowe's influence in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*.<sup>31</sup> Venus says, desiring Adonis to dismount:

If thou wilt daine this fauor for thy meed  
A thousand honie secrets shalt thou know.

She offers then to smother him with kisses, and invites him to sit by her. Later, she "intreats" him to love her, and promises to delight him with her speech, and with her dancing. Growing indignant at Adonis' coldness, she then renews her solicitations with

He be a parke, and thou shalt be my deare. *-literarizing*

The following stanza ends,

Then be my deare, since I am such a parke,  
No dog shall rouze thee, though a thousand bark.

<sup>27</sup> *Publications of the Spenser Society*, No. XXXIX. 1885.

<sup>28</sup> *The Poems and "Amyntas,"* ed. Parry. New Haven, 1917. Pp. 129-31.

<sup>29</sup> *Poems*, ed. by Chambers. *Muses' Library*, I, 248-50.

<sup>30</sup> "Ode 12," Book IV.

<sup>31</sup> Photo-lithographic facsimile, ed. by A. Symonds.

It should be observed that much of Venus' suit to Adonis is narrated by the poet, not quoted, and that her actions, too, are described in detail. Hence there is not the same opportunity for the use of the invitation that there would be were Venus quoted in full.

The invitation is likewise introduced into *The Hermaphrodite*<sup>32</sup> of Francis Beaumont, the *Cupid and Psyche*<sup>33</sup> of Shakerley Marmion, and the *Narcissus*<sup>34</sup> of James Shirley. In the sources of Beaumont's and Shirley's poems there is no warrant for the speeches of invitation.<sup>35</sup> The formulas and the lists of offered joys connect the passages with "The Passionate Shepherd." Marmion's chief source, the *Metamorphoses*<sup>36</sup> of Apuleius, supplied no original for Proserpine's tempting Psyche to remain in Hades. This Marmion obviously borrowed from Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae*,<sup>37</sup> in which Pluto attempts to soothe his frightened victim by telling her of the joys which should be hers as Queen of Hades. Nevertheless, there is also more than a suggestion in *Cupid and Psyche* of "The Passionate Shepherd."

## V

In his twin poems *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, John Milton supplied the impulse for a long series of poems in which the influence of Marlowe at second hand is frequently discernible. Milton's poems, like "The Passionate Shepherd," were written in the octosyllabic couplet, and they contain the formal invitation, the list of delights, and even verbal reminiscences of Marlowe, as the critics have recognized.<sup>38</sup> In their turn, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* served as models, especially during the eighteenth century, for a vast number of imitations, in some of which few or none of the original elements derived from "The Passionate Shepherd" are evident, whereas in others

<sup>32</sup> *Poems*, ed. Chalmers. *English Poets*, VI, 210-16.

<sup>33</sup> *Cupid and Psyche*, ed. Saintsbury. *Caroline Poets*, Oxford, 1906. II, 54-55.

<sup>34</sup> *Dramatic Works and Poems*, ed. Gifford and Dyce. London, 1833. VI, 477-79.

<sup>35</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Bk. IV, ll. 285-388, and Bk. III, ll. 344-510, respectively.

<sup>36</sup> Bks. IV, V, VI.

<sup>37</sup> Bk. II.

<sup>38</sup> As Masson notes (see Milton's *Poems*, *Globe Poets*, London, 1909. P. 410).

all or the larger part are present. Certain of the poems of the latter class hitherto unnoticed are enumerated in the following list<sup>39</sup>:

"Mirth and Melancholy,"<sup>40</sup> by Margaret Duchess of Newcastle. The two abstractions come to the feigned masculine speaker and bid against each other for his love, each offering appropriate delights.

"The Pleasures of Solitude,"<sup>41</sup> by a writer signing himself "J. J."

"Solitude,"<sup>42</sup> by an author signing himself "Fantom" and dating his verses from "Com. Salop," June 18.

"Ode on Health,"<sup>43</sup> by an anonymous poet. These verses have a touch of Dryden's "Alexander's Feast" in them.

"An Ode to Hope,"<sup>44</sup> by an unnamed writer.

"To Hope,"<sup>45</sup> by James Beattie.

"To Health,"<sup>46</sup> by Mrs. Brooke.

"Ode to Health,"<sup>47</sup> by "Mr. Duncombe, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge."

"Ode to May,"<sup>48</sup> by Miss Whately.

<sup>39</sup> For a thorough consideration of Miltonic influences in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the reader is referred to Professor R. D. Havens' comprehensive and scholarly work, *The Influence of Milton upon English Poetry*, Cambridge, Mass., 1922. Part III of this notable volume deals with the shorter poems; chapters XVII and XVIII are concerned, respectively, with the "Late Vogue of the Shorter Poems" and "The Influence of L'Allegro and Il Penseroso." Bibliography II (pp. 669-679) gives references in chronological order to all poems which Professor Havens believes to have been influenced by the Miltonic odes.

The list here presented contains only poems apparently of Miltonic ancestry which Professor Havens does not note and which also show traces of Marlovian influence.

<sup>40</sup> *Poems by Eminent Ladies*, London, 1755. II, 199-203. The resemblance had been early noted. Cf. Perry, *The First Duchess of Newcastle and Her Husband*, Boston, 1918, pp. 177-78. References are there given.

<sup>41</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1752, p. 428.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *The Poetical Calendar*, VI, 10-11.

<sup>44</sup> *Idem*, III, 44-46.

<sup>45</sup> *Poetical Works. Aldine Poets*, London, pp. 68-73.

<sup>46</sup> *A Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, ed. Peach. London, 1770. IV, 93-94.

<sup>47</sup> *A Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, ed. Dodsley. London, 1766. IV, 268-70.

<sup>48</sup> *Peach's Collection*, III, 129-31.

"Ode to Sympathy,"<sup>49</sup> by "R. W." of Nottingham.

"Content,"<sup>50</sup> by "Fabricius," dated from "W — h, Jan. 18, 1804." The imitation is especially of "L'Allegro."

"To Simplicity,"<sup>51</sup> by "J—a B—wd—n," dated "Liverpool, April 4, 1804." There is a strong emphasis upon the invitation formula and the list of pleasures.

"Ode to Hope,"<sup>52</sup> by "Constantia."

"The Garland,"<sup>53</sup> by "B. A." of Sherburne.

To this list may be added two poems by Tennyson: "On Sublimity,"<sup>54</sup> and "Ode to Memory."<sup>55</sup>

During the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we find retranslations and adaptations of a number of the classical and other foreign examples of the invitation to love. These testify to the continued appeal of the device, and are of importance, further, because they doubtless served to stimulate or to maintain interest in the production of English poems of a generally similar nature. The translations and imitations include the following poems:

"Eclogue II,"<sup>56</sup> by Sannazzaro, translated by Nahum Tate.

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"A Pastoral, in Imitation of Virgil's Second Eclogue,"<sup>58</sup> by Hovenden Walker, of Trinity College, Dublin.

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<sup>49</sup> *The Poetical Register*, 1802 (Reprint of 1803). I, 168.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*, 1804. I, 235-36.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 4-7.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 96-98.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 1804, II, 161-63.

<sup>54</sup> *Poems by Two Brothers*, in *Poetical Works*, ed. Rolfe. *Cambridge Poets*, Boston. Pp. 165-67.

<sup>55</sup> *Poetical Works*, ed. Rolfe. Pp. 11-13.

<sup>56</sup> *Poems by Several Hands*, ed. Tate. London, 1685. Pp. 354-59.

<sup>57</sup> *A Select Collection of Poetry*, ed. Nichols. I, 7-11.

<sup>58</sup> *Poetical Recreations*. London, 1688. Part II, pp. 210-18.

<sup>59</sup> *Poetical Works*, ed. Ward. *Globe Poets*. London, 1873. Pp. 18-19. The debt was pointed out to me by my friend, Professor R. S. Crane of the University of Chicago.

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## VI

Much of the Restoration period and eighteenth century invitation poetry, as has been seen, is in imitation of Milton's odes. There are many poems, however, which derive directly from the Elizabethan pastoral invitations with their amorous motivation and pretty rural joys. Of these is such a set of verses as "Love in a Trance."<sup>1</sup> Corydon tells Cloris of the presents he has for her, which are a lamb, fruit, nuts, curds, and milk. She, on her side, has for Corydon a pipe and a crook. The song lacks the formula of invitation, but is related to the type through the statement of the pleasures each has in store for the other. Only a hint of the invitation and of the list of rustic joys is to be found in Ambrose Phillip's "First Pastoral."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Poetical Miscellanies*, ed. Steele. London, 1714. Pp. 138-42.

<sup>61</sup> *A Select Collection of Poetry*, ed. Nichols. I, 11-14.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 79-80.

<sup>63</sup> Reprinted in *The Poetical Magazine*. London, 1804. I, 79-83.

<sup>64</sup> From *A Collection of Serious, Humorous and Affectionate Poems*, a MS. anthology in the Newberry Library, Chicago. Pp. 21-25.

<sup>65</sup> *A Select Collection of Poems*, ed. Nichols. I, 169-70. The Latin original is Catullus, XXV, "Caecilium Invitat."

<sup>66</sup> *The Poetical Magazine*. London, 1804. II, 286-89.

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellany Poems and Translations by Oxford Hands*. London, 1685. Pp. 93-101.

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## VI

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<sup>1</sup> *Miscellany Poems and Translations by Oxford Hands*. London, 1685. Pp. 93-101.

<sup>2</sup> *A Collection of the Best English Poetry by Several Hands*. London, 1717 II, 3-5.

Thomas Tickell approaches nearer the usual form of the type in his "To a Lady before Marriage."<sup>3</sup> The poet invites his mistress to "descend" to him and describes his simple country life and its charms. "To Aurelia"<sup>4</sup> has the formal invitation and list of country pleasures. The song, "Let Ambition Fire Thy Mind,"<sup>5</sup> is rather high-flown in its promises. The speaker desires his mistress to leave her flocks and go with him, the inducements being that he will throw crowns beneath her feet and she shall tread on the necks of kings! A contrast is "Must Poor Lovers Still Be Wooing,"<sup>6</sup> in which the hero pictures the results which will follow if the maid will relent: Cupids shall scatter roses, birds shall sing, and the lovers, wearing wreaths of myrtle, shall lie in cool shades. These, it should be noticed, are not promised formally by the swain, but are asserted to follow upon the nymph's taking pity upon him. "A Dialogue"<sup>7</sup> has elements of the regular invitation: the inventory of property, and the praise of the superiority of a country life. The maiden withstands the first two arguments, but yields at the recital of the rural pleasures. To be persuaded, likewise, is the nymph of "Song XCII."<sup>8</sup> At first she scorns her rustic lover who tells her of his possessions, but later she relents and accepts him. In John Gay's "serenata," *Acis and Galatea*,<sup>9</sup> there are touches certainly of the invitation, as one would expect. Polyphemus woos Galatea in song, but merely names the joys she may expect from him. There is no emphasis upon the invitation, and little upon the inducements. The source is Ovid. In "Love for Loves Sake,"<sup>10</sup> Henry Carey utilizes the metre of "The Passionate Shepherd." The lover does not formally invite the maid to be his, but gives a long series of rural delights which he will provide for her. "The Month of August,"<sup>11</sup> by Mrs. Mary Leapor, is a pastoral in dialogue form in which "Sylvanus,

<sup>3</sup> *Specimens of the Later English Poets*, ed. Southey. I, 381-85.

<sup>4</sup> *Miscellaneous Poems*, ed. Lewis. London, 1726. Pp. 195-96.

<sup>5</sup> *The Hive*. London, 1724. II, 47.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 83.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 89-91.

<sup>8</sup> *The Vocal Miscellany*, London, 1733.

<sup>9</sup> *Poems*, ed. Chalmers. *English Poets*. XV, 496-98. The musical setting was supplied by Handel.

<sup>10</sup> *A Select Collection of English Songs*, ed. Ritson. London, 1783. I, 44-45

<sup>11</sup> *Poems by Eminent Ladies*, London, 1755. II, 27-30.

A Courtier," makes love to "Phillis, A Country Maid." Sylvanus offers Phillis gardens, orchards, a majestic hall, feasts and music. She objects to each, finally settling the matter by declaring that she prefers Corydon and his simple country joys to the luxuries of Sylvanus. Similar are the pleasures which the suitor, in William Thompson's poem "The Lover,"<sup>12</sup> promises his Stella. Octosyllabic lines are used in this poem. Thompson comes closer to the early invitation poetry in his "Hymn to May,"<sup>13</sup> which affords some evidence of the study of the old poets with which he was accredited.<sup>14</sup> "The Vernal Invitation to Miss Jenny . . .,"<sup>15</sup> is, as one might suppose, an exhortation from the poet to Miss Jenny, in which she is urged to repair into the country to enjoy the pleasures appropriate to spring.

William Shenstone has in "Hope," the second part of his "Pastoral Ballad,"<sup>16</sup> what appears to be his sole employment of the invitation technique. Here he uses only the descriptive element of the form. T. Brerewood's eclogue "Autumn"<sup>17</sup> is rather a wish than an invitation. The poet expresses at length his desire for a mistress with whom he might enjoy the pleasures of the country. He addresses the verses to no particular person. "A Pastoral,"<sup>18</sup> signed "Horatio," and dated "Everingham, Oct. 16, 1756," seems plainly to turn to "The Passionate Shepherd" as a model,<sup>19</sup> although the measure is the heroic couplet. The lover invites his Stella to view the delights of the swains. They are, as would be expected, all rural pleasures: grottos, streams, woods, birds' music, honey, and so on.

"Morning, The Second Elegy," as well as "Noon, The Third Elegy,"<sup>20</sup> by an unidentified writer, presents the formal invitation to love with a following list of rustic delights. "Ode to

<sup>12</sup> *Specimens of the Later English Poets*, ed. Southey. II, 411-12.

<sup>13</sup> *Poems*, ed. Chalmers. *English Poets*. XV, 32-37.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, in Chalmers' *Life of Thompson*. *Idem*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>15</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1750, p. 181.

<sup>16</sup> *Poetical Works*, ed. Sanford. *British Poets*. XXIV, 180-82.

<sup>17</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1754, p. 428.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, October, 1756, p. 488.

<sup>19</sup> "The Passionate Shepherd," it should be remembered, was reprinted in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for February, 1752.

<sup>20</sup> *The Poetical Calendar*, ed. Fawkes and Woty. London, 1763. VI, 92-94, 95-98, respectively.

Amanda, on Her Threatening to Leave the Country in Autumn,"<sup>21</sup> by "T. M., Esq.," contains a formally expressed invitation, or, indeed, exhortation to the lady to remain in the country, where the delights of autumn, as named, will be hers. "Eclogue II, Hope,"<sup>22</sup> by Lord Lyttelton (from *The Progress of Love*), has some influence of the invitation poem evident in it. There is mention of a promised gift (a canary bird) which the lover has for his mistress. Suggestions of the invitation occur, likewise, in "The Midsummer Wish,"<sup>23</sup> by Dr. Johnson. The formula occurs, and what are perhaps meant as delights are listed. "Cynthia,"<sup>24</sup> by Bishop Percy, has near the end three and a half stanzas of invitation. The lover addresses his mistress Cynthia, inviting her to come to him. As the chief delights she shall have, he promises an entertainment by dancing "woodland nymphs" and "gentle fays." In the next to the last stanza a touch from "Il Penseroso" appears. Bishop Percy's "Nancy,"<sup>25</sup> too, has an invitation and a mention of rural delights. This poem provoked a number of "answers."<sup>26</sup>

"Song CXXXIX" ("Come, *Rosalind*, oh come and see"),<sup>27</sup> a song set by Dr. Arne, appears to be derived from "The Passionate Shepherd." It contains a formal invitation, pastoral delights, and is octosyllabic. "Song CXLI" ("The Morning fresh, the Sun in East")<sup>28</sup> is an invitation to the shepherd's "fair" to come forth. He promises her wreaths of flowers and other delights. "Song CLIV" ("The new-flown Birds the Shepherds sing")<sup>29</sup> derives perhaps from Ovid. There is an invitation to love to "Pastorella" together with an offer of a pair of milk-white doves and a lambkin. Nathaniel Cotton's poem, "The Fireside,"<sup>30</sup> also shows a trace of the invitation. Robert Lloyd's verses, "An Imitation from the *Spectator*,"<sup>31</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 12-13.

<sup>22</sup> *A Collection of Poems*, ed. Dodsley. II, 5-8.

<sup>23</sup> *A Select Collection of Poems*, ed. Pearch. III, 238-39.

<sup>24</sup> *Classical Arrangement of Fugitive Poetry*, ed. Bell. VIII, 141-45.

<sup>25</sup> *Collection of Songs*, ed. Plumtre. London, 1824. Pp. 178-79.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171-81, 181-82, 182-84, respectively.

<sup>27</sup> *The Bull Finch*. London, 1761. Part I, pp. 149-50.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I, pp. 151-52.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 163.

<sup>30</sup> *Poems*, ed. Chalmers. *English Poets*. XVIII, 19.

<sup>31</sup> *The Ladies' Poetical Magazine*. London, 1782. IV, 6.

although based upon a paper<sup>32</sup> in which there is no suggestion of the invitation, yet show a strong infusion of the elements of the type. The lover invites his mistress to visit his villa and endeavors to persuade her by describing its beauties and recounting the pleasures there to be enjoyed. The formal invitation to love occurs in James Johnstone's "Rosline Castle."<sup>33</sup> John Nichols's poem, "The Invitation"<sup>34</sup> (dated 1766), has in matter strong suggestions of "The Passionate Shepherd." At the beginning stands a formula of invitation. A list of pastoral joys which the lover will provide for his nymph follows. The stanzas are composed of three octosyllabic couplets. Miss Whately's "Song" ("Come dear Pastora, come away"),<sup>35</sup> like the poem just mentioned, opens with an invitation; this is repeated also in the last stanza. There is a suggestion of pastoral delights, such as a bower in which the swain may make love to his Pastora. "Come, dear Amanda, Quit the Town,"<sup>36</sup> makes use of the invitation as an opportunity for the poet to describe the beauties and pleasures of spring in the country. These are inducements to Amanda to accompany the lover. Richard Jago's poem, "The Blackbirds,"<sup>37</sup> purports to be the bird's song to his mate. It is an invitation to love of the conventional sort. A line which seems to indicate a possible inspiration from Marlowe is:

Then prove with me the sweets of love.

The poem is composed of octosyllabic lines in quatrains, with alternate rhymes.

"The Invitation to Delia,"<sup>38</sup> by "Arley," has both the formal invitation and listed joys. These delights are preferable to the splendors of a court, according to the poet. "Sonnet. The Invitation,"<sup>39</sup> by "Benedict," has the expression of the lover's desire that his Melissa shall come to him in Kent (near Boxley).

<sup>32</sup> *Spectator*, No. 627. December 1, 1714.

<sup>33</sup> *The Ladies' Poetical Magazine*. London, 1781. I, 444.

<sup>34</sup> *A Select Collection of English Poems*, ed. Nichols. London, 1781. VII, 335.

<sup>35</sup> *A Select Collection of English Songs*, ed. Ritson. London, 1783. I, 220-21.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 223.

<sup>37</sup> *Select Poems*, ed. Sanford. *British Poets*. XXXVII, 219-22.

<sup>38</sup> *The British Album*, London, 1790. II, 30-33. This miscellany seems to have been the "organ" of the Della Crusicans.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 97.

Bowers and fishing shall be hers to enjoy. The final couplet repeats the invitation, urging the lady to come while yet it is summer. "The Butterfly to His Love,"<sup>40</sup> by Mrs. Anne Radcliffe, brings to mind first Jago's "The Blackbirds." There are in it, too, fairy elements, perhaps from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. An invitation to love is also expressed, and a list of joys to be shared by the amorous butterflies is given.

Restoration and eighteenth century invitation poetry does not offer us many examples of the courtship of lover by lady. Indeed, the first instance is "Song. The Invitation,"<sup>41</sup> by Mrs. Aphra Behn. In the last stanza of this poem the nymph promises to make garlands for her Damon and to provide singing in the groves for him. The poem is in three stanzas of three octosyllabic couplets each. Another example is "Zara at the court of Anamaboe to the African Prince When in England,"<sup>42</sup> by Dr. William Dodd. A passage of this poem is in the form of the invitation, using the customary formula of address and listing a number of delights.

The invitation, as used in this period, definitely refers sometimes only to a rendezvous of the lovers. So it is in "Fond Love."<sup>43</sup> The swain desires his mistress to go with him into the woods, the beauties of which he praises. There she shall experience certain pastoral pleasures. Mrs. Behn's "The Counsel. A Song,"<sup>44</sup> similarly refers to an assignation. In it the lady is invited to the grove by her lover. Another song, "Lucinda Come, from Noise and Care,"<sup>45</sup> has traces of the basic thoughts of "The Passionate Shepherd." It refers only to one meeting in the woodland, however, and, besides a praise of the rural delights enumerated, adds some condemnation of the follies of the town. "A Night-Piece to Eliza"<sup>46</sup> invites the lady to accompany her lover on an evening walk to enjoy the natural beauties and delights which he lists. The poem is in octosyllabic couplets. "An Invitation to Walk in a May Morning,"<sup>47</sup> by

<sup>40</sup> *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Chap. XXXVIII.

<sup>41</sup> *Poems by Eminent Ladies*, London, 1755. I, 150-51.

<sup>42</sup> *A Collection of Poems*, ed. Peach. IV, 214 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Merry Drollerie*, ed. Ebsworth. Boston [England], 1875. Pp. 34-36.

<sup>44</sup> *Poems by Eminent Ladies*, I, 156-57.

<sup>45</sup> *The Hive*. London, 1729. III, 100.

<sup>46</sup> *A Miscellany of Poems by Several Hands*. Oxford, 1731. Pp. 146-50.

<sup>47</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1752, p. 235.

"Ophelia," presents a long series of the charms of a spring walk. "An Evening Ode to Delia"<sup>48</sup> is an invitation to Delia to a tryst at evening in the grove.

The contention in gifts does not often appear after Elizabethan days. Dr. A. Evans's "Pastoral XII. The Rural Rivals"<sup>49</sup> is the only example to be discovered in the more pretentious poetry of later days. It is dated 1719. The contest is between Courtin who represents the hill-folk and "Yeoman" who is from the valley.

We have seen how the literary invitation to love occurs in Elizabethan songbooks and in popular ballads. The songbooks of the century of the Georges afford probably as many instances of the type. So, too, if the evidence of the small collection of eighteenth century broadsides examined by the writer can be relied upon, the invitation is not infrequent among the effusions of the "popular" song-writers of the period. Of these last, "Cottage in the Grove"<sup>50</sup> seems to draw directly from Marlowe. One line runs

O come and be my love.

The lover presents a list of the rustic joys which shall be his Eliza's if she will share his "cottage in the grove." The delights are the cool shade, the perfumes of flowers, music, and roses. "The Triple Courtship, A Popular Cantata. Sung by Miss Feron"<sup>51</sup> is an example of the contention in gifts, a form of invitation poem rare in the eighteenth century, as has been shown. A soldier, a Quaker, an opera-singer, and a court-lady, respectively, suggest the pleasures each will have for the maid addressed. She refuses the gifts of all of them.

Less crude than the preceding is "The Wandering Maid."<sup>52</sup> This song, probably of the late eighteenth century in its printed version, combines various elements. A minstrel invites a maiden who has been deserted by her lover,

But go with me and by my love.

<sup>48</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1754, p. 428.

<sup>49</sup> *A Select Collection of Poems*, ed. Nichols. V, 114-28.

<sup>50</sup> "Printed and sold by T. Batchelar, Long Alley." This and the ballad following are from the collection of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century broadsides in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

<sup>51</sup> "W. Oxlade, Printer 'Portsea'."

<sup>52</sup> *Old Ballads, Historical and Narrative*, ed. Evans. London, 1810. IV, 166-75.

After she has refused the minstrel, a warrior courts her, and is likewise rejected. Then a forester invites her to be his, listing the pleasures of a woodland life, which should be hers if she would accept him. After the forester has been sent away by her, a baron who has heard her laments outside his castle invites her,

Come turn to me and be my love.

He enumerates the joys his spouse shall have—they are extravagant luxuries. Next he reveals himself as her recreant lover; she accepts him then. The contention in gifts is here combined with an obvious borrowing from Marlowe, together with the frequent ballad theme of the deserted mistress. Another "ballad," "The Bridal Bed,"<sup>53</sup> a sentimental set of verses of the late eighteenth century Della Cruscan sort, contains an invitation from a knight to a "maid of low degree." He tells her of the pleasures in store for her; these are of the kind which is dependent upon riches. She refuses him, because she is faithful to the memory of her dead shepherd lover. The knight reveals himself to be the shepherd. Unfortunately, however, the maid dies from the shock, and the knight, too, expires.

## VII

Among writers in the Scottish dialect, the invitation in general seems to have been as often used as among English poets and versifiers, although its popularity appears to date from a later period. But as in the case of a number of the English invitation poems, the Scottish poets appear usually to have taken their suggestion from the life about them. Rustic courtships in the society in which they moved were the basis of their work, and upon these they made such variations as seemed fitting to them. Although we have in Scotch poetry many interesting and some very charming invitations to love, scarcely any can be related with any definiteness to the English or Marlovian group. It is perhaps significant, too, that among verses of Anglo-Scotch poets like Drummond of Hawthornden and the Earl of Stirling, invitations to love are not to be found. Only a few Scotch poems, then, appear to come within the scope of this paper.

Among the few Scotch invitation poems to be considered is Allan Ramsay's "The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy,"<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 126-33.

<sup>54</sup> *Tea-Table Miscellany*, ed. Ramsey. London, 1763. P. 61.



containing the rural lover's courtship of the city lass. He promises her many rural joys of the usual pastoral sort, such as flowers and birds' songs, and his bower which will shelter them from the sun.

"The Gardener"<sup>55</sup> is a lyric which has some affinity with "The Passionate Shepherd." The "gardener lad" invites the nymph to be his bride, promising her that the various articles of her dress shall be made each of a certain flower. Regrettably, this fancy does not captivate her, for she refuses him.

In these Scotch songs which have been considered, the inducements of the lover are for the most part rustic, rude, or pastoral. In a small group of poems they are somewhat exotic and extravagant. So Burns in his "Mary"<sup>56</sup> seeks to persuade his sweetheart to accompany him to the Indies. He expatiates upon the tropical fruits, but turns his address into a vow of fidelity to her. Allen Cunningham's buccaneer in "The Pirate's Song"<sup>57</sup> not only urges his love to go with him, but promises her everything he has or can obtain. Likewise the same poet opens his "The Sailor's Lady"<sup>58</sup> with the mariner's invitation to his Anna. To induce her to follow him, he assures her that she shall be queen of his ship. He will win riches for her; she shall see the tropics in his company; her fire shall be of spices and her chamber shall have a golden floor.

Among the variations upon the invitation type in Scotch poetry are those of a humorous sort. For example, the lover of "The Cock Laird"<sup>59</sup> desires Jenny to go with him. She promptly names over a number of articles which she must have before she will accept her suitor—delicacies of food and pieces of finery. To these the frugal lover demurs. The doggerel "Will Ye Go to Flanders, My Molly"<sup>60</sup> is also humorous. The soldier lover will give his sweetheart wine, brandy, and the like if she will accompany him to Flanders. She shall, besides, see the generals, and witness the men dying. A fragment, "LXVI," reprinted by Hecht in *Herd's Manuscripts*,<sup>61</sup> of which only four lines

<sup>55</sup> *Ancient Scottish Ballads*, ed. Kinloch. London, 1827. Pp. 74-76.

<sup>56</sup> *Works*, ed. Smith. Pp. 236-37.

<sup>57</sup> *Songs of Scotland*, IV, 323-24.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 218-19.

<sup>59</sup> *Tea-Table Miscellany*, pp. 194-95.

<sup>60</sup> *Herd's Manuscripts*, p. 102.

<sup>61</sup> P. 182.

remain, is an invitation in which the lad invites his lass to accompany him to Fife where she shall have sea-crab toes to pick.

### VIII

Naturally, with the decline of the pastoral and with the corresponding infrequency of the use of the constituents of pastoralism, the invitation to love is found less often. Therefore, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries offer comparatively few occurrences of the employment of this pastoral device. Yet it was not altogether dead, nor was "The Passionate Shepherd" forgotten.<sup>1</sup>

First among the nineteenth-century poems of the invitation type may be mentioned Andrew Mercer's "Song" ("O let us leave the town, my love").<sup>1a</sup> Here the lover desires his mistress to go with him to the country "by Yarrow's stream" to enjoy there the rural delights which he names over. Another set of Scotch verses—this one in dialect—is the "Song" ("Whare Quair wild wimplin' 'mang the flowers"),<sup>2</sup> by "J. N." of Inverleuthan. At the opening is a formal invitation. Following this are a suggestion of various pleasures and a general promise of delights for the beloved. "An Eclogue"<sup>3</sup> by C. Leftly recalls "The Nymph's Reply," attributed to Raleigh. The maiden invites the swain to forsake "this barren mountain," and lists the discomforts she undergoes. In "A Native of St. Kilda to His Mistress,"<sup>4</sup> by "Y," dated October 2, 1802, there is perhaps some return to Marlowe's poem itself. The poem is in octosyllabic lines arranged in quatrains and rhyming alternately. It begins with a formal invitation and contains a series of enjoyments. "Oberon, King of the Fairies,"<sup>5</sup> from D. Carey's *Pleasures of Nature*, a poem in the same metre, likewise seems inspired directly by "The Passionate Shepherd," with some suggestions from Shakespeare's or Drayton's fairy poetry.

<sup>1</sup> Far from it, since practically every anthology covering the Elizabethan field reprints the poem, unless some arbitrary rule of inclusion and exclusion bars it.

<sup>1a</sup> *The Poetical Register*, London, 1815. I, 316. (This is the third edition of the 1801 volume). The verses belong, perhaps, to the 1790's.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 338-39.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 199-202.

<sup>4</sup> *The Poetical Magazine*, 1804. I, 7-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 152-53.

"The Fairy's Invitation,"<sup>6</sup> by "Adeline," dated "Edinburgh, June 12, 1803," has, in its title as well as in its body, more than a suggestion of the invitation. There is a formal expression of the invitation, and a list of mild pleasures is given. Anna Seward's "Pastoral Ballad" ("O! share my cottage, dearest Maid")<sup>7</sup> belongs rather to the preceding century than to the nineteenth. The theme of the poem is the superiority of the rural quiet to the city bustle and vanity. An invitation of a formal sort occurs, and the charms of the country are rehearsed. "The Invitation. From the German of Gleim"<sup>8</sup> translated by B. Beresford, is in octosyllabic couplets, two to a stanza. A few pleasures are named, and the maid is then invited to share them with her suitor.

The chief poets of the period did not disdain the invitation. The *Endymion*<sup>9</sup> of Keats has a long passage in which Endymion rehearses to his "Indian bliss" the pleasures which he will provide for her, if she will dwell with him. The shepherd describes the woodland habitation which he will provide for the maid, and tells of its surroundings. Fruits and herbs will be provided for her food. Various articles will be begged from the gods for her. Colvin says<sup>10</sup> that Keats borrowed his invitation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Bk. XIII.<sup>11</sup> The poet, however, was well versed in Elizabethan poetry, which abounds in invitations to love, and so may have obtained his immediate inspiration from an English original rather than from a Latin source. Shelley's *Epipsychidion*<sup>12</sup> is an extended invitation of some 604 lines. One particular passage of the poem connects itself especially with the invitation poem as discussed in this paper. Ll. 407-587 reveal several of the characteristics of the type. Line 415 is a formal invitation:

Say, my heart's sister, wilt thou sail with me?

<sup>6</sup> *The Poetical Register*, 1803. Second edition, 1805. III, 82-84.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1804. Second edition, 1806. IV, 342-43.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1805. Second edition. V, 462.

<sup>9</sup> *Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Scudder. *Cambridge Poets*. Boston. Pp. 104-05. *Endymion*, Bk. IV, ll. 670-721.

<sup>10</sup> *John Keats*. London, 1920. P. 224.

<sup>11</sup> Ll. 789 ff. Polyphemus to Galatea. This, as has been stated, is the source of Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd."

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Then the poet describes the isle in the Aegean which will be their refuge. First, the scenery, and then their prospective dwelling-place is pictured. Next is a promise of walks and talks which culminates in the lover's reaching the speechlessness of ecstasy. The poem ends with the line:

And come and be my guest,—for I am Love's.

It is possible, as Colvin suggests,<sup>13</sup> that Shelley here drew upon the *Endymion*. Wordsworth's employment of the form of the invitation is much less conventional than that of his younger contemporaries. In the prologue to "Peter Bell,"<sup>14</sup> the poet's "little boat" (his imagination) addresses him, agreeing to show its master many wonders of one kind or another if he will utilize it for the exploration of certain remote lands. The machinery only of the invitation is found here.

On a preceding page Tennyson's debt to "The Passionate Shepherd" through his early imitations of the Miltonic odes has been noted. In other poems, as well, he uses the invitation. "The Sea-Fairies"<sup>15</sup> in theme recalls Drayton's "Ulysses and the Sirens" and William Browne's "Song of the Syrens." As in the Elizabethan poems, so in Tennyson's verses the sea-maidens sing to passing mariners, promising them the joys of love in idyllic surroundings which they describe in detail. There is, however, no suggestion as to the fate of the sailors, and certainly Tennyson took his suggestion for the verses solely from the legend of the sirens. Years later, in "Maud,"<sup>16</sup> Tennyson has a conventional invitation, though it is merely to a walk in the garden. The formal invitation is followed by the lover's expatiation upon the beauties of the garden. Again, among *The Idylls of the King*, in "Geraint and Enid,"<sup>17</sup> we encounter the invitation to love. While Geraint lies wounded, Earl Doorm woos Enid to be his mistress. He offers to share his earldom with her, saying,

And we will live like two birds in one nest,  
And I will fetch you forage from all fields.

<sup>13</sup> *John Keats*, p. 240.

<sup>14</sup> Ll. 91-110. *Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson. *Oxford Edition*. Oxford, 1909. P. 237.

<sup>15</sup> *Poetic Works. Cambridge Poets*. Pp. 786-87. A revision of the poem occurs at p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Ll. 850-923. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

<sup>17</sup> Ll. 622-28. 670-83. *Ibid.*, pp. 352-53.

Although repulsed, the Earl persists in his courtship, attempting to win her with rich robes. His lovemaking is cut short by the revival of Geraint, who decapitates the suitor.

The elements of the pastoral invitation are present in J. B. Rogerson's "Canzonette."<sup>18</sup> The lover describes the beauties of a spot in the woods beside a stream where the birds sing and where there is a bower. There he invites his beloved to meet him,

When the shadows of even fall.

Oscar Wilde, in his "Charmides,"<sup>19</sup> varies the usual order of things but in a manner not wholly novel. Twice a dryad offers a series of delights to the dead Charmides if he will awake and be her love. The material of the poem may be based upon either Ovid's story of Narcissus,<sup>20</sup> or Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*,<sup>21</sup> but the invitational elements in the poem are not from these. It should be remembered that Wilde shows acquaintance with Marlowe's dramatic works in the reference to *Tamburlaine, Part II*, in his sonnet "Amor Intellectualis."<sup>22</sup> Another poem of classical foundations which falls within the scope of this study is Stephen Phillips' "Marpessa."<sup>23</sup> Apollo woos Marpessa to be his love, enumerating the delights which she shall enjoy if she will be his. The poem introduces the contest of lovers, as Marpessa's mortal suitor, on his part, relates the advantages which she shall possess if she accept him instead of the god. His inducements are hardly "joys," however, in the ordinary sense of the word, but a reminder of the advantages of mortality as contrasted with those of immortality.

An adaptation of the invitation is to be found in Ralph Hodgson's "Time, You Old Gipsy Man."<sup>24</sup> Alfred Noyes contrasts in his "Apes and Ivory"<sup>25</sup> the luxuries of an extravagant sort, such as some Elizabethans promised their mistresses, with the superior and preferable delights of love in

<sup>18</sup> *Lancashire Lyrics*, ed. Harland. London, 1866. Pp. 83-84.

<sup>19</sup> *Poems*. Boston, n.d. Pp. 138-39, 140-45, respectively.

<sup>20</sup> *Metamorphoses*. Bk. III, ll. 344-510.

<sup>21</sup> *Works*, ed. Neilson. *Cambridge Poets*. Boston, 1910.

<sup>22</sup> *Poems*, p. 165.

<sup>23</sup> *Poems*. London, 1898. Pp. 8-29.

<sup>24</sup> *The Book of Modern British Verse*, ed. Braithwaite. Boston, 1919. Pp. 1-2.

<sup>25</sup> *Collected Poems*, New York, 1913. I, 48-49.

an English springtime. The delights which he considers but rejects include a white elephant tended by a giant negro, a palace of pomegranates with slaves basking in the sun, and exotic perfumed plants.

In two novels "The Passionate Shepherd" has left its traces. Robert Buchanan's *Come Live with Me and Be My Love* (1891)<sup>26a</sup> owes its title to the poem. The book ends with a set of verses, "L'Envoi," of which the theme is the persistence of the call to love through the ages. Its refrain is the opening half line of Marlowe's poem. The second novel—Agnes and Egerton Castle's *Rose of the World* (1904)<sup>26b</sup>—has only a verbal borrowing from "The Passionate Shepherd."

## IX

The invitation to love as formulated in "The Passionate Shepherd," and as exploited so frequently by Marlowe in his plays, was soon employed by other Elizabethan dramatists.<sup>26</sup> Greene, who had early imitated the poem in his *Menaphon*, utilized it shortly after in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*.<sup>27</sup> There Prince Edward woos Fair Margaret, offering her a number of extravagant luxuries, among them the music of sirens and a retinue of the noblest attendants. The passage concludes,

If thou wilt be but Edward's Margaret.

Greene's *Alphonsus of Arragon*<sup>28</sup> has likewise a passage of invitation addressed by royalty to its beloved. Alphonsus, in love with the virago Iphigena, offers in Act V to make her his queen and promises that all kings shall kneel to her. India's mines and Pactolus' sands, too, will be hers. At the end of the speech Alphonsus runs from blank verse into couplets, the last of which is

Shall be thine own, and all the world beside,  
If you will grant to be Alphonsus' bride.

<sup>26a</sup> No. 155 in *The English Library* of Heinemann and Balestier, Leipzig, 1892.

<sup>26b</sup> "So, on this English shore, with the taste of the salt in their mouths, with the wild salt moist winds all about them—this Englishman wooed this English girl, to come away and be his love in the burning East" (Ed. by Nelson, Edinburgh. P. 130).

<sup>26</sup> For a few instances, see Forsythe, *The Relations of Shirley's Plays and the Elizabethan Drama*. New York, 1914. Pp. 168-69.

<sup>27</sup> *Dramatic and Poetical Works* (with Peele's), ed. Dyce, London, 1861.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.



These two invitation passages by Greene seem based upon the use of the device in Marlowe's own dramas, as in *Tamburlaine*, rather than upon that in "The Passionate Shepherd." The romantic play of *Mucedorus*,<sup>29</sup> formerly sometimes attributed to Greene, contains in IV, 3, a combination of Ovid and of Marlowe. Bremono, a wild man, offers his captive, Princess Amadine, such delights as a chaplet of ivy and the rose and lily. Forest birds, he promises her, shall be her food; her drink, goats' milk and spring water. All the pleasures he can devise shall be hers. Music from satyrs and wood nymphs shall lull her into a sleep from which the lark shall waken her. She shall learn to hunt, too. The passage concludes

If thou wilt live to love and honour me.

The characters are based upon Polyphemus and Galatea, but the language is imitative of "The Passionate Shepherd," as are some of the joys reminiscent. Peele has a hint of the invitation technique in the wooing of Bethsabe in *David and Bethsabe*,<sup>30</sup> although David does not address Bethsabe, but speaks to himself. The King first promises himself that his love shall bathe in a rich concoction in his bower; next, he vows to build her a bower where the sound of running streams shall lull her to sleep. In *Lust's Dominion*, I, 1,<sup>31</sup> the woman courts the man. The Queen Mother of Spain woos the Moor Eleazar, offering him a number of extravagant delights. Here again the influence of Marlowe's plays seems predominant.<sup>32</sup>

An obvious imitation<sup>33</sup> of "The Passionate Shepherd" occurs in Chapman's *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, Sc. 9.<sup>34</sup> There is a likeness to Donne's "The Bait," although that poem perhaps had not yet been written. Possibly, however, Donne was the debtor. The speech is addressed by Count Hermes to Aspasia. It opens,

Come, sweet love, if thou wilt come with me,

<sup>29</sup> *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, ed. Tucker Brooke. Oxford, 1908.

<sup>30</sup> *Dramatic and Poetical Works* (with Greene's), ed. Dyce. London, 1861. P. 464.

<sup>31</sup> *Old English Plays*, ed. Dodsley-Hazlitt. London, 1875. Vol. XIV.

<sup>32</sup> *Lust's Dominion* has been at times assigned to Marlowe.

<sup>33</sup> "A Note on Chapman," Forsythe. *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1910.

<sup>34</sup> *Plays and Poems*, ed. Parrott, London. Vol. I. Chapman, it will be remembered, completed Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*.

and goes on, with nine lines of promises, including sitting singing on a hill, angling, and procuring stones from the springs for a necklace, to conclude,

Say, fair Aspatia, wilt thou walk with me?

The sixth scene of Act III of Jonson's *Volpone*<sup>35</sup> is suffused with invitation material. The formula is voiced in a song, after which Volpone offers Celia a number of joys, if she will yield to him. In a speech recalling Raleigh's "The Nymph's Reply," she refuses her suitor and his proposed delights. Volpone then names additional pleasures. Although the inducements are not rural, the wording demonstrates a recollection of Marlowe's poem. For instance, in the song occurs the couplet,

Come, my Celia, let us prove,  
While we can the sports of love.

In Jonson's *The Alchemist*, IV, 1,<sup>36</sup> Sir Epicure Mammon pays his addresses to Doll Common who is disguised as a somewhat mad learned lady. Basing his promises to her upon his future possession of the philosopher's stone, Sir Epicure courts Doll, offering her all the impossible epicurean extravagances which he can invent. They are all pleasures of luxury—dress and ornament and diet. One of Mammon's speeches opens with the lines,

We'll therefore go withal, my girl, and live  
In a free state. . . .

Muleasses, the Turk of John Mason's *The Turk*,<sup>37</sup> in (V, 3, of that tragedy, courts Julia, and promises her a rich carpet to lie upon, a bed of down, and a hundred beautiful slave boys. There is no formal invitation, though an implied invitation exists in the first lines of the passage. Here again, the reader is reminded of *Tamburlaine*.

In *The Faithful Shepherdess*, III, 1,<sup>38</sup> Fletcher turns to "The Passionate Shepherd" for the foundation of the River-god's courtship of Amoret. The former opens his suit with

And if thou wilt go with me,

<sup>35</sup> *Works*, ed. Gifford-Cunningham. London, n.d. Vol. I.

<sup>36</sup> *Idem*. Vol. II.

<sup>37</sup> Ed. Adams. *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*. Louvain, 1913. Vol. XXXVII.

<sup>38</sup> *Works*, ed. Darley. London, 1840. Vol. I.

following the invitation with a list of piscatory delights, among which are trout, pike, and orient pearl. He ends his wooing with a song of which the last lines are

. . . . But ever live with me,  
And not a wave shall trouble thee.

The aquatic nature of the delights again brings to mind Donne's "The Bait." Two suggestions of the invitation occur in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Elder Brother*.<sup>39</sup> In the first of these, III, 5, Charles expatiates to his beloved Angellina upon their future unity. In the second, IV, 3, Charles expresses the joys of love in a setting, Arcadian in detail. The vigorous rapidity of the flow of the passages is distinctly reminiscent of Marlowe.

In Lording Barry's *Ram-Alley*<sup>40</sup> is the earliest instance, in the comedy of English manners, of the invitation to love. In III, 1, of this play Sir Oliver Small-shanks woos Mrs. Taffata, and promises her that as his wife she shall have jewels, pets, and various luxuries. A bargaining between lady and suitor follows. There is no formal invitation to love, and there is a comic atmosphere perceptible.

Thomas Nabbes's *Hannibal and Scipio*<sup>41</sup> has, in IV, 5, a courtship wherein the invitation occurs. The suitor is Scipio; the lady, a prisoner who has been brought before the general with her betrothed, one Lucius. Scipio courts the captive, telling her of the pleasures which would come to the bride of Scipio: a fine house, fair virgins as maids, baths in the dew from roses, soft garments, swans' down beds, and jewels. The invitation formula is paraphrased at the beginning of the courtship. In Davenant's *The Platonic Lovers*, II,<sup>42</sup> Theander as a shepherd makes love to Eurithea as a shepherdess. She recites to her lover the rustic pleasures she would enjoy, were she driven into exile. These are conventional, such as clothing, perfumes, flowers, and music. Misander and Leucasias in William Cartwright's *The Siege*, V, 4,<sup>43</sup> vie with each other

<sup>39</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>40</sup> *The Ancient British Drama* (ed. Scott?). London, 1810. Vol. II.

<sup>41</sup> *Works*, ed. Bullen. *Old English Plays*. New Series, London, 1887. Vol. I.

<sup>42</sup> *Dramatic Works*, ed. Maidment and Logan. *Restoration Dramatists*. Edinburgh, 1872. Vol. II.

<sup>43</sup> *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies*. . . . London, 1651.

in enumerating the rustic delights which they will share in the future. These have among them birds, breezes, fountains, streams, nymphs, fruit, and so on. Leucasia's first speech begins

Wee'll to those places set a part for Love.

Misander opens a speech with

Among those pleasures we shall walk. . . .

Sir John Suckling's *Aglaure*, III, 2,<sup>44</sup> has in it more than a trace of the invitation to love. Prince Thersames invites Aglaure to come to him, and adds several lines of fervid promise. *The Goblins*<sup>45</sup> of Suckling likewise has a passage of invitation. In III, 7, Orsabrín invites Reginella:

Will you leave this place and live with such as I am?

Then he promises her a home beneath the stars upon a flowery mead, where she shall enjoy a thousand, thousand pleasures, such as shady walks by silver streams, birds' songs, and flowers.

In the dramas so far mentioned, the purpose of the invitation has been purely amatory and with one exception, conventional, as addressed by a man to a woman. There are variations from this normal use among Elizabethan plays. The combination of invitation to love and the contention of two suitors, which, as has been already noted, Sidney barely suggested in *The Lady of the May*, occurs in Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*.<sup>46</sup> Lambert and Serlsby alternately woo Margaret, offering her each his rustic wealth. The latter concludes his promises of his flocks and kine with

. . . . If thou wilt wed with me,

and Lambert ends his account of the costly garments Margaret shall have with

If thou wilt be but Lambert's loving wife.

<sup>44</sup> *Works*, ed. Thompson. London, 1910.

<sup>45</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>46</sup> *Works*, ed. Dyce. Pp. 170-71.

In Lyly's satiric pastoral, *The Woman in the Moon*, V, 1,<sup>47</sup> Stesias, to "allure" Pandora to him, offers her a number of rarities which she may receive from him. Previously Pandora has listed to Gunophilus, the rival of Stesias, the gifts she must have from him before she will accompany him, and has secured his promise of them. In the passage there is, then, not only a form of the vying of two lovers, but the stipulation of conditions, after the fashion of Milton later in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. Probably a reminiscence of Sidney's "Espilus and Therion" in *The Lady of the May* is the contest in gifts of the forester Silvio, and the shepherd Gemulo in *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, I, 1.<sup>48</sup> Meeting Eury mine, who is lost in the woods, the two swains woo her, each offering her delights appropriate to his calling. "The Passionate Shepherd" may have contributed something to the speeches. Thomas Nabbes's morality, *Microcosmus*,<sup>49</sup> has, in Act III, a contest, in the proposing of joys to Physander, between Sensuality and her allies, the Five Senses, and Physander's wife Bellamina. The latter begins her plea for Physander's return to her with

Return: with me shalt find delights  
As far exceeding these [Sensuality's pleasures]. . . .

Occasionally the invitation to love is addressed by a woman to a woman in male disguise. So, in Shakerley Marmion's *The Antiquary*, IV,<sup>50</sup> Aemilia woos Angelia, who is dressed as a page. The joys which Aemilia promises are very elaborate, recalling Marlowe. Olivia in Shirley's *The Doubtful Heir*, IV, 2,<sup>51</sup> suspects that Rosania, although disguised as a page, is really a woman. In order to settle the question she courts the apparent boy and in her wooing offers him a number of highly poetical luxuries. In this passage, as well as in that from *The Antiquary*, the formula of invitation is found.

Again, it is sometimes the lady who courts the man. A Courtesan in Massinger's *Believe as You List*, IV, 2,<sup>52</sup> visits Antiochus

<sup>47</sup> *Works*, ed. Bond. Oxford, 1902. Vol. III.

<sup>48</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>49</sup> *The Ancient British Drama*. Vol. III.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>51</sup> *Works*, ed. Gifford and Dyce. Vol. IV.

<sup>52</sup> *The Best Plays of Phillip Massinger*, ed. Symons. *Mermaid Series*. London, 1889. Vol. II.

in prison and seeks to induce him to renounce his claims to the throne of Lower Asia. She promises that, if he will agree, she will have him freed, and, as she says,

Will lead you [Antiochus] from this place of horror to  
A paradise of delight.

There they will enjoy the sweets of life in an arbor by a brook where the birds will furnish music for them. Shirley presents the judgment of Paris in his mask, *The Triumph of Beauty*.<sup>53</sup> Venus does not extend to Paris an invitation to love, but does promise him among others a number of conventional pastoral pleasures in return for a decision in her favor. These include balmy air, sweet flowers, nectar and ambrosia, nymphs, and a mistress of unequalled beauty. There is, of course, some element of the contest in gifts in the contention of Venus, Minerva, and Juno, for the golden apple.

Lovemaking is occasionally carried on through an intermediary, as in Shirley's *Love's Cruelty*, II, 2.<sup>54</sup> Here, in a prose passage, Hippolito solicits Eubella to become the mistress of the Duke. He appeals to her ambition and to her love of show and luxury. The promises are perhaps deliberately over-elaborate. In William Cartwright's *The Siege*, II, 6,<sup>55</sup> Eudemus strives to influence his daughter Leucasia to become the mistress of the tyrant Misander. He lists the joys which she might expect, if she would consent. Rich clothing, a coach, baths of asses' milk,—these would be hers, if she would yield.

The influence of the invitation is noticeable in some dramatic passages which are not amatory. Thus, in Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*, II, 3,<sup>56</sup> Muley Mahamet enters to the starving Calipolis and offers her a piece of meat which he has forced from a lioness, with the invitation,

Feed, then, and faint not, fair Calipolis,

which he later repeats several times. He assures Calipolis that he will not only rob the lioness again but will cause an osprey to fish for her and will procure Jove's eagle to hawk for her.

<sup>53</sup> *Works*, ed. Dyce and Gifford. VI, 336 ff.

<sup>54</sup> *Dramatic Works and Poems*. Vol. II.

<sup>55</sup> *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies*. . . .

<sup>56</sup> *Works*, ed. Bullen. London, 1888. [Vol.] I.

Peele has imitated and exceeded in this passage the most lavish extravagances of Marlowe's dramatic invitations. What purports to be a celebration of the shepherd's simple life in Shirley's *Love Tricks*, IV, 2,<sup>57</sup> shows evidences of imitation of "The Passionate Shepherd." The passage is in octosyllabic couplets, inserted in a scene in blank verse. The shepherd's delights are much the same as those of Marlowe's swain: sitting on a hill, piping madrigals, thereby attracting the birds; hunting and dancing; and fishing with madrigals as bait. The speakers are two shepherds who are endeavoring to influence a girl in male disguise to dwell with them. There is, of course, no question of love. In Thomas Goffe's pastoral, *The Careless Shepherdess*, II, 1,<sup>58</sup> the goddess Silvia in a song invites certain shepherds and shepherdesses who visit her to come into her bower, where they

. . . shall see chaste Turtles play,  
And Nightingales make everlasting May.

Here the affinity with the general type lies in the invitation to a particular place where certain pleasures await the guests.

## X

With 1642 the discussion of the use in the drama of the invitation to love must close. Casual examination of Restoration and later plays reveals very few occurrences of the device, and the facilities for a thorough examination of the dramatic writings of the post-Elizabethans have not been available.<sup>59</sup> Consequently, only two instances of the invitation from later dramatists can be given. These are, first, "Juno's Song" from Congreve's masque, *The Judgement of Paris*,<sup>60</sup> and, second, a passage from Isaac Jackman's "comic burletta," *Hero and Leander*, II, 2.<sup>61</sup>

As one might expect, not only "The Passionate Shepherd" itself, but the pastoral invitation to love, in general, is parodied

<sup>57</sup> *Works*, ed. Gifford and Dyce, Vol. I.

<sup>58</sup> The song is quoted by Smith, "Pastoral Influence in the English Drama," *P. M. L. A.*, XII, 413.

<sup>59</sup> If the opportunity arises and the material warrants it, I shall supplement this paper later with a discussion of such invitations as may be discoverable in the later English drama.

<sup>60</sup> Reprinted by Aiken, *Vocal Poetry*, London, 1810. P. 45. I have not seen the complete text of the masque.

<sup>61</sup> *The British Drama*. Philadelphia, 1859. Vol. I.

or otherwise diverted to comic purposes. Many of the popular invitation poems noted earlier, such as "The Faithful Farmer" or "Lass Gin Ye Lo'e Me," were quite certainly composed with a view to rousing the hearer's laughter. Another, and a more definitely comic, group of invitations to love and of references to Marlowe's poem may be made. These are discussed below.

In the *Revesby Sword Play*,<sup>62</sup> the Fool and Pickle Herring woo Cicely. Each offers her various inducements. The Fool will give "if thou wilt be my love," one thousand pounds, clothing, freedom in walking abroad, and he will turn his children out of doors. Pickle Herring offers Cicely money and the conquests of his sword, but does not impress the maid as does the Fool, whom she accepts. Here the contest in gifts enters again, it will be noticed. The date of the first composition of this particular rustic entertainment is unknown; and as it has been handed down for generations probably by oral transmission, passages, such as this wooing scene, may have been added at any time. There seems to be no evidence as to date, save that the little play as we have it is earlier than the eighteenth century.

First, in really Elizabethan drama, we find "The Passionate Shepherd" quoted in circumstances which make the quotation highly amusing. Sir Hugh Evans in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, III, 1,<sup>63</sup> while awaiting the arrival of his opponent Dr. Caius, passes in song the time before what he considers the impending duel. He jumbles together not only stanzas of "The Passionate Shepherd," but adds a line from a psalm. The last two lines of stanza two and the first two of stanza three of Marlowe's song are mingled. It is interesting that the First Quarto of the comedy (1602) uses *The Passionate Pilgrim* form of the poem, whereas that of *England's Helicon* is quoted in the First Folio text of the play. James Shirley, in *The Grateful Servant* IV, 5,<sup>64</sup> utilizes the invitation for a comic effect. Belinda, disguised as a witch, courts the *roué* Lodwick, offering him such extravagant delights as flights through the air to visit new worlds, hunting the phoenix for its feathers, and wrecking ships through storms raised by her. She concludes the passage with

<sup>62</sup> *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperian Drama*, ed. Manly. I, 308-10.

<sup>63</sup> *Complete Works*, ed. Neilson.

<sup>64</sup> *Works*, ed. Gifford-Dyce. Vol. II.



. . . . Let us be one soul;  
Air, earth, and hell is yours.

The speech, which has the desired effect of frightening Lodwick back into virtuous courses, is a burlesque upon the offers of extravagant pleasures which can be illustrated from *Tamburlaine* or *The Turk* of Mason, for example. Another and more open burlesque of the over-eloquent invitation is to be found in Shirley's *The Lady of Pleasure*, V, 1.<sup>65</sup> The Lord courts Celestina in a speech opening,

Consent to be my mistress, Celestina,  
And we will have it spring-time all the year,

and following with a series of conventional outdoor pleasures in store for her. Celestina takes up his list when he stops and adds a number of still more elaborate delights which would be present, suddenly concluding with

And such love linsey-woolsey to no purpose.

Possibly Celestina's jesting additions to her suitor's promises were suggested by Raleigh's "The Nymph's Reply." Shirley and his collaborator the Duke of Newcastle in their comedy, *Captain Underwit*,<sup>66</sup> have a kind of burlesque upon the invitation in Courtwell's addresses to the Sister, II, 2. There is even a possible faint touch of "The Passionate Shepherd" in one speech of the lady.<sup>67</sup> Sir Aston Cokain's comedy, *The Obstinate Lady*,<sup>68</sup> has in IV, 2, a comic invitation. Carionil disguised as an Ethiopian potentate woos the disdainful Lucera, promising her various delights if she will be his. These are of the purely conventional sort: attendants, birds' songs, slaves, jewels. Lucera, who had scorned Carionil in his own shape, enthusiastically accepts him as a suitor in his negro disguise. The *Wit in a Constable*<sup>69</sup> of Henry Glapthorne contains a wholly

<sup>65</sup> *Idem*, vol. V.

<sup>66</sup> So named by Bullen, who reprinted it from MS. in Vol. II of his *Old English Plays*, First Series, London, 1883, but called *The Country Captain* in the editions of 1649.

<sup>67</sup> Bullen, in a note, points out the burlesque.

<sup>68</sup> Edition of London, 1657.

<sup>69</sup> *Plays and Poems*. London, 1874. Vol. I.

comic invitation. In II, 1, the disguised Thoroughgood courts Clara fantastically, offering her among the delights which she shall have, a metrical history of the City of London which he has vowed to write. His rigamarole opens with

If you will love me Lady,

and further on he adjures her:

Doe but love.

Valentine, a suitor of Grace, who is pretending to woo her for Sir Timothy, a clownish lover, now starts to address his lady, but his fine speech is cut short by both Clara and Grace who insist upon delivering his address for him. They recall, by their interruption, Celestina in *The Lady of Pleasure*, as well as "The Nymph's Reply."

The most popular comic perversion of "The Passionate Shepherd" in non-dramatic form is the parody printed in *Westminster Drollery*,<sup>70</sup> under the title of "The Gypsies, a Catch." The song, which is ribald, opens

Come my dainty doxies,

and goes on to describe the joys of a gypsy's life. The metrical system differs from that of Marlowe's poem. Another parody, this time upon the Earl of Dorset's famous song, "To All You Ladies," has incidentally an invitation in it. Curiously, though, this passage in "Song CXXIII"<sup>71</sup> is somewhat out of tune with its context, for one might take it as an ordinary invitation to the lady to resort to the country in spring to enjoy the rural pleasures listed. "The New Irish Christmas Box"<sup>72</sup> is a definitely burlesque invitation poem wherein the seduction of an Irish wench is narrated. The seducer offers Peggy as inducements a bottle of claret, "fine rigging," "Top-knots," and a pair of new gloves. A formally expressed invitation is present. There is no

<sup>70</sup> London, 1671. Rep. Ebsworth. Pp. 16-17. See for a somewhat different version, *The Percy Folio Manuscript*, ed. Hales and Furnivall. London, 1863. III, 313-14.

<sup>71</sup> *The Vocal Miscellany*. London, 1733. Pp. 106-08.

<sup>72</sup> *Bagford Ballads*. Hertford, 1878. I, 75-76.

uncertainty either as to the comic intention of "*A Parody on Patty Kavanagh*."<sup>73</sup> Herein the Dustman invites Becky, a cinder-sifter, to meet him in Gray's Inn Lane, where they will eat and drink, enjoying the delights of sheep's heart, gin, and a pipe of tobacco. Henry Carter's "*A Love Song, Adapted to the Mercenary Manners of the Age*,"<sup>74</sup> is no less clearly a parody upon the invitation to love. In the eight stanzas of two octosyllabic couplets each, the lover formally invites his Croesa to come to him with her wealth. This he lists and professes to prefer it to her physical charms.

In two pieces of contemporary American newspaper verse "*The Passionate Shepherd*" serves as an inspiration. The first of these is "*The Modern Lover to His Lass. Theme: 'Come Live with Me and Be My Love*,'"<sup>75</sup> by J. P. McEvoy. Here the lover, a plain prosaic ungrammatical American, laments his inability to "sling them fancy words," and points out his deficiencies in costume, but asserts his faithfulness to his sweetheart and prophesies their future happiness. In the second example, "*If Marlowe Had Tried to Write It in the Office Yesterday*,"<sup>76</sup> "F. F. V." quotes the first stanza of "*The Passionate Shepherd*," inserting through it the sarcastic comments of the journalist's colleagues upon what seems to be his unusually early appearance at the newspaper office. A third piece of journalistic verse, based upon Marlowe's lyric, is the amusing parody, "*The Passionate Paleontologist*,"<sup>77</sup> by Corinne Rockwell Swain. Opening and closing with the couplets of the original, the loving scientist woos his mistress with a series of delights drawn from the field of his researches. On account of the technical terminology, doubtless, the lines are decasyllabic.

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This concludes my discussion of the pastoral invitation to love in English, its influence and history. I have endeavored to trace briefly its entrance into the literature of Elizabeth,

<sup>73</sup> In the collection of Broad-sides in the Newberry Library, Chicago "Printed and sold by Jennings, 13, Water-lane, Fleet-street, London."

<sup>74</sup> Reprinted from *Poems, Chiefly by Susanna Watts*, by the Reverend James Plumtre, in his *Collection of Songs*. London, 1824. III, 189-90.

<sup>75</sup> In "Slams of Life," *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, March 20, 1921.

<sup>76</sup> In "The Conning Tower," *New York Tribune*, August 20, 1921.

<sup>77</sup> *The Saturday Evening Post*, January 26, 1924, in "Short Turns and Encores." For the reference I am indebted to my friend, Professor Archer Taylor of the University of Chicago.

probably from Ovid, and through its popularization by Marlowe. Through the following centuries I have followed it, either as it appears in imitations of the exemplar of the type—"The Passionate Shepherd,"—or in adaptations of the invitation in general. I have noted such invitations as derive directly from non-Ovidian sources, for they bear upon the history of the device and illustrate its popularity.

I am under no illusions as to the completeness of my study. One great gap in it I have noted earlier. Further, I may say that, no doubt as long as there remain volumes of poetry unread by me there will be invitations to love unnoticed. Yet, on the other hand, I feel that I have done somewhat to establish two points: first, that "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love" has exercised, for over three hundred and thirty years, upon English poetry an influence, direct or indirect, which is equalled by that of few poems; second, that, probably because of the popularity of these verses, a literary device was created—the invitation to love—which, in one form or another, adapted in this way or that, has persisted down into our own days.

And one may say besides that the pastoral, a form commonly conceived of as dead generations ago, and never aught but an artificial, fanciful literary fashion, appears from the preceding study really to have permeated literature much more completely than is generally thought, and, in fact, to be still alive, though indeed quite feeble.

R. S. FORSYTHE

## XXXIV. A VICTORIAN FAUST

### I

In 1833 a precocious seventeen-year-old boy, Philip James Bailey, came from Nottingham to London; and thus reached, in time and space, the very centre of the nascent Victorianism which he was destined so curiously to illustrate. Initiated by his father into liberal politics and theology, and by his own youthful reading into the spirit of romanticism, he set himself to writing endless verses that should be at once theology and romantic poetry. Bailey's *Festus* has been known to three generations of readers who have scarcely thought, perhaps, of the position of the work in literature or of the poet himself. The present paper is concerned with the poem *Festus* rather than with Philip James Bailey, although documents recently come to hand make it possible for us to follow his life in the thirties with some detail.<sup>1</sup> And yet there is surprisingly little about London in Bailey's early letters. He did not, like Browning in the same decade, make his way into literary and theatrical circles; almost his only literary acquaintance seems to have been John Robertson, the editor who preserved himself like a fly in amber by telling Carlyle that "he meant to do Cromwell himself."<sup>2</sup> Although Bailey occasionally submitted his verses to the London editor as well as to his father, he seems not to have been open to suggestions.

As to the Poem I may be I confess somewhat opinionated. When I dismissed the piece it seemed to me perfect. Out of scripture I never remember having

<sup>1</sup> Selections from the correspondence of Philip James Bailey and his father, Thomas Bailey, were published by Mrs. F. Maud Brown in the *Christian Science Monitor* as follows: "A Victorian Poet's Private Papers," March 17, 1919; "Philip Bailey's Letters," April 9; "A Poet in Politics," April 29; "A Reformer of Nottingham," May 23. Mrs. Brown has generously allowed me to examine the extensive collection of Bailey papers now in her possession, but most of the important passages in the correspondence are given in the published extracts.

<sup>2</sup> John Stuart Mill speaks favorably of Robertson's work as sub-editor of the *Westminster Review*—*Autobiography* (New York, 1873), pp. 199, 207. Robertson cuts a less favorable figure in Alexander Bain, *John Stuart Mill* (London, 1882), p. 59, and in J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of his Life in London, 1834-1881* (New York, 1884), I, 129.

met with a piece of the same extent in which were brought together so many grand incidents and images. The range of sentiment too is high and well sustained. But it is on the extent of the scheme that I stake its character. Of Pollok's *Course of Time* I know nothing. I have a faint recollection of hearing you read some passages some years ago, but I do not think it embraces an equal breadth of circumstance.

If the *Metaphysics* of the Poem be just and in accordance with scripture and reason, I will not for the sake of any, consent to qualify a single syllable or soften a single breathing, I care not who is shocked. I will not shift one point of the principle nor add one rag to the Truth contained in the verse you have noticed, 'Unless ye have sinned ye cannot enter Heaven.'

We have Bailey's word for it that *Festus* grew almost spontaneously out of his early versifying. "I began in the most natural way. I merely started to write. From the time I was ten years old I had always been writing verse more or less. But I had time at my disposal . . . and I soon found myself making progress with *Festus*."<sup>4</sup> In the dedicatory sonnet addressed to his father, he says:

Nor do thou forego  
Marking when I the boyish feat began,  
Which numbers now near three years from its plan,  
Not twenty summers had imbrowned my brow.<sup>5</sup>

This sonnet is dated 1838, and implies that Bailey at the latest began to write *Festus* before April, 1836. It is in this month, indeed, that the first reference to the matured plan of *Festus* appears in Bailey's correspondence.

With respect to the thing which I have been writing, I am glad to say that there are in it no theories of a character at all extravagant or dangerous. I am draining into it a greater part of the attempts made at poetry and philosophy, scattered over various essays and other articles. It is a poem; a dramatic poem (if that may be termed dramatic which boasts no plot, no action; and only a few characters) on a scheme almost the reverse of that of the Devil and Doctor Faustus. The plan is this. A young man delivered over to Lucifer, who devotes himself entirely to the mortal's gratifications. The body of the poem is occupied with meditations, arguments, and reflections upon all sorts of subjects and sentiments, principally an hereafter, a future state, rewards and punishments for sin, and happiness to come. Ends with his gradual repentance and Death—and salvation.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> To Thomas Bailey, November 1, 1834.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Bailey in *The Young Man*, quoted by George Eyre-Todd, *The Glasgow Poets* (Paisley, 1906), p. 326.

<sup>5</sup> First American edition (Boston, 1845), p. 5. All references to *Festus* are to this edition, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>6</sup> To Thomas Bailey, April 26, 1836.

Mr. George Milner reports that Bailey had been interested in the Faust legend even in his student days at the University of Glasgow, and had submitted an essay on this subject to his father.<sup>7</sup> This may very well be true, but the poem of *Festus* as we now have it seems to have been definitely projected in the early months of 1836.

From this time on the poem became Bailey's chief interest. In 1837 we find him saying, "I keep writing and rewriting my *Festus* continually. I am sure that it is good."<sup>8</sup> And the next year, "It seems odd to me when you ask if I have done anything more to my poem. I certainly add to it as regularly as the day does to the year. I flatter myself too that I keep continually improving it."<sup>9</sup> But all this activity was solitary, and the detachment from actual human life that marks the poem is a reflection of Bailey's own thought and life during this period. He had written bravely in 1834, "To labour apart from others is in my opinion the way to get on."<sup>10</sup> He dwells on his aversion from humanity. "I am to blame may be: but I shrink from the mass of men. I should love to go into the desert. I think of absconding. If ever I want to feel particularly melancholy or miserable (which I do sometimes) I take a walk in some crowded thoroughfare, and then I see what a huge trifle the world is. I should like to macadamize it again."<sup>11</sup> On an occasion of public rejoicing he writes: "Illuminations are the order of the day, but I say unto ye, Enlighten your hearts and not your houses."<sup>12</sup> This isolation meant in Bailey's case early exhaustion of the poetic impulse. There is an ominous suggestion in some words which he wrote just after *Festus* was completed: "I feel as if I shall never do anything else. Its history is one with the happiest and vividest moments of my life."<sup>13</sup> The same idea appears in his "Envoi":

<sup>7</sup> "Festus and Faust," *Manchester Quarterly*, XXII (1903), 1 ff.

<sup>8</sup> To Thomas Bailey, July 4, 1837.

<sup>9</sup> To Thomas Bailey, June 13, 1838.

<sup>10</sup> To Thomas Bailey, November 11, 1834.

<sup>11</sup> To Thomas Bailey, June 13, 1838.

<sup>12</sup> To Thomas Bailey, May 29, 1837.

<sup>13</sup> "A Victorian Poet's Private Papers," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 17, 1919.

Read this, world! He who wrote is dead to thee,  
But still lives in these leaves.<sup>14</sup>

This was almost literally true when it was written. Though Bailey lived on until 1902, the first edition of *Festus*, published in 1839, contains the substance of his poetry.

## II

The public of 1839 must have found in *Festus* familiar things with a difference. The malcontent hero accompanied by a half orthodox, half cynical tempter; the colorless maidens, Angela, Clara, Elissa, replicas of the steel engravings in countless "offerings" and "annuals"; the reckless blank-verse dialogues and declamations on theology and love; the scenes among the stars, in Hell, Heaven, Anywhere, Everywhere—though all of these things had their prototypes, no English reader's senses and imagination had ever been smitten with so many of them at once. No such recombination of romantic elements had ever been made before. The age of "diffused romanticism," to use Professor Beers's excellent phrase, really begins with the work of Tennyson, Browning, and Bailey in the thirties; and the general trend of romantic influence is more clearly to be seen in Bailey than in the greater poets who had more of their own to give. But before we assess his total significance, it will be well to disentangle the influences that went to make up his poem.

The most obvious source for *Festus* is Goethe's *Faust*. Indeed, the opinion was once current that *Festus* was a mere echo of *Faust*, and that this seriously impaired the value of Bailey's work. Emerson's words may be quoted: "Bailey is a brilliant young man who has got his head brimful of *Faust*, and then pours away a gallon of ink. But no secondary inspiration, as on Milton, or Shakespeare, or on Goethe is permitted; only an inspiration direct from the Almighty."<sup>15</sup> Carlyle held a like opinion, or prejudice: "'Festus,' he said, he had never read, but he understood it was 'Faustus' in a new garment, a sort of lunar shadow of Faust. Having eaten his pudding he was content, and felt no inclination to eat it again *réchauffé*. The poem made a

<sup>14</sup> P. 413.

<sup>15</sup> *Journals*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston, 1909-14), VII, 284 (1847).



great sensation in New England, and might have merits of which he was not aware."<sup>16</sup> A passage in a letter from James Montgomery is also typical: "Had Goethe's *Faust* not been written, this would have been a most unaccountably original effort of invention indeed, but that having suggested the general idea,—though the incidents and characters are very different,—the miracle is mitigated into a performance of great but *extravagantly* excited genius capable of better things."<sup>17</sup> One of the latest writers on Bailey, Mr. Gosse, says that the first edition of *Festus* was modeled almost too closely on *Faust*.<sup>18</sup>

On the other hand, Philip Bailey and his father were inclined to pass over or even disavow the indebtedness to Goethe. The above passage in James Montgomery's letter is thus annotated by Thomas Bailey: "Not *Faust*, but the Book of Job, was the original source of the inspiration of *Festus*." And about 1840 he wrote to his son, "I am with you quite sick of the absurd allusions to 'Faust,' when nothing can be more distinct than the two works in all their leading features." There is nothing in the Proem to the second edition that can be construed as a reference to Goethe, although there are clear allusions to Virgil, Milton, and Dante.<sup>19</sup> Mr. George Milner offers a bit of evidence to corroborate Bailey's claims to independence of *Faust*. "It is significant that the first vacation exercise which Bailey ever wrote and submitted to his father was an essay on the 'Legend,' and it is probable that the subject had been working in his mind even before he became familiar with the translations of 'Faust.'"<sup>20</sup> It is to be noted also that when Bailey did get to know Goethe, he could read *Faust* only in translation.<sup>21</sup> The passage in Bailey's letter describing the plan of his poem as "the reverse of that of the Devil and Doctor Faustus" suggests

<sup>16</sup> Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, *Conversations with Carlyle* (New York, 1892), pp. 101-102.

<sup>17</sup> Bailey MSS. James Montgomery to Wilmot Henry Jones, September 21, 1839.

<sup>18</sup> *Portraits and Sketches* (London, 1912), p. 73. A similar opinion appears in Garnett and Gosse, *English Literature: An Illustrated Record* (London, 1906), IV, 231.

<sup>19</sup> P. 8.

<sup>20</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll and Thomas J. Wise (London, 1895-96), II, 416.

only a general indebtedness to the legend. Many years later Bailey, in a letter to Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll, expanded this idea of reversing the Faust legend, but this restatement implies that *Festus* had its origin in the young poet's dissatisfaction with the theology of Goethe's *Faust* in particular.<sup>23</sup> In an unpublished draft of the same letter he praises Marlowe's interpretation of the theological issues, and implies that in his own treatment of sin and contrition he is nearer to Marlowe than to Goethe. And there is clear internal evidence that Bailey used the old *History of . . . Dr. John Faustus*, as well as Goethe's poem. The long dialogues between Festus and Lucifer about free-will, sin, and eschatology are closer to the theological discussions in the *History*<sup>23</sup> than to any part of *Faust*. The expeditions of Festus to other planets, and to heaven and hell, are related to Dr. Faustus's vision of hell, and to his journey through the heavens in the car drawn by dragons.<sup>24</sup> In particular Bailey's riding scene, in which Festus and Lucifer sweep over seas and continents on the black steeds Ruin and Despair, is based, not as Gosse says upon Goethe's *Nacht, offen Feld, with Faust, Mephistopheles auf schwarzen Pferden daher brausend*,<sup>25</sup> but on Chapters xxii and xxiii of the *History*, when Mephistopheles changes himself into a winged horse and carries Faustus through more than two score provinces and cities. Though Bailey had certainly read Marlowe's play, he uses only elements which are developed at greater length in the Faust-book than in the drama.<sup>26</sup> In all these cases, too, there is no doubt collateral influence from Byron; but since these elements are associated with the Faust legend long before Byron, and do not appear in Goethe, it is safe to assume a direct influence of the older version here.

<sup>23</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> Chaps. iii, x-xvi.

<sup>24</sup> Chaps. xx, xxi.

<sup>25</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> The theological discussion in Marlowe is very brief. Cf. Scenes iii and v (according to the division into scenes by Ward and Bullen). In the Chorus preceding Scene vii it is said that Faustus ascends Olympus in a dragon-car, and in the expansion of this Chorus in the edition of 1616 the view of the heavens and the survey of "coasts and kingdoms" are briefly recounted. The survey is also in Scene vii itself, and there is a reference to a "journey through world and air" in the Chorus preceding Scene viii.

Though *Festus* is not a mere "lunar shadow of Faust," then, it is not so independent a work as Bailey suggests. It will appear that into the loose outline of *Faust* Bailey put much from the English romantic poets, particularly Byron, and added much of his own. This granted, it is certain that *Faust* gave Bailey his general scheme of presentation. The protagonist Festus is in some respects Faust; Lucifer is in some respects Mephistopheles. Although Festus is a disillusioned youth, not a savant wearied with much learning, he is ready at the solicitation of the tempter to abandon all disciplines,—

Arts, superstitions, arms, philosophy,  
Have each in turn possessed, betrayed, and mocked us.<sup>27</sup>

Festus and Lucifer make a compact,<sup>28</sup> although Festus does not sign away his soul in so many words.<sup>29</sup> The figure of Lucifer is a combination of elements from Milton, Byron, and Goethe, but in his relation to God and man he is closer to Mephistopheles than to Milton's Satan or to Byron's Lucifer. Apparently there is a direct paraphrase of Goethe's characterization of Mephistopheles,

Ein Theil von jener Kraft  
Die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft,<sup>30</sup>

in the following passage:

*Lucifer* . . . . Deem'st thou aught  
Which God hath made all evil? Me He made.  
Oft I do good; and thee to serve I come.  
*Festus*. Did I not hear thee say with thy last breath  
Not to have known what good was?  
*Lucifer*. From myself  
I know it not; yet God's will I must work.<sup>31</sup>

Like Mephistopheles, Lucifer is the necessary obverse of the good:

I am the imperfection of the whole—  
The pitch profoundest of the fallible.  
Myself the all of evil which exists.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> P. 100.

<sup>28</sup> Pp. 38, 39, 266, 354.

<sup>29</sup> P. 226.

<sup>30</sup> *Faust*, vv. 135-6.

<sup>31</sup> P. 34.

<sup>32</sup> P. 319.



with abstract theological salvation.<sup>36</sup> The whole plan of Bailey's sermon scene, in which Lucifer sets up as a ranter outside the village church and preaches fire and brimstone, is apparently an adaptation from *Studirzimmer II* in *Faust*, where Mephistopheles dons Faust's gown and overwhelms a naïve student with ironical advice about academic life. Both devils assume the guise of authority and give a *reductio ad absurdum* of what they pretend to be defending,—Mephistopheles of the four faculties, Lucifer of Calvinistic theology. When Festus in the *Mountain—Sunrise* scene adjures all the elements in turn to send him a familiar spirit, we are reminded of the magic arts of Faust, particularly the scene in which he raises the *Erdgeist*, but the parallel brings out as many differences as likenesses between the poems. In general Bailey avoids the legendary background of the Faust story. Like the Student in his poem he bids farewell to magic arts and superstitions:

There shall be no more magic nor cabala,  
Nor Rosicrucian nor Alchymic lore,  
Nor fairy fantasies; no more hobgoblins,  
Nor ghosts, nor imps, nor demons.<sup>37</sup>

In the *Village Feast* scene Festus and Lucifer walk abroad and watch the merrymaking of the people, somewhat as Faust and Wagner in the scene *Vor dem Tor*; and in their conversation with the Student later in the scene appear reminiscences of Faust's dissatisfaction with study,<sup>38</sup> and of Lucifer's cynical advice to his consultant in *Studirzimmer II*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Since the *Prolog* had been generally condemned by the English commentators on *Faust*, Bailey shows considerable independence in this adaptation. For early English opinion on the *Prolog* cf. W. F. Hauhart, *The Reception of Goethe's Faust in England in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1909), pp. 65, 100, 112, 114, 116, 127; supplemented by Adolph B. Benson, "English Criticism of the 'Prologue in Heaven' in Goethe's *Faust*," *Modern Philology*, XIX (1922), 225-43. Bailey was not the first English poet influenced by the *Prolog*. Shelley had not only imitated the hymn of the archangels in his "Ode to Heaven," but had adapted Goethe's scene in the fragmentary Prologue to *Hellas*, first published by Garnett in 1862. In the first edition of John Edmund Reade's *Cain the Wanderer*, a combination of elements from Byron's *Cain* and *Heaven and Earth*, there was a Prologue in which Lucifer appeared in Heaven and asked for the soul of Cain; cf. *Edinburgh Review*, LIII (1831), 111.

<sup>37</sup> P. 138.

<sup>38</sup> With *Festus*, 121, cf. *Faust*, vv. 386-91.

<sup>39</sup> With *Festus*, 131-32, cf. *Faust*, vv. 2023-36; and with *Festus*, 133-34, *Faust*, vv. 1986 ff.

But after all Bailey's indebtedness to *Faust* is general rather than particular. Setting aside the relation to Goethe, and considering the poetry rather than the theology, we may say that *Festus* derives from the English romantic group. Bailey drew his style and his conceptions from the work of the great generation of poets that had just preceded him. His father was conservative in his literary opinions, and elicited from young Philip some emphatic statements about poetic diction and style which show the influence of Wordsworth and Coleridge. Bailey would substitute for eighteenth-century diction simple and natural language.

"There is no style is good but nature's own."<sup>40</sup> "The language of feeling is one simple idea at once and the first word which comes uppermost. And as people in ordinary life do anything but strain after conceits, it will always be found that the poets of nature, and of humanity, have ever uttered their most striking and affecting thoughts in the simplest and most ordinary clothing."<sup>41</sup> The poet must throw off all restrictions on his vocabulary and achieve a spontaneous quality which Bailey calls "quaintness." The vocabulary of the poem is to record faithfully the fluctuations of the poet's mood. Even if the impulse comes to him to devise a conceit or evolve a piece of rhetoric, then the conceit and the rhetoric are for the nonce natural. Saintsbury is partly right in aligning Bailey and his group with the metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century,<sup>42</sup> even though, in the case of Bailey, there is a cross-pattern of conceit and simplicity. The reviewers marked in the poem a variety and exuberance of imagery which suggested to them Shelley and Keats. But here again there is collateral influence from Byron. The imagery is there in Bailey for the sake of the impulse back of it; that is, it is secondary to a rhetorical and declamatory intention. Although Bailey once speaks as if "quaintness" were not to be expected of Byron—presumably because of Byron's championship of Pope—his theory of style brings him in practice closer to Byron than to the other romantic

<sup>40</sup> P. 284.

<sup>41</sup> To Thomas Bailey; no date; about 1837.

<sup>42</sup> *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, ed. George Saintsbury (Oxford, 1905), I, xiv.

poets, closer than to Shelley and Keats, far closer than to Wordsworth either in his "ballad" or his Miltonic style. In Byron the imagery does not exist for its own sake, and the poem does not consist of a congeries of fine lines. Slipshod and second-rate as the rhetoric often is, one feels throughout a sense of direction. And although many readers have regarded *Festus*, in the words of a reviewer, merely as "a heap of fine things," Bailey's intention at least was likewise to sweep colloquialism, conceit, and conventional rhetoric into a kind of unity by the onward rush of the declamation.

The influence of Byron on *Festus* has probably been obscured by the more picturesque relationship with *Faust*. From the very fact of his living in Nottingham, Bailey would take particular interest in the career and the poetry of the great lord of Newstead Abbey near-by. As a boy Bailey saw Byron's lying-in-state at the Blackamoor's Head, Nottingham, and in later years he knew *Childe Harold* by heart.<sup>43</sup> No youth writing verses in England in the twenties and thirties could escape Byron's influence. It might be thought that Bailey's interest in optimistic theology, his thorough sympathy with liberal Christianity, would set him far apart from Byron. And as a matter of fact, in writing to his father of the plan of *Festus* he did show some anxiety to escape the *odium theologicum* which attached to Byron: "There is nothing offensive in it; nothing cainish."<sup>44</sup> But we have only to read the famous passages on Byron in Pollok's *Course of Time* and Robert Montgomery's *Satan* to see how the orthodox could be carried off their feet by the vigor and magrifice of his work. And Bailey was much more free to do Byron homage.

When Bailey sets out to write of the soul of youth, he is closer to Byron than to any other poet. Of *Festus* he says:

As earthly, it embodies most the life

Of youth, its powers, its aims, its deeds, its failings.<sup>45</sup>

This contrasts strongly with *Faust*. Heine says that in Germany *Hamlet* was the favorite reading of the young, *Faust* of the middle-aged.<sup>46</sup> Goethe, indeed, satirized the arrogance of youth

<sup>43</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, X, 242, 243.

<sup>44</sup> To Thomas Bailey, April 26, 1836.

<sup>45</sup> P. 9.

<sup>46</sup> *Die romantische Schule in Deutschland*, II, 2, in *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin, 1887), V, 225.

in the person of the Baccalaureus, *Faust II*, *Hochgewölbtes gotisches Zimmer*.<sup>47</sup> But passionate, disillusioned youth is the very core of Byronism and of *Festus*. Bailey's hero in his first soliloquy starts from about the same point as Childe Harold. And in the Additional Scene of 1840 *Festus*, that is Bailey, describes himself as a Byronic poet.

He was no sooner made than marred. Though young,  
He wrote amid the ruins of his heart;  
They were his throne and theme;—like some lone king,  
Who tells the story of the land he lost,  
And how he lost it.<sup>48</sup>

He raised  
The rebel in himself, and in his mind  
Walked with him through the world.<sup>49</sup>

There are even biographical details in the description which do not apply to Bailey, but fit the circumstances of Byron's life closely:

But his heart ripened most 'neath southern eyes,  
Which sunned their sweets into him all day long;  
For fortune called him southwards, towards the sun.<sup>50</sup>

And yet a whisper went  
That he did wrong: and if that whisper had  
Echo in him or not, it mattered little;  
Or right or wrong, he was alike unhappy.<sup>51</sup>

The characteristic Byronic theme of remorse for a lost love appears and reappears in the earlier parts of the poem, and in particular Lucifer conjures up Angela for *Festus*, just as Nemesis and the Destinies show Manfred his lost Astarte.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> J. P. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, hrsg. von H. Düntzer (Leipzig, 1885), II, 103.

<sup>48</sup> Pp. 250–51.

<sup>49</sup> P. 262.

<sup>50</sup> P. 256.

<sup>51</sup> P. 253.

<sup>52</sup> *Manfred*, Scene iv; *Festus*, pp. 46–47. Evidently Mr. Gosse is wrong when he writes: "The attacks of the utilitarians had been chiefly directed against the disciples of Byron, and the new poet evaded the censure of such critics by ignoring in the main the influence of that daemonic enchanter. It is specious to see the effect of 'Manfred' upon 'Festus,' but in point of fact the resemblance seems to result from a common study of 'Faust' " (*Portraits and Sketches*, p. 72).



In his remorseful moods Festus always speaks more or less the language of Byron.

Yet have I done, said, thought, in time now past,  
What, rather than remember, I would die,  
Or do again. It is the thinking on't,  
And the repentance, maddens. I have thought  
Upon such things so long and grievously,  
My lips have grown like to a cliff-chafed sea,  
Pale with a tidal passion; and my soul,  
Once high and bright and self-sustained as Heaven,  
Unsettled now for life or death, feels like  
The grey gull balanced on her bowlike wings,  
Between two black waves seeking where to dive.<sup>53</sup>

It is significant that this passage occurs near the end of the poem. The character of Festus is more purely Byronic in the earlier than in the later scenes, for Bailey professed to treat discontent and disillusion only as incidental and temporary in the career of the soul, yet Festus is a malcontent even on the verge of salvation.

Naturally Lucifer as well as Festus shows Byronic influence; but since both poets were influenced by Milton and Goethe, the threads are hard to disentangle. In the portrayal of Lucifer Byron's primary debt is to Milton, Bailey's to Goethe.<sup>54</sup> Both Lucifers are alike in this respect, however, that they unfold the mysteries of the universe to their mortal companions, and conduct them to the heart of the Earth, and through interstellar space. The probable relation of this theme to the early Faust story, and the contrast with Goethe's *Faust*, have already been mentioned. But the immediate model for Bailey's numerous scenes at the Centre, or in the Air, or in Another World, was probably the two scenes in *Cain*, The Abyss of Space (II, i) and Hades (II, ii). Here again, Byron's influence is complicated

<sup>53</sup> P. 375. Cf. *Childe Harold*, III, vii.

<sup>54</sup> Only at the end of the poem, in the account of the final defeat and chaining of Lucifer, does Bailey yield entirely to the influence of Milton. But the extensive additions to the poem in later editions become increasingly Miltonic.

<sup>55</sup> Young and Bailey are compared by the Scotch critic Gilfillan in *Hogg's Instructor*, n. s. X (1853), 113. See also *Every Saturday* XIII (1872), 500. In the cult of night Bailey followed Young, and was in turn followed by John Stanyan Bigg, *Night and the Soul* (1854), and George Gilfillan, *Night* (1867). Cf. George Gilfillan, *Letters and Journals with Memoir* (London, 1892), p. 293.

by collateral influence from Young, for both the *Night Thoughts* and *Festus* show a deliberate attempt to use the magnitudes of modern astronomy for the purpose of attaining sublimity.<sup>66</sup>

### III

Beyond all this specific indebtedness is a violent romanticism which cannot be reduced to any single source. At the centre of the poem stands the isolated individual whose one demand is that his passions and his will be given free play. Sometimes his end is defined as pleasure, but more usually as freedom. Lucifer comes to set Festus on "the throne of will unbound," and to give him "the freedom of himself."<sup>67</sup> It is, moreover, freedom of feeling and action rather than of thought that Festus desires.

If therefore passion strikes the heart,  
Let it have length of line and plenteous play.  
The safety of superior principles  
Lies in exhaustion of the lower ones,  
However vast or violent.<sup>67</sup>

Could I, I would be everywhere at once,  
Like the sea, for I feel as if I could  
Spread out my spirit o'er the endless world,  
And act at all points.<sup>68</sup>

Oh! it is great to feel we care for nothing—  
That hope, nor love, nor fear, nor aught of earth  
Can check the royal lavishment of life.<sup>69</sup>

The typical man thus becomes a Titan, and the constellation Orion is a symbol of the human mind. Addressing Orion, Festus says:

And so the brave and beautiful of old  
Believed thou wast a giant made of worlds:  
And they were right, if thus they bodied out  
The immortal mind; for it hath starlike beauty,  
And worldlike might; and is as high above  
The things it scorns, and will make war with God,  
Though he gave it earth and Heaven, and arms to win  
Them both; and, spite of lust and pride, to earn them.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> P. 35.

<sup>67</sup> P. 342.

<sup>68</sup> P. 376.

<sup>69</sup> P. 144.

<sup>70</sup> P. 315.

One of the most characteristic things in Bailey is that this life of free experience is best exemplified in the career of the poet. The poet is the most spontaneous of men. In his description of himself Festus says:

He had no times of study, and no place;  
All places and all times to him were one.  
His soul was like the wind-harp, which he loved,  
And sounded only when the spirit blew.<sup>61</sup>

And Bailey says of himself in the "Envoi":

He spake inspired:  
Night and day, thought came unhelped, undesired,  
Like blood to his heart.<sup>62</sup>

The poet illustrates spontaneity on a large scale; he is a man of untrammelled emotion and universal experience. In parable he is said to be the descendant of the giants, the offspring of the sons of God and the daughters of men. But here develops a contradiction. Though the Proem says that Festus is mankind, it appears that the poet lives a life of his own, apart from other men.

This same genius  
Comes, ghost-like, to those only who are lonely  
In life and in desire; never to crowds.<sup>62a</sup>

At this point it might seem that Bailey is far from the Victorian compromise, for instead of trying to make romanticism respectable he is apparently pushing it to drastic conclusions. The central question in Victorian poetry is the relation of the poet to his world, and Bailey gives a different answer from that offered by Tennyson's *Palace of Art*, and Mrs. Browning's *The Poet's Vow*. Yet Bailey appears non-radical at the last, for his extreme doctrine is mitigated by a liberal theology which has the saving Victorian quality of vagueness. The Proem of *Festus* says that the poem has a two-fold object, to represent the mind of youth and to set forth the plan of universal salvation. According to this theology ultimate salvation is certain. Lucifer himself says:

<sup>61</sup> P. 254.

<sup>62</sup> P. 413.

<sup>62a</sup> P. 281.

Sin, the dead branch upon the tree of life,  
 Shall be cut off forever; and all souls  
 Concluded in God's boundless amnesty.<sup>63</sup>

God's salvation waiteth not a man's  
 Weak will nor ministry.<sup>64</sup>

The career of the youth who is the theme of Bailey's poetry, the youth who abandons himself to passion and imagination, is part of the great scheme of things, and so justified. But in spite of such antinomian doctrines as these, Bailey does not intend his work to be a mere glorification of lawless impulse. He represents unbridled youthful passion as a splendid and inevitable but at the same time disastrous thing.

Thus have I shown the meaning of the book,  
 And the most truthful likeness of a mind,  
 Which hath as yet been limned; the mind of youth  
 In strength and failings, in its overcomings,  
 And in its short-comings; the kingly ends,  
 The universalizing heart of youth;  
 Its love of power, heed not how had, although  
 With surety of self-ruin at the end.<sup>65</sup>

The universalism of *Festus*, an extreme doctrine in itself, appears less radical when used as a countercheck to Byronism. Poet, rebel, pietist, and liberal coexist here in a way possible only in the spacious days of Victoria.

#### IV

At the time when *Festus* was being written and published, bold and imaginative poetry was not looked on with favor by those having literary authority. The only poem of the decade that had been even moderately successful was Sir Henry Taylor's *Philip van Artevelde* (1834), and Taylor afterwards wrote of that period: "It was a flat time. Publishers would have nothing to say to poets, regarding them as unprofitable people."<sup>66</sup> In the Preface to *Philip van Artevelde* Taylor, professedly arguing for the union of poetry and reason, really

<sup>63</sup> P. 79.

<sup>64</sup> P. 322.

<sup>65</sup> P. 277.

<sup>66</sup> *Autobiography* (New York, 1885), I, 158.

discouraged the high enterprise of imagination as Peacock had done in his *Four Ages of Poetry*, and Macaulay in his *Milton*. From the point of view of evangelical religion, the poetry of romantic imagination had been attacked a few years before Henry Taylor in a very popular book, Isaac Taylor's *Natural History of Enthusiasm* (1829). John Keble in his *Praelectiones Academicæ*, one of the best pieces of criticism in the decade, took almost the same position as Taylor, dedicated his lectures to Wordsworth, and singled out Byron for special condemnation. It would hardly be accurate to say that these anti-romantic views dominated the thirties; rather, literary criticism in general was in abeyance. Carlyle, who might easily have made himself the champion of bold and imaginative poetry in this period, was primarily interested in other matters than literary criticism, even when he was writing about literary men. The great poets who arose in the thirties, Tennyson and the Brownings, disapproved of Taylor and the tendencies he represented.<sup>67</sup> Speaking for Elizabeth Barrett, Richard Hengist Horne attacked Taylor and contrasted him with Bailey in an essay in *A New Spirit of the Age* (1844).<sup>68</sup> The chief critic to oppose Taylor in the thirties was W. J. Fox, who praised the earliest work of Tennyson and Browning, and defended "subjective" poetry.<sup>69</sup> But Tennyson's *Poems*, Browning's *Pauline*, *Paracelsus*, and *Sordello*, and Mrs. Browning's *Seraphim* were not so successful as *Philip van Artevelde*. And of course the *Pickwick Papers* in one field, and the *French Revolution* in another, outdistanced in popularity and prestige all the poems of the decade.

This situation favored *Festus* in the way suggested by the *Chester Gazette*: "Now that we have such a dearth of poets—real poets,—such a poem as 'Festus' ought to be hailed with more than common satisfaction by the literature lovers of the

<sup>67</sup> R. H. Horne, "Elizabeth Barrett Browning on Some of her Contemporaries," *St. James Magazine*, XXXVII (1876), 21. *Tennyson and His Friends*, ed. Hallam Lord Tennyson (London, 1911), p. 323.

<sup>68</sup> *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Richard Hengist Horne* (London, 1877), II, 13. Similarly the *British Quarterly*, III (1846), 377, brought *Festus* into favorable contrast with Taylor's dramas, "from which poetry is carefully excluded."

<sup>69</sup> "Pauline," *Monthly Repository*, 1833, p. 252. "The Two Kinds of Poetry," *Ibid.*, p. 714.

day."<sup>70</sup> There was no general acclamation of the poem for a few years, and as late as 1846 or 1847 George Dawson said in one of his lectures that *Festus* was comparatively unknown.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, the many notices of *Festus* which Pickering, Bailey's publisher, gathered together in his prospectuses for 1840 and thereafter show that the poem got prompt recognition from two very different sources: on the one hand, from what may be called the evangelical press; on the other hand, from important men of letters. In the extensive reading public of the nineteenth century was a large class, of course, who sought literature of an edifying and religious tone,—a class whose staple reading included Hannah More, Robert Montgomery, James Montgomery, Pollok, Young, and Cowper. Such readers were startled and excited by a work which combined the imagination and emotion of romantic poetry with much that was technically religious. Into the orthodoxy of the poem it was not necessary to inquire too closely. It was religion and at the same time it was poetry.<sup>72</sup> "Our more sober and Dissenting brethren," remarked *Blackwood's Magazine* of *Festus*, "seem to have pardoned all its heresies, or not to have seen them, in the dazzling and unintermitting blaze of its genius."<sup>73</sup>

Naturally, the important literary reviews did not give *Festus* the salvos of applause that came from the religious periodicals and minor magazines, though the *Dublin University Magazine* and *Blackwood's* admitted Bailey's power.<sup>74</sup> Contemporary men of letters took *Festus* seriously, and their comment,

<sup>70</sup> Quoted in Pickering's announcement, 1840, p. 5.

<sup>71</sup> *Shakespeare and Other Lectures* (London, 1888), p. 374.

<sup>72</sup> Extracts from the *Liverpool Chronicle*, the *Critic*, the *Metropolitan*, and many others in Pickering's announcements, 1840-1850. *Hogg's Instructor*, n. s. XVI (1853), 453; *Howitt's Journal*, III (1848), 151; Hepworth Dixon in *Jerrold's Magazine*, VII (1848), 84. There is generous but more guarded praise in the important Non-conformist organs, the *Eclectic Review*, LXX (1839), 654, and the *British Quarterly*, III (1846), 377. Cf. also George Gilfillan in *Hogg's Instructor*, VI (1847), 37; *Tait's Magazine*, XV (1848), 728; *Hogg's Instructor*, n. s. III (1849), 50; *Second Gallery of Literary Portraits* (New York, 1850), p. 345.

<sup>73</sup> LXVII (1850), 420.

<sup>74</sup> *Athenaeum*, 1839, 959; 1847, 14; *Literary Gazette*, XXIII (1839), 558; XXIX (1845), 340; *Tait's Magazine*, n. s. VII (1839), 339; *Edinburgh Review*, CIV (1856), 354; *Dublin University Magazine*, XXX (1847), 91; *Blackwood's Magazine*, loc. cit.

favorable or unfavorable, is sometimes highly significant. The first prominent notice of *Festus* was probably the chapter inspired by Elizabeth Barrett in Horne's book. Long afterwards Bailey thus reported the opinions of *Festus* held by Tennyson and Browning:

Of our two chief contemporaries in verse recently passed away, they neither of them said anything about myself as a friend or writer but what was good in itself or kind and just; one of them, beside that tribute of high admiration for my work with which the world has for many years been familiar, gave me some advice which he was fully qualified to give; and the other said he had himself written too much, but that I had not written enough. I did not grudge them their approval by the million; they did not grudge me theirs.<sup>76</sup>

Tennyson is quoted in the publisher's notices as saying, "I can scarcely trust myself to say how much I admire it, for fear of falling into extravagance." In 1846 he wrote to Fitzgerald: "I have just got *Festus*; order it and read. You will most likely find it a great bore, but there are really *very grand* things in *Festus*."<sup>76</sup> This is as sound an estimate of *Festus* as can be got into two lines. Among the Pre-Raphaelites, William Bell Scott tells of its influence on him in his youth,<sup>77</sup> and William Michael Rossetti afterwards wrote, "With much enthusiasm had my brother and myself read and re-read *Festus*, toward 1847-48."<sup>78</sup> Walter Savage Landor wrote an *Epistle to the Author of Festus*, which tempers generous praise of the poetry of youth with sound advice about chastity of style. We have to turn again to the rather blatant announcements of Pickering to learn what some other Victorians thought. "A most remarkable and magnificent production," says Bulwer-Lytton, and Thackeray, "An author of much merit and genius." When Ebenezer Elliott testifies: "It contains poetry enough to set up fifty poets," the reader

<sup>76</sup> *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll and Thomas J. Wise, II, 418.

<sup>76</sup> *Alfred Lord Tennyson; A Memoir, by His Son* (London, 1897), I, 234.

<sup>77</sup> *Autobiographical Notes*, ed. William Minto (London, 1892), I, 100.

<sup>78</sup> *Some Reminiscences* (New York, 1906), p. 101. Further evidence in W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer* (London, 1889), p. 7; *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family-Letters, with a Memoir* (London, 1895), I, 89; *Complete Poetical Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. W. M. Rossetti (London, 1888), p. xvii; Hall Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London, 1882), pp. 97-101, 260.

feels like calling a halt, especially as W. Harrison Ainsworth and Samuel Smiles express themselves no less emphatically, and Douglas Jerrold is aligned with the rest. It was Pickering's list which led Dr. John Brown to enter a protest:

It would appear from these opinions, which from their intensity, variety, and number (upwards of 50), are curious signs of the times, that Mr. Bailey has not so much improved on, as happily superseded the authors of *Job* and *Ecclesiastes*, of the *Divine Comedy*, of *Paradise Lost* and *Regained*, of *Dr. Faustus*, *Hamlet*, and *Faust*, of *Don Juan*, the *Course of Time*, *St. Leon*, the *Jolly Beggars*, and the *Loves of the Angels*.<sup>79</sup>

And yet, if we overlook the bad taste of the advertising, all this is impressive enough.

*Festus* had been taken up by a certain group of English transcendentalists who were in communication with the Concord group and no doubt made the poem known to their American brethren.<sup>80</sup> It is referred to in the *Dial* for July, 1841,<sup>81</sup> and reviewed at length by Margaret Fuller in October, in a dialogue with copious quotations.<sup>82</sup> Laurie, the defender of the poem, argues that it must be taken as the work of a boy-giant, not as a finished work of art. The poem must be interpreted as "an incident in the history of a soul," though the poet has not made the most of "the grand thought of a permitted temptation."<sup>83</sup> Emerson, however, did not accept *Festus*. "Festus and Shelley have both this merit of timeliness; that is the only account we can give of their imposing on such good heads."<sup>84</sup> In 1849

<sup>79</sup> *Spare Hours* (Boston, 1866), I, 375.

<sup>80</sup> For this English coterie see articles on Francis Foster Barham, James Pierpont Greaves, John Abraham Heraud, John Westland Marston, in *D. N. B.*; also Edith Heraud, *Memoirs of John A. Heraud* (London, 1898). For Bailey's contact with the group, and his description of a "transcendental soirée," see letter to Thomas Bailey, February 6, 1840, printed in part in *Christian Science Monitor*, April 9, 1919. Heraud's review of *Festus* is in *Monthly Magazine*, II (1839), 247. Evidence for relations between the English and American groups in the *Dial*, III (1842), 227, 279, 416; F. B. Sanborn and W. T. Harris, *A. Bronson Alcott* (Boston, 1893), pp. 335, 365.

<sup>81</sup> II, 175.

<sup>82</sup> II, 231.

<sup>83</sup> Margaret Fuller continues this eulogy in *Life Within and Without* (Boston, 1859), p. 153, a review of the first American edition, presumably first published in the *New York Tribune*.

<sup>84</sup> *Journals*, VII, 284 (1847). Cf. also VI, 286 (1842); *Dial*, III (1843), 535; William B. Scott, *Memoir of David Scott*, R. S. A. (Edinburgh, 1850), p. 323



F. B. Sanborn, another member of the group, wrote a burlesque scene in the manner of *Festus*, "then much read in New England;"<sup>85</sup> and later described *Festus* as "'Faust' emasculated, trimmed and scented, and sent forth on a harmless round among the circulating libraries."<sup>86</sup>

On the appearance of the second edition of *Festus* in 1845, with a first American edition immediately printed from it, the poem became generally known.<sup>87</sup> "It is testified by all who recall the period of the first appearance of 'Festus' that the book distinctly tended to the training of ardent and even heroic souls."<sup>88</sup> Longfellow wrote in his journal for November 2, 1845: "T. read to us the wonderful book, Festus. For a youth of twenty to write thus is a miracle. The figurative language is magnificent."<sup>89</sup> But he was suspicious of the extravagant praise *Festus* received, in which American periodicals were not to be outdone by their English contemporaries.<sup>90</sup> There were, however, misgivings about the heretical theology,<sup>91</sup> and the poem was not taken up by the Universalists, though the best American review is Thomas Starr King's, in the *Universalist Quarterly*.<sup>92</sup> It was probably hostility to transcendentalism that led E. P. Whipple to attack *Festus* as a combination of the "madness of

<sup>85</sup> F. B. Sanborn, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston, 1909), p. 270.

<sup>86</sup> *Life and Genius of Goethe*, ed. F. B. Sanborn (Boston, 1886), p. 184.

<sup>87</sup> Early in 1845 *Festus* was referred to in Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of England in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1845), p. 487, in such a way as to imply that it was not generally known. About the same time *Graham's Magazine*, XXVI (1845), 94, mentioned as English poets little known in America "Herbert, Horne, Bailey, Darley, Alford, and Browning." The *Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXVI, 72, reviewed *Festus* favorably in July, 1845, just before the first American edition came out.

<sup>88</sup> Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Part of a Man's Life* (Boston, 1905), p. 239.

<sup>89</sup> *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, ed. Samuel Longfellow (Boston, 1891), II, 24.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 33. Cf. *Democratic Review*, XVII (1845), 454; *De Bow's Review*, X (1851), 430; *Southern Literary Messenger*, XV (1849), 111; *Christian Examiner*, XXXIX (1845), 365; *Graham's Magazine*, XXXIII (1848), 170.

<sup>91</sup> *Prospective Review*, III (1847), 511; *Mercersburg Review*, III (1851), 401; *Southern Quarterly*, XI (1847), 106; *New Englander*, V (1847), 175; *Brownson's Quarterly*, III (1846), 405; Thomas Powell, *Living Authors of England* (New York, 1849), p. 262.

<sup>92</sup> II (1845), 395.

Parnassus and Bedlam."<sup>93</sup> A little later Henry N. Hudson ended an elaborate and hostile review with a general attack on transcendentalists and Unitarians.<sup>94</sup> In the fifties references to Bailey become less favorable.<sup>95</sup>

Yet the bibliographical record shows that the poem was widely read in America during the fifties; for the period from 1845 to 1860, indeed, its vogue is hard to exaggerate. "No English poem, it was said, ever sold through so many American editions as 'Festus.'"<sup>96</sup> There seem to have been more than thirty American reprints of the poem.<sup>97</sup> In 1855 the Boston publisher Mussey told a friend of Bailey's that he had sold over twenty-two thousand copies of *Festus*.<sup>98</sup>

The tale of authorized English editions of *Festus* is more moderate.<sup>99</sup> But discounting the praise of *Festus* by haphazard periodicals, we have found the poem well received both by large sections of the Victorian public and by some good judges who had a right to speak for their own generation. The reason for Bailey's success can be stated in very general terms. It has been implied in the account already given of the contemporary

<sup>93</sup> *American Whig Review*, II (1845), 55.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, V (1847), 43, 123. Likewise *Literary World*, "Bad News for the Transcendental Poets," I (1847), 53; and *International Magazine*, II (1851), 453.

<sup>95</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, VI (1853), 138, XII (1856), 258; *Democratic Review* XXXIV (1854), 145; William Winter, *Old Friends* (New York, 1909), p. 361. When the Duke of Argyll visited Longfellow in 1866 the poet talked among other things "of Alexander Smith and Bailey, as curious instances of the way young men come to the surface suddenly and then disappear, apparently never again to rise."—Duke of Argyll, *Passages from the Past*, (London, 1907), p. 231.

<sup>96</sup> Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Studies in History and Letters* (Boston 1900), p. 262.

<sup>97</sup> Some of the editions were not dated or numbered. My list is not complete, but I have noted editions with the following dates, all published at Boston unless otherwise indicated: 1845 (First), 1846, 1847 (Fourth), 1847 (Seventh), 1849 (Eighth), 1850 (Ninth), 1851 (Tenth), 1852 (Seventeenth), 1853, 1854 (Illustrated by Hammett Billings), 1856, 1857, 1866 (New York), 1869, 1889 (New York). There were also one or more undated editions at Boston, Philadelphia, and Louisville respectively; and two or more undated New York editions, one called the Thirtieth. Bailey "never got a sixpence" from the American publishers. (William Winter, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

<sup>98</sup> Bailey MSS. Pliny Miles to Philip James Bailey, May 15, 1855.

<sup>99</sup> 1839, 1845, 1848, 1852, 1856, 1860, 1864, 1866, 1872, 1877, 1889, 1893, 1901.

state of literary criticism in England, the evangelical reading public, and the prevailing attitude toward imaginative poetry. Bailey worked on an imposing scale, and he showed what might be done in poetry by an imagination not of the highest quality but licensed and emboldened, and at the same time tempered by the Victorian compromise. At a time when Tennyson had not attained his full popularity, and when Browning was scarcely known, Bailey won a hearing for himself partly by the religious coloring of his work, partly by the violence and directness of his appeal to the imagination. He could not maintain his position because he did not fulfill the promise of his youth, and because Tennyson by 1860 had attained an almost despotic command of public taste. The *Eclectic Review* in 1865 intimated both the past popularity and the coming decline of *Festus*;<sup>100</sup> and in the next year Robert Buchanan wrote in his *Session of the Poets*:

Remoter sat Bailey—satirical, surly—  
Who studied the language of Goethe too soon,  
And sang himself hoarse to the stars very early,  
And crack'd a weak voice with too lofty a tune.<sup>101</sup>

Bailey himself helped to check the popularity of his poem by expanding it beyond all reasonable limits; so that the Jubilee Edition is 40,000 lines long; that is, almost as long as *The Earthly Paradise*, and twice as long as *The Ring and the Book*! Bailey, like Goethe, kept his great poem in the workshop for the space of a lifetime, but whereas *Faust* shows organic growth from youth to old age, *Festus* shows not so much development as accretion. Bailey's final word on the history of his text was this:

Substantially the poem stands now, and indeed in most of its chief respects remains, unchanged; and it does so for the reason more especially, that very soon after its first appearance, the author perceived the original outline to be sufficiently extensive and elastic to admit almost every variety of classifiable thought, and reasonable enlargement of purpose upon such matters as human faith, morals and progress could not fail to present to the refining experiences of life.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> CXXI, 540.

<sup>101</sup> *Spectator*, XXXIX (1866), Part 2, 1028.

<sup>102</sup> Jubilee Edition (London, 1889), p. i.

This may almost be taken to imply that the later *Festus* had no well ordered history. Bailey's later unsuccessful poems, *The Angel World* (1850), *The Mystic* (1855), and *The Universal Hymn* (1867) were thrust bodily into the eighth and subsequent editions of *Festus*. But from among these arid tracts of verse textual criticism could recover the earlier version practically intact, passages in the early romantic style lying close to passages in the later didactic and pseudo-Miltonic style. A comparison of the different versions leads us to agree with William Michael Rossetti, who suggested in 1876 that the poem, as one of the important documents of mid-century literature, should be made accessible to readers in its original form, without the additional burdens imposed on it in later years.<sup>108</sup>

## V

The position of *Festus* as representative of popular Victorian romanticism is more important than any specific influence it may have exerted on later poets, and yet such influence cannot be ignored, though it is often so elusive as to dissolve into mere parallelism. Such parallels exist between *Festus* and other nineteenth-century poems influenced by the Faust tradition: Longfellow's *Golden Legend* (1851), Clough's *Dipsychus* (1862), Roden Noel's *Modern Faust* (1888), William Watson's *Eloping Angels* (1893), and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's *Satan Absolved* (1899). Of these poems *Dipsychus* is closest to *Festus*, though only the most general filiation need be asserted. Both poems have heroes of the same type, and such lines as the following might be smuggled into *Festus* without incongruity:

Oh, it is great to do and know not what,  
Nor let it e'er be known. The dashing stream  
Stays not to pick his steps among the rocks,  
Or let his water-breaks be chronicled.  
And though the hunter looks before he leap,  
'Tis instinct rather than a shaped-out thought  
That lifts him his bold way.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>108</sup> "William Bell Scott and Modern British Poetry," *Macmillan's Magazine*, XXXIII (1876), 425. Cf. also William Michael Rossetti, *Some Reminiscences*, p. 500.

<sup>104</sup> *Poems* (London, 1913), p. 145. *Dipsychus*, II, 4.

Action is what one must get, it is clear;  
 And one could dream it better than one finds,  
 In its kind personal, in its motive not;  
 Not selfish as it now is, nor as now  
 Maiming the individual. If we had that  
 It would cure all indeed. Oh, how would then  
 These pitiful rebellions of the flesh,  
 These caterwaulings of the effeminate heart,  
 These hurts of self-imagined dignity,  
 Pass like the seaweed from about the bows  
 Of a great vessel speeding straight to sea!<sup>106</sup>

Bailey's was generally taken to be the strongest influence in the so-called "Spasmodic School" of poetry, which includes Alexander Smith's *Life-Drama*, Sydney Dobell's *Balder*, and such obscure poems as Westland Marston's *Gerald*, John Stanyan Bigg's *Night and the Soul*, and the anonymous *Arnold*.<sup>106</sup> George Gilfillan was the critical exponent of the school, Aytoun's *Firmilian* brilliantly burlesques its style and thought, and Tennyson's *Maud* is at least a cognate; the central characteristic of the group is the presence of the Byronic hero partly reclaimed for respectability.<sup>107</sup> The close connection between Bailey and these slightly younger men in the early fifties was recognized by contemporary reviewers.<sup>108</sup> Robert Buchanan, who had many points of contact with the school, grouped Bailey, Smith, and Dobell together, and emphasized Gilfillan's sponsorship.<sup>109</sup> In the seventies men who looked back at the movement recognized Bailey as the *fons et origo*. George Augustus Simcox spoke of Bailey's "admirers" and "successors."<sup>110</sup> W. M. Rossetti wrote in 1876: "It is apparent that Mr. Bailey had a good deal to do with the genesis of the Spasmodic School; *Festus*, with its yearnings of unsubstantial passion, and of thought adventuring into boundless space, and boxing the compass of speculation, must have pioneered Smith into the staggering fervours of the

<sup>106</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>108</sup> *Hogg's Instructor*, XXI (1855).

<sup>107</sup> This subject is studied in the writer's thesis, *The Spasmodic School in Victorian Poetry*, Harvard, 1920.

<sup>108</sup> E. g., *Saturday Review*, I (1855), 34.

<sup>109</sup> "Sydney Dobell and the Spasmodic School," *A Look Round Literature* (London, 1887), p. 185.

<sup>110</sup> *Academy*, VII (1875), 493.

*Life-Drama*, and Dobell into the magniloquent hysteria of *Balder*."<sup>111</sup> Watts-Dunton agreed with this statement, and emphasized particularly the influence of Bailey upon Dobell.<sup>112</sup> And these judgments may be allowed to stand, for despite the fact that Bailey himself tried to repudiate the later "spasmodists,"<sup>113</sup> he believed that Smith's work was so close to his own as to be open to the charge of plagiarism.<sup>114</sup> It is not unfair to argue that if one poet influences another deeply, and is at the same time not intrinsically superior to the man he stimulates, both may reasonably be counted in the same category or "school." Such is the situation with respect to the influence of Bailey on Dobell and Smith. When the nineteenth century acquires more of the pathos of distance, readers and students may turn again to Bailey's *Festus*, both for its explicit poetry and its historical implications.

ALAN D. MCKILLOP

<sup>111</sup> *Macmillan's Magazine*, loc. cit.

<sup>112</sup> " 'Festus' and Recent Poetry," *Athenaeum*, 1876, 465.

<sup>113</sup> *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, II, 413. Professor Walker, *The Literature of the Victorian Era* (Cambridge, 1910), 349, thinks that Bailey was justified in his protest.

<sup>114</sup> So Sir W. Robertson Nicoll reports, in his introduction to Gilfillan, *A Gallery of Literary Portraits* (Everyman's Library), p. xvi.

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1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting are expected to prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical treatises may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten minutes. The papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than twenty (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not shall submit to the Secretary, by November 1, with its title, a typewritten synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the programme.

3. The Secretary shall select the programme from the papers thus offered trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

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# PUBLICATIONS *of the* MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION *of* AMERICA



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XXXV. *WIDSITH* AND THE *HERVARARSAGA*

The English poem *Widsith* (composed in the 7th century) contains two passages (v. 116 and v. 119 ff.) that refer to stories known to us also from the Icelandic *Hervararsaga*. The present paper is primarily an attempt to determine the form and relationship of these stories as the *Widsith* poet knew them. Any such attempt, however, necessarily involves an examination of the *Hervararsaga*. This saga has been much studied, but never investigated with the *Widsith* primarily in mind. Even R. W. Chambers, in his monumental edition of *Widsith*, relegates to a few footnotes his comments on the relation of the English poem to the Icelandic saga. That there is much to be said, the length of the present paper will suffice to demonstrate! It is my hope, moreover, that my discussion will serve likewise to clear up some of the obscurities of the saga.

It will be convenient to begin with an outline of the plot of the *Hervararsaga*. This saga is a composite tale, containing material of diverse age and origin. It occurs in three main versions, known as *R*, *U* and *H*, of which both *R* and *H* are incomplete. The authoritative treatise on the relationships of these versions is that of A. L. Andrews,<sup>1</sup> who has shown that version *H* is secondary, and that only *R* and *U* have full authority. The following outline, therefore, is based essentially on *R* and *U*. Where these differ on points material to the present study, I give synopses of both accounts. For convenience in reference the plot is divided into ten episodes, denoted by Roman numerals.

I. *R*. King Sigrlami of Garðaríki obtains from dwarfs a sword called Tyr-fingr. The sword has these two peculiarities:

1. It gives victory to its wielder.
2. It is a man's bane every time it is drawn.

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Philol.* XI, 363 ff.; XVIII, 93 ff.; XXI, 187 ff.

*U.* Sigrlami, son of Óðinn, is king of Garðaríki. He is succeeded by his son Svafrlami. The latter forces two dwarfs, Dvalinn and Dulinn, to forge for him a magic sword, with the same properties as those assigned to it in *R.* The dwarfs however add these two curses:

1. It will be the instrument of three *niðingsverk*.

2. It will be the bane of Svafrlami himself.

These curses are not to the king's liking, and he hews at the dwarfs with the sword, but they make their escape. The king names the sword Tyrfringr.

II. *R.* Arngrímr víkingr takes service with king Sigrlami. He marries the king's daughter Eyfura and gets Tyrfringr into the bargain. Later he goes back home with wife and sword. Eyfura bears him twelve sons, among them Angantýr and Hjörvarðr.—*U.* Eyfura is the daughter of Svafrlami. Arngrímr wins wife and sword by force. In battle he cuts off Svafrlami's hand; Tyrfringr falls to the ground; Arngrímr seizes it and slays Svafrlami with it, thus fulfilling the second curse laid upon the sword by the dwarfs.

III. Hjörvarðr swears that he will possess Ingibjörg, daughter of the Swedish king Ingjaldr (*R.*) or Yngvi (*U.*). He and his brothers go to Uppsali and demand the lady. A rival suitor, however, Hjalmar by name, is more to Ingibjörg's taste. The rivals arrange to fight a *hólmganga* (with the princess as the victor's prize) on Sámsey the next summer. The brothers then go home. Before they leave for Sámsey, Angantýr marries Sváfa, daughter of jarl Bjarmarr (*R.*) or Bjartmarr (*U.*). Angantýr also receives from his father the sword Tyrfringr (*R.*; in *U.* he gets the sword much earlier). When the twelve brothers reach Sámsey they find their opponents arrived before them. Hjalmar and his second (named Söti in the verse, Oddr in the prose) have gone ashore, leaving their shipmates behind. The duel arranged for between Hjörvarðr and Hjalmar does not take place. Instead, we have the story of a battle. The fight falls into two stages, separated by a *berserksgangr* which came on the brothers. The brothers begin by attacking and slaughtering the shipmates of Hjalmar and his second. Then they land and have the *berserksgangr* mentioned above. Hjalmar and his second now come up. Hjalmar undertakes to fight Angantýr (not Hjörvarðr!) and his second opposes the other eleven brothers. In the fight which follows Angantýr and Hjalmar kill each other, while Hjalmar's second kills the eleven opposed to him. The twelve brothers are buried on Sámsey. Tyrfringr is buried with Angantýr at his special request.<sup>2</sup> Ingibjörg commits suicide when she hears of Hjalmar's death.

IV. Sváfa bears to the dead Angantýr a daughter, Hervör, who as she grows up develops the traits of a valkyria. One day she ill-treats some thralls. They retaliate by telling her she is herself daughter of a thrall. She goes at once to Bjartmarr and learns of him that her father was Angantýr and that he is buried on Sámsey. She takes man's clothing and goes to Sámsey, where she summons her father from the grave to demand of him the sword Tyrfringr. Angantýr is reluctant to give her the weapon, which he says is doomed to bring ruin upon her race:

siá mun Tyrfringr,

ef þú trúa mættir,

ætt þinni, mær,

allri spilla.

Nevertheless, he finally yields to her importunities.

<sup>2</sup> *Örvaroddsaga*, ed. Boer, p. 101.

V. Hervör, still in man's clothing and under her man's name Hervarðr, takes service with the wise king Guðmundr á Glæsisvöllum for a time. This is followed by a period of activity in viking. After this Hervör undergoes a change in character, becomes like other women, returns home and devotes herself to domestic duties. Höfundr, the wise son of Guðmundr, learns of this and becomes a suitor for her hand. Hervör marries him, and bears him two sons, Angantýr and Heiðrekr. The first was good-natured and heedful, and his father's favorite. The second was ill-natured and heedless, and his mother's favorite. Heiðrekr was fostered by a certain Gizurr. Once Heiðrekr heard men's voices and recklessly threw a stone at random in their direction. Unluckily the stone hit and killed his brother. Höfundr thereupon outlawed Heiðrekr. His mother interceded for him, however, and induced Höfundr to give him counsel before he went into exile. Höfundr gave him the following six counsels:

1. Help not the man who has slain his lord.
2. Free not the man who has slain his comrade.
3. Give not thy wife often leave to visit her kinsmen.
4. Be not away from home late with thy mistress.
5. Ride not thy best horse, if thou be in haste.
6. Take not to foster the son of thy better.

Hervör helped her son further by giving him Tyríngir and some money.—In version *U*, the order of events is different, and a different reason is given for the banishment. Heiðrekr maliciously makes trouble at a feast, finally inducing one of the feasters to kill another. Höfundr thereupon banishes his son. Hervör helps him as in *R*. Heiðrekr now leaves, but unluckily draws Tyríngir (to examine it) and since that sword must be a man's bane every time it is drawn Heiðrekr is forced to slay his brother Angantýr, the only man near at the time.

VI. Heiðrekr starts out by breaking his father's first two counsels. He then betakes himself to Reiðgotaland, where he enters the service of king Haraldr of that country and so distinguishes himself that he is rewarded with the hand of Helga, the king's daughter. By her he has a son, whom he calls Angantýr (the third of that name in our saga). King Haraldr likewise begets a son (Hálfðan) in his old age. A famine later comes upon the land, which, as it transpires, can be successfully combatted only by the sacrifice of that boy of the land who is of highest rank. The wise Höfundr is called on to decide whether Angantýr or Hálfðan meets this requirement. He rules that Angantýr is of higher rank than Hálfðan. In spite of this decision Heiðrekr, partly through his father's counsel, manages to save his son, get Haraldr and Hálfðan sacrificed instead, and get himself chosen king of Reiðgotaland. His wife Helga thereupon commits suicide. Heiðrekr consoles himself with Sváfa, daughter of king Humli of Húnaland. This princess he had captured on a marauding expedition. He soon returns her to her father, however. In Húnaland she bears Heiðrekr a son, Hlöðr, who is brought up at his grandfather Humli's court.—In *R*, the daughter of Humli is called Sifka, and her native land Hundland. In *U*, the story of Sváfa appears at a later point in the narrative.

VII. Heiðrekr takes to wife Ólöf, daughter of king Haki of Saxland. He breaks his father's third counsel by often giving her leave to visit her native land, where she proves faithless to him. He discovers her infidelity and divorces her. He consoles himself with Sifka, a Finnish captive. He breaks his father's

sixth counsel by taking to foster Herlaugr, son of king Hrollaugr of Garðaríki. Upon a visit to Hrollaugr he confides to his mistress Sifka that he has had the misfortune to slay Herlaugr with Tyrfingr (much as he slew his brother in the *U* version of episode V). Sifka betrays his confidence and the news reaches Hrollaugr, who has Heiðrekr bound. The two men who bind him are the men whom he helped in breaking his father's first two counsels. He escapes, however, for in the nick of time it transpires that Herlaugr is alive and well: Heiðrekr's story of his death was a lie (not motivated with any plausibility). Heiðrekr and Hrollaugr now become friends again; indeed, Hrollaugr gives his daughter Hergerðr to Heiðrekr to wife. Heiðrekr now disposes of Sifka (presumably to punish her for her betrayal of him); while doing so he manages to break his father's fourth and fifth counsels. Hergerðr bears to Heiðrekr a daughter, Hervör II. She is fostered by a certain Ormarr (*U*) or Fróðmarr (*R*). Like her paternal grandmother, she develops into a valkyria.—In *R*, the Sifka of this episode is the Sifka (= Sváfa) Humladóttir of episode VI, who by a tour de force is brought back from Hundland to betray Heiðrekr at Hrollaugr's court. This use of her is obviously not original. I have therefore here followed *U*, where the daughter of Humli and the false mistress of the Herlaugr story are distinguished both in name and in function.

VIII. Gestr blindi (*U*) or Gestumblindi (*R*) was a powerful chieftain in Gautaland (*U*) or Reiðgotaland (*R*). He and Heiðrekr were on bad terms. The two have a riddle match, but Heiðrekr's opponent is actually Óðinn, who takes Gestr's place and assumes his shape, so that Heiðrekr is unaware of the identity of his opponent. The false Gestr poses the riddles and Heiðrekr answers them without trouble. At the end, however, Gestr wins the match unfairly, by asking a riddle to which only Óðinn can know the answer. Heiðrekr is enraged at this, draws Tyrfingr and hews at his opponent, who escapes only by turning himself into a hawk. The sword hits the hawk's tail and clips the tail-feathers. (In *U*, the sword in its descent kills a retainer, thus satisfying the requirement that it be a man's bane every time it is drawn). Óðinn, in turn enraged, now dooms Heiðrekr to death at the hands of thralls of his, and flies off.—It may be noted that Saxo too<sup>3</sup> knows a Gestiblinus, king of the Gothi, i.e., the Gauts.

IX. Heiðrekr has nine thralls, noble captives taken in war. One night these make a surprise attack on the king's quarters and slaughter the king and everybody else there. They take Tyrfingr and the royal hoard and flee to the woods. Heiðrekr's son Angantýr now becomes king. He vows not to mount the throne until he has avenged his father. One evening he comes to a stream where some men are fishing. From their talk he gathers that they are his father's murderers. He lies in wait, and at midnight enters their tent as they sleep and kills all nine. He thus recovers Tyrfingr and avenges his father.

X. Hlöðr, hearing of his father's death, comes from Húnalund to claim his share of the heritage. Angantýr is willing to compromise, but his counsellor Gizurr (the old foster-father of Heiðrekr) objects, and by his insults drives Hlöðr to defiance. Hlöðr returns to Húnalund, and with the help of Humli raises a great army. Hlöðr and Humli invade Reiðgotaland. The Gotar or Gautar have two armies of defense, one led by Hervör, with Ormarr as chief of staff, the

<sup>3</sup> ed. Holder, p. 160.

other by Angantýr himself.<sup>4</sup> The Huns overthrow the army of Hervör; Hervör falls, but Ormarr escapes and makes report to Angantýr, who thereupon sends Gizurr out as herald to challenge the Huns to battle. Gizurr rides up to within speaking distance of the enemy and taunts them, telling them that Óðinn has deserted them. He challenges them to battle. Hlöðr recognizes Gizurr and wants to have him seized, but Humli lets him go in peace. Gizurr returns and makes report to Angantýr on the size of the army of the Huns. Angantýr, in spite of being heavily outnumbered, essays battle. The fight lasts eight days. Finally Angantýr kills with Tyrfingr his brother Hlöðr, and Humli besides. The Huns are put to rout. The slaughter is so great that the rivers are dammed up by the corpses and the valleys are filled with the bodies of men and horses. After this Angantýr reigns long over Reiðgotaland, and from him many kings are descended.

Even a cursory examination of the foregoing outline will suffice to convince the most skeptical that the *Heravararsaga* is of composite origin. The saga actually consists of the following stories:

- 1) the story of the sword Tyrfingr
- 2) the story of Ingibjörg and her rival lovers
- 3) the story of Angantýr's last fight
- 4) the story of the life of Heiðrekr
- 5) the story of the servile revolt
- 6) the story of the war between Goths and Huns
- 7) the story of the strife between the brothers Angantýr and Hlöðr.

The sword-story serves to link together the whole, after a fashion, and stories 2) and 3), and 6) and 7), are closely interwoven, but nowhere can we say that the composition has attained any real unity.

The story of Tyrfingr has recently been studied in detail by H. Schück,<sup>5</sup> the well-known Swedish scholar, who compares the story (hereafter referred to as *T*) with two other sword-stories, viz., the *Ásmundarsaga kappabana* (*AK*) and Saxo's story of Drota and her sons Hildiger and Haldan (*D*). These latter are generally recognized to be variants of the same tale. Schück shows that *T* too is closely related, and that all three go back to a more primitive story which may be epitomized as follows. A king forces two dwarfs to forge for him a victory-bringing sword. The dwarfs however lay upon the sword a curse besides:

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ed. Verelius, pp. 136, 176, for the name-form *Gowlar*.

<sup>5</sup> "Studier i Heravararsagan," *Uppsala program*, 1918.



it is doomed to be the instrument with which the one son of the king's daughter kills the other. The king, in order to prevent the fulfilment of the curse, leaves orders, as he dies, that the sword be buried with him. These orders are carried out. The king's daughter has two sons. One is brought up in a far country (or is exiled thither). The other stays with his mother. When he is old enough to bear arms, he asks of her her father's sword. She, ignorant of the curse laid upon it, removes it from the king's grave and gives it to her son. He in the course of his adventures as a warrior meets his brother, whom he does not recognize, and kills him in a duel. The mother thus unwittingly causes one of her sons to kill the other.

In one respect, however, Schück's reconstruction is not convincing. He regards the *Hervararsaga* (*HS*) as a simplex story, in origin, viz., the story of the fatal sword Tyrfingr. I regard it, on the contrary, as from the beginning complex, viz., a combination of *T* with the story of the quarrel between the brothers Angantýr and Hlöðr (*AH*). For in *HS* as it stands the brothers have not the same mother, but the same father. And in other respects the conclusion of *HS* does not conform to the sword-story formula. Thus, the two brothers know each other perfectly well. Moreover, as we shall see later on, *AH* was known to the poet of the *Widsith* (*WS*) in a form unconnected with *T*. We may be sure, then, that the original conclusion of *T* has not been preserved to us unmodified; on the contrary, the extant conclusion is a fusion of *T* and *AH*.

Who were the primitive characters in *T*, one may now ask, and what were the details of the plot? Certainly the curses extant in *HS* are not original. One may safely follow Heinzel<sup>6</sup> in rejecting the three *nfðingsverk*. And since Tyrfingr has to lose its quality of victory-bringing sword in order to become Svafhlami's bane, version *U* here too must yield to version *R*, which knows neither curse. Again, the sword in fact does not prove a man's bane every time it is drawn, even in those parts of *HS* which indubitably belong to *T*. We have left the curse quoted in episode IV above, viz., that the sword is doomed to bring ruin upon Hervör's race. This curse agrees admirably with that recorded in *AK*: "þat [i.e., the sword] mun verða at

<sup>6</sup> "Über die *Hervararsaga*," *W S B*, CXIV, 428.



bana enum göfugustum bræðrum, dóttursonum þínum." Yet neither fits the facts of the story, for both *AK* and *T* need a curse according to which one brother will kill the other. Heinzel with justice points out<sup>7</sup> that Angantýr's forebodings fail to come true, and the same may be said of Olífus's curse in *AK*. The extant curse belongs, of course, to another form of the story, a variant in which there are two swords, one for each brother, and the brothers kill each other in the fatal duel. Two swords actually appear in *D*, but only one brother is killed. All three extant versions, then (*T*, *AK* and *D*), conform in plot to the curse which Schück has postulated, but the two swords of *D*, and the curse extant in *T* and *AK*, point to contamination with, or development from, a plot in which both brothers are killed.<sup>8</sup>

Episode I of our saga, then, read, in *T*, somewhat as follows: king Svafrlami of Garðarfki forces two dwarfs, Dvalinn and Dulinn, to forge for him a victory-bringing sword. The dwarfs in revenge add this curse: that the sword will be the instrument with which the one son of the king's daughter kills the other. This curse is not to the king's liking, and he hews at the dwarfs with the sword, but they make their escape. The sword is called Tyrfingr.

To find the next incident in *T* we must skip to episode III as outlined above. Schück has shown conclusively that Arngrímr and his sons had nothing to do with *T*. Episode II, as we have it, is merely a prologue to the story of Ingibjörg and her rival lovers, and this, as we shall see, is a story wholly unrelated to Tyrfingr and out of place in its extant setting. That Tyrfingr is no proper weapon for Angantýr is indeed sufficiently obvious from the fact that this victory-bringing sword brings him not victory but defeat and death. As Schück well says, Angantýr has usurped the place of Svafrlami in owning the sword and in carrying it with him to his grave. The next incident in *T*, then, reads substantially thus: king Svafrlami, on his death-bed, ordered that Tyrfingr be buried with him, in order to prevent the fulfilment of the curse laid upon it by the dwarfs. The king's orders were carried out.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 450 f.

<sup>8</sup> For Alfus's sword in *AK*, see R. C. Boer, "Zur dänischen Heldensage," *P.B.B.* XXII, p. 355ff.

We now come to Svafhlami's daughter. What was her name? In the extant *HS*, she is called Eyfura. But this cannot be right. Eyfura belongs with the Arngríms, and if these are interlopers in *T*, so is she. Eyfura appears as wife of Arngrímr everywhere: in the *Hyndluljóð*, in *HS*, in Saxo. But her parentage is either not given at all or else varies with the monument, and this uncertainty means that the parentage provided for her is late and not to be taken seriously. As for Hervör, represented in *HS* as the daughter of Svafhlami's substitute Angantýr, she is no better suited than Eyfura for the part of daughter of Svafhlami. For her fundamental quality is that of valkyria. She shows herself valkyria-like whether she appears as daughter of Angantýr or as daughter of Heiðrekr. But, as Schück points out, the sword-story has no use for a valkyria. Rather it needs a mother. And in fact Hervör, in order to be utilized in our tale as a mother, has to undergo a change of character as complete as it is unmotivated. Her name, moreover, neither by alliteration nor by parallelism of structure fits into the system of nomenclature exemplified in the names *Sigrhlami* and *Svafhlami*. Finally, as we shall see shortly, Hervör is a character of secondary development, a doublet of Hervör II.

Who, then, was the daughter of Svafhlami? This daughter ought to have a name that fits in with the names of her ancestors. She ought further to be the mother of the brothers that have the fatal duel. In *HS* these are the brothers Angantýr and Hlöðr. Hence the daughter of Svafhlami ought also to be the wife of Heiðrekr. Now the only name in *HS* which meets the requirements of alliteration and parallelism and therefore properly goes with the names *Sigrhlami* and *Svafhlami* is the name *Sváfa*. Two characters of that name appear in *HS*. One is Sváfa the mother of Hervör I; the other is Sváfa the mistress of Heiðrekr and the mother of Hlöðr. I believe that the two Sváfas were originally one, and that the original was, in *T*, daughter to Svafhlami and mother of the brothers that have the fatal duel.

Certainly the trait that Sváfa is a princess of Húnaland is not original, but comes from the story of the war between Goths and Huns (*GH*), for a discussion of which see below. Heiðrekr's treatment of Sváfa does not get him into any difficulties with Humli, be it noted. This is easily explicable if we assume that

Sváfa's Hunnish nationality was bestowed upon her as a part of the process of combining *HS* and *GH*. Otherwise Heiðrekr's peaceful relations with his ex-mistress's father remain a puzzle. Plain enough are the combiner's reasons for making Sváfa a Hun, and a mistress rather than a wife. The plot of *T* (though not of *AH*) called for the upbringing of one of the brothers in a far country. The incorporation of *GH* into the tale compelled the use of Húna-land as this far country. Hence Hlöðr, the brother brought up abroad, was naturally made into the son of a Hunnish princess. Again, the patriotic tone that *GH* brought into the tale made it needful to favor Angantýr, the Gothic brother, at the expense of Hlöðr, the Hunnish brother. Hence the latter was made into a bastard, and his claim to half his father's estate could be disallowed by Angantýr and scorned by Gizurr with some legal justification.

Can Sváfa's true nationality be determined from the text of *HS*? I think it can. Here we must begin with the two Hervörs. One of these is represented as the daughter of Angantýr Arngrímsson; the other belongs to the line of Guðmundr á Glæsisvöllum. I have already indicated my belief that the latter is the true and the only original Hervör. We have two genealogies of the Guðmundrs. One of these appears in *HS*; the other, in the *Sörlaþáttir* and the *Saga af þorsteini Bæjarmagni*. They are as follows:

| <i>Sörlaþáttir</i> and <i>þorsteinssaga</i> | <i>Hervararsaga</i>     |
|---|-------------------------|
| Guðmundr                                    | Guðmundr                |
| Heiðrekr (úlfrhamr)                         | Höfundr                 |
| Hjörvarðr                                   | Heiðrekr                |
| Hervör                                      | Angantýr, Hlöðr, Hervör |
| Hildir                                      | Heiðrekr (úlfrhamr)     |
|   | Hildir                  |

The *HS* genealogy is pretty clearly composite: the Guðmundr family has been combined with the Reiðgothic royal line, hence the extra Heiðrekr, the Hlöðr and the Angantýr of the genealogy. The Höfundr of *HS* is hardly original either; he is a mere doublet of his father. And as to Hjörvarðr, if Bugge<sup>9</sup> is right, the *Hýndluljóð* originally mentioned a Heiðrekr as father of Hjörvarðr, and thus gave support to the genealogy of the *Sörlaþáttir*. The *HS* genealogy is therefore probably wrong in

<sup>9</sup> *A. J. n. F.*, I, 258.

all these cases. Its loss of Hjörvarðr probably came about as a result of the combination of the sword story with the story of Ingibjörg and her rival lovers: Hjörvarðr was identified with his namesake Hjörvarðr Arngrímsson and so left out of the Guðmundr line. Note that the Heiðrekr of *HS* stands for both the Heiðrekr and the Hjörvarðr of the *Sörlapáttur*, Hervör falling into the new scheme as daughter of Heiðrekr. But the fact was not forgotten that Hjörvarðr had a daughter Hervör. If I err not, Hervör joined the Arngrímr family in the capacity of daughter to Hjörvarðr. She did not maintain herself as such, however. In my *Literary History of Hamlet* I have shown<sup>10</sup> that Angantýr was not originally a son of Arngrímr or in any way connected with the family of Arngrímr. I have also tried to explain how he got into the family. But whatever may be the explanation, the fact remains that he got in and usurped Hjörvarðr's parts, one after another. He took Hjörvarðr's place as leader of the brothers and as opponent of Hjólmarr in the duel—so much is certain. In version *H* he replaced Hjörvarðr even as Hjólmarr's rival. It is a reasonable inference, then, that Angantýr as father of Hervör is no more original than he is elsewhere in the story of the Arngrímssynir, but that here as in all the other cases he usurped a part formerly belonging to Hjörvarðr. If so, the two Hervörs are, in origin, identical and the mother of the one is to be identified with the mother of the other.

In *HS* as it stands, Sváfa is mother of Hervör I, while princess Hergerðr of Garðaríki is mother of Hervör II. We may with plausibility conclude that the mother of the original Hervör was princess Sváfa of Garðaríki. When the Hervörs were differentiated, each had to be provided with a mother, of course. The true mother, Sváfa, stayed with Hervör I. The true title, princess of Garðaríki, went with the new mother, Hergerðr, found for Hervör II. The division seems equitable enough! If my reconstruction is sound and Sváfa was originally a princess of Garðaríki, she becomes obviously a very suitable candidate for the part of daughter to Svafrlami, who, it will be remembered, was king of Garðaríki.

We may go further. If there was originally only one Hervör, there was originally only one father for Hervör. And if Sváfa

<sup>10</sup> *Lit. Hist. of Hamlet*, I (Anglistische Forschungen, 59), 133ff.

was Hervör's mother, and Hjörvarðr was her father (as we have good reason to believe), then Hjörvarðr and Sváfa were presumably man and wife! In the extant form of *HS* both Angantýr and Heiðrekr rejoice in a wife named Sváfa. Whence did they get her? Since Angantýr got nearly everything else from Hjörvarðr, it is reasonable to conclude that he got Sváfa from him too. And Heiðrekr doubtless got his Sváfa from the same source, for, as we have seen by comparison of the two genealogies of the Guðmundr family, he took not only his namesake's but also Hjörvarðr's place in the Guðmundr line. We thus have an explanation for the curious fact that two women named Sváfa appear in *HS*. Originally there was only one Sváfa. She was married to Hjörvarðr of the Guðmundr family. This Hjörvarðr was absorbed, on the one hand, by Hjörvarðr Arngrímsson; on the other, by Heiðrekr of the Reiðgothic family. Each of these heroes inherited, among other things, Hjörvarðr's wife Sváfa. Inevitably, then, two Sváfas grew where had been only one before! Last of all, Hjörvarðr Arngrímsson lost to Angantýr his wife along with his other possessions. But we cannot profitably study the changes which resulted from the combination of *T* and *AH* until we have determined the primitive form of *AH* as well as that of *T*. Until that time, then, let us postpone further consideration of all these details.

We are now in a position to reconstruct *T* as a whole. *T* was that version of the sword-story which had got attached to the story of the Guðmundr house. It probably ran somewhat as follows. King Svafrlami of Garðarfki forces two dwarfs, Dvalinn and Dulinn, to forge for him a victory-bringing sword. The dwarfs in revenge add this curse: that the sword will be the instrument with which the one son of the king's daughter kills the other. This curse is not to the king's liking, and he hews at the dwarfs with the sword, but they make their escape. The sword is called Tyrfingr. King Svafrlami, on his death-bed, orders that Tyrfingr be buried with him, that he may prevent the fulfilment of the curse laid upon it by the dwarfs. The king's orders are carried out. Sváfa, Svafrlami's only daughter, marries Hjörvarðr Heiðreksson úlfhams. By him she has two sons. The son destined to inherit the fatal sword is brought up with his mother in Garðarfki (where the sword is near at hand, in the

old king's grave). The other son seems to have been brought up in Sweden (fostered by *Heiðrekr úlfhamr?*), or to have been exiled thither, if we may judge from *D* and *AK*. When the son brought up at home becomes old enough to bear arms, he asks his mother for *Tyrfingr*, and she, ignoring or ignorant of the curse laid upon it, takes it from her father's grave and gives it to her son. In version *D* a war between *Garðaríki* and Sweden serves as setting for the combat between the brothers. We may postulate the same setting for version *T*, I think. A war breaks out, then, between *Garðaríki* and Sweden, and in this war the two brothers serve on opposite sides. In the course of the conflict they meet, and the brother who bears the fatal sword kills with it the other brother in a duel. Thus the curse laid upon *Tyrfingr* by the dwarfs is fulfilled.

The second story included in the extant (as distinguished from the primitive) *HS* is the story of *Ingibjörg* and her rival lovers *Hjálmar* and *Hjörvarðr* (*Hj*). To this story is prefixed, in the usual Icelandic style, some account of the family of *Hjörvarðr*, viz., the *Arngrímssynir* and their forefathers. In the extant form of the story the *Arngrímssynir* are central. In the primitive form, however, *Hjálmar* was the central figure, and the fact that he is the true hero of the tale comes out clearly in the verse, which of course is older than the prose. The conclusion as we have it is spoiled because of the intrusion of *Angantýr*, who in the duel scene has ousted *Hjörvarðr* as the opponent of *Hjálmar*. Nevertheless the story has maintained its unity as against *T*, with which even in the extant *HS* its connexion is of the slightest. That *Hj* is properly a tale entirely independent of the sword-story needs only to be pointed out to be generally recognized, so obvious is the lack of connexion between the two stories.

The third story in *HS* as it has come down to us I have called the story of *Angantýr's* last fight (*AT*). This story has been combined with the last or duel scene of *Hj*, with results disastrous to both tales. The primitive form of *AT* has been preserved to us in the English poem *Beowulf*, which gives a detailed account of the last fight of king *Ongenþeow* of Sweden (the English form of the name *Angantýr* was *Ongenþeow*). The English account may be summarized as follows:

1) Ongenþeow and his men overwhelmingly defeat the first Geatish army and slaughter Hæðcyn (the Geatish leader) and his comitatus.

2) A *berserksgangr* comes upon Ongenþeow: he rages all night.

3) The second Geatish army (led by Hygelac) comes up; the Swedes are defeated and put to flight; the Geatish brothers Wulf and Eofor attack and kill Ongenþeow in a two-against-one fight.

This is to be compared with the account in *HS*, according to which 1) Angantýr and his brothers defeat and slaughter the shipmates of Hjálmar and Oddr; 2) a *berserksgangr* comes upon Angantýr and his brothers; 3) Hjálmar and Oddr come up and (if we follow the *Örvaroddssaga*) kill all eleven brothers of Angantýr, leaving the latter alone against his two opponents. The duel which ensues begins much like the two-against-one fight in the English version. Just as Ongenþeow and Wulf fight, while Eofor stands idly by, so Angantýr and Hjálmar fight, while Oddr stands idly by. Here however the two versions part company. In the English version, Wulf falls, severely (though not mortally) wounded. Eofor then takes his brother's place, and slays the Swedish king. In *HS*, Angantýr and Hjálmar kill each other; Oddr does not intervene at all. This difference between the versions is no doubt due to the fact that in *HS* we have a combination of *Hj* and *AT*. The duel of *Hj* was fatal to both participants; the two-against-one fight of *AT* was fatal to Angantýr (Ongenþeow) only. In the combination which *HS* presents, the fight was fatal to two out of three.

Before we go on to the next episode, it may be well to summarize our conclusions so far. We begin with the sword-story *T*, the scene of which was laid in Garðaríki and the characters of which were king Svafrlami, his daughter Sváfa, her husband Hjörvarðr, their two sons (whose names have not come down to us), and Hjörvarðr's father Heiðrekr úlfhamr, who probably fostered the son brought up away from home. Hjörvarðr was confounded with his namesake Hjörvarðr Arngrímsson and as a result *Hj* was drawn into the tale. In its new setting *Hj* underwent a shift in center of gravity, Hjörvarðr becoming its most important character. Hence some account of Hjörvarðr's family was prefixed to *Hj*. With the combination of *AT* and the duel scene of *Hj*, Angantýr made his way into the saga, losing his kingship and becoming one of the Arngrímssynir. As such he encroached upon Hjörvarðr and eventually stript

him of nearly everything except his part as rival suitor of Ingibjörg (even of this in version *H*). Again, when Hjörvarðr Heiðreksson was confounded with his namesake he lost his part as father of the brothers doomed to fight the fatal duel. This part was taken over by Heiðrekr úlfhamr, who thus, already a foster-father, became true father of the brothers. He was later identified with his namesake the Reiðgothic Heiðrekr. Thus *T* and *AH* came to be combined, and the ill-fated brothers received the names Hlöðr and Angantýr. Since the strife between Angantýr and Hlöðr in *AH* had its own motivation, the exhumation of Tyrfingr, so significant in *T*, became meaningless in *HS*. It was a striking episode however and stayed in the story for that reason. It was eventually transferred from Sváva to Hervör, the valkyria-like daughter of Hjörvarðr (later of Angantýr), for whom it was thought more appropriate. Thus Tyrfingr fell into the hands of Angantýr I, who is represented as inheriting it, peacefully enough, from his father. The original curse laid upon the sword likewise became meaningless when Angantýr and Hlöðr (who did not have the same mother) were substituted for the brothers of *T*. A more general curse was therefore substituted: the sword was made to be a man's bane every time it was drawn. This curse doubtless inspired Heiðrekr's trick in episode VII and otherwise influenced the narrative.

We come now to the story of the life of Heiðrekr. Here matters are complicated by the fact that Heiðrekr goes back to no less than three characters, viz., the Reiðgothic Heiðrekr (whom we may call by his English name Heaþoric), the Heiðrekr of the Guðmundr family (whom we may call by his nickname Úlfhamr), and Hjörvarðr Heiðreksson úlfhams, i.e., the Hjörvarðr of *T*. The last however probably contributed little to the tale. The sword-story was more interested in the mother than in the father of the brothers. When we find Heiðrekr marrying the daughter of the king of Garðaríki we may assume that this trait goes back to Hjörvarðr. Heiðrekr's daughter Hervör too derives from Hjörvarðr, as we have seen. But otherwise Heiðrekr's career owes little to *T*. The contribution of Úlfhamr was more considerable. Heinzel long ago pointed out<sup>11</sup> that

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 442f.



Heiðrekr is in some sort a double personality, now wild and reckless, now cunning and prudent. Heinzel tries further to explain the peculiarity. He sees an evolutionary process at work, or at least a species of character development. But there are serious difficulties in the way here, although character development is undoubtedly present. The riddle is better solved, I think, on the present hypothesis, viz., that Heiðrekr is a fusion of two originally distinct persons, viz., Úlfhamr and Heaþoric. The career of the former is readily isolated. The son of the wise Guðmundr ought himself to become wise. When he is of age, then, his father sends him out into the world to gain experience through adventure and vicissitude. At parting Guðmundr (= Höfundr) gives his son certain counsels, which Úlfhamr promises to observe but of course fails to, with evil consequences to himself. He thus learns to heed words of wisdom, learns his lesson (as do most) in the bitter school of experience. Thus his education is completed, and the educational process leaves him a wise man indeed: "síðan settist Heiðrekr konungr at ríki sínu ok gerðist spekingr mikill." The climax of his career, and the concluding test of his wisdom, is the riddle match in which he shows himself a worthy antagonist of the very god of wisdom. The nickname Úlfhamr of course fits in well with this explanation, for shape-shifting goes naturally with wisdom: witness Merlin. But the story as outlined above could hardly be expected to escape contamination from the story of Heaþoric, with which it had been combined. The clearest case of this contamination is the conclusion of the riddle match. The wise Úlfhamr might well be content to hold his own so long against Óðinn, and certainly he ought to have accepted defeat gracefully, and kept amicable his relations with the god. But the reckless Heaþoric might be expected to act much as Heiðrekr acts when Óðinn asks him a question which he cannot answer. Furthermore, the spirit in which Heiðrekr breaks his father's counsels is the spirit of Heaþoric, not of Úlfhamr.

The career of Heaþoric was fundamentally different. Wisdom, or at least the search for wisdom, hardly figured in it. Heaþoric is simply another example of that ancient stock type, the black sheep. As such he is banished from home by an angry father, cherished by a loving mother, helped to success by his very recklessness in the world of unlimited possibilities into which

he is driven. The historical facts out of which his story grew are preserved to us, as it happens, in the *Beowulf*, which tells how Hæðcyn, son of the Geatish king Hreðel, slew, by accident, his elder brother Herebeald. Elsewhere<sup>12</sup> I have shown in detail that this incident is the basis of our episode V, and I need not repeat my demonstration here. Out of such a deed as that of Hæðcyn two stories might develop, of course: on the one hand, Hæðcyn might become the hero of a story of the "black sheep" type; on the other, he might become a villain. Neither development appears in the *Beowulf*, which here, as so often, is severely historical. Thus, Hæðcyn is not banished for his crime—in fact, nothing further happens to him, or rather his future career is left unrelated to the terrible misfortune that came of his carelessness. In *HS*, however, we obviously have (mixed up with other things, unfortunately) a poetic elaboration and extension of the incident. And here the slayer of his brother is a hero of the black sheep type, and his manslaughter has become a definite part of the machinery of a story, serving both to illustrate the carelessness and recklessness of the hero's character and to drive him into banishment, where his qualities are to serve him better than they can serve him in his safe and inglorious life at home. The banishment of Heaðoric is of course combined, in *HS*, with Úlfhamr's departure from home, freighted with paternal counsels, to learn wisdom through experience of the ways of the world.

Heaðoric now shows his mettle by winning a kingdom for himself. That the episode (No. VI in our division) properly belongs to him is clear enough. This is the kind of thing that the black sheep of story regularly does, however it may be with the black sheep of actual life. The outcast, rejected at home, proves his worth abroad. Úlfhamr, on the contrary, we expect to return home in time, and reign in his father's stead. Foreign conquest forms no part of his program. And in fact the conquest of Reiðgotaland has no connexion whatever with the six-counsel scheme that presumably dominated Úlfhamr's career abroad. The consummation of the conquest, however, does include an element of cunning and trickery ill-suited to Heaðoric and actually inspired by Höfundr (= Guðmundr) according to the story. This element probably came into the story of the con-

<sup>12</sup> *Lit. Hist. of Hamlet*, I, 155ff.

quest as a result of the combination of *Úlfhamr* and *Heaþoric* into the one character *Heiðrekr*. That it goes back to *Úlfhamr*, though, is most improbable, since *Heiðrekr* is represented as following his father's advice to the letter. The trait is thus in all likelihood of secondary growth, much as the conclusion of episode VIII is of secondary growth. In each case the quality of the hero to whom the episode belongs has been obscured by the combination of the two stories, so that *Heiðrekr*, whether going back to *Úlfhamr* or to *Heaþoric*, is represented with characteristics derived from both his prototypes.

The kingdom which *Heaþoric* wins is called *Reiðgotaland*, and *Haukr*, the compiler of version *H*, explains that the country is now called *Jutland*. The other versions fail to locate *Reiðgotaland*, but in version *U* at least there are certain indications confirmatory of *Haukr*'s localization. Thus the inhabitants of the country are called, now *Golar*, now *Gautar*. Again, *Heiðrekr*'s enemy *Gestr blindi* lived in *Gautaland* according to *U*, but in *Reiðgotaland* according to *R*, whence we may set up the equation *Gautaland* = *Reiðgotaland*. But there is a great deal of evidence pointing to a colonization of *Jutland* by the *Gauts*; this evidence I have collected and presented in a recent article.<sup>13</sup> Here it will suffice to say that if *Jutland* actually was colonized by the *Gauts*, the country might well be called *Gautaland* and its people *Gautar*, and the appearance of these terms in *U* is confirmatory of *Haukr*'s localization. Further confirmation, naturally, is to be found in the fact that the historical prototype of *Heaþoric* is the *Geatish* king *Hæðcyn*.

The *Gautish* colonization of *Jutland* presumably followed the overthrow of the *Gautish* kingdom by the *Swedes*; many *Gauts*, rather than submit to the *Swedish* yoke, accepted permanent exile from their native land and established a new *Gautish* kingdom across the *Kattegat* in *Jutland*. Their migration seems to have taken place c. 550 A. D. With this migration *Hæðcyn* had nothing to do, of course; he had died many years before. It was natural enough, nevertheless, that tradition should come to associate his exile and his foreign conquests (once he became the hero of a black sheep story) with the exile and foreign conquests of his *Gautish* countrymen. The tribal successes could thus be put in personal terms, and in personal

<sup>13</sup> "King Alfred's Geats," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XX, 1-11.

terms poets have always loved to put them. The story of Heaðoric, then, as we have it (confused enough) in *HS*, may perhaps be described as the romance which grew up out of the linking of two historical events actually not connected with each other: Hæðcyn's accidental fratricide and the Gautish colonization of Jutland.—That *Reiðgotar* or more properly *Hreiðgotar* is a name eminently applicable to the Gauts I have tried to show in my paper cited just above.<sup>13</sup>

The story of Heiðrekr's life has other features requiring attention, but these are best taken up in connexion with *GH* and *AH*, whence they are derived. Let us pass on, then, to the story of the servile revolt (*SR*). Schück has shown that *SR* corresponds to the story of the servile revolt told in cap. 26 of Snorri's *Ynglingasaga*. According to Snorri, king Aun of Sweden had a thrall named Tunni, who acted as the king's hoard-keeper. When Aun died, Tunni hid the royal hoard. Egill, Aun's son, upon his accession to the throne removed Tunni from his post. Tunni then ran away, taking with him other thralls. They carried off the royal hoard and found refuge in the woods. Many disaffected men joined them, and Tunni led the band in a revolt against Egill. They defeated the king in eight battles, but in the ninth Egill won the victory, Tunni fell, and the revolt was quelled. If we now compare this tale with episode IX above, we find striking resemblances. But let me quote Schück:

I bágge fallen hafva vi ett träluppror—så vidt jag kan erinra mig det enda, som den nordiska litteraturen omtalar—trälarna plundra i bágge fallen den gamle konungens skatter och löpa till skogs, men besegras till sist af den nye konungen, och de *nio* slag, som Egill utkämpar mot upprorsmännen, motsvaras i Hervararsagan af de *nio* trälarna. Men viktigast för identiteten är dock den unge konungens namn. Snorre kallar honom Egill, men i en vida äldre källa, Beowulf-dikten, heter han Ongenþeow d.v.s. Angantyr—alldeles som i Hervararsagan. När så är, kan man knapt undgå att i de båda sagorna se varianter af en och samma.<sup>14</sup>

The story of Heiðrekr's death properly belongs in *SR*, and must be considered in connexion with *SR*, not with the story of Heiðrekr's life, although naturally in *HS* the two are linked together. We must therefore look for the historical background, not in the career of Hæðcyn as told in the *Beowulf* or elsewhere, but in the life of Ongenþeow or Egill and his true father Aun.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

Unfortunately the *Beowulf* tells us nothing about Ongenþeow except the story of his last fight. Snorri gives us more information, as we have seen, and we have good reason to believe that the servile revolt actually took place, however much the details of the story changed as history became tradition. Have we any evidence that Egill's father Aun died, or was represented as dying, under circumstances anything like those under which the Heiðrekr of *HS* is represented as meeting his death? In my *Literary History of Hamlet* I have shown<sup>15</sup> that the Aun of the *Ynglingasaga* goes back to two historical figures, viz., Aun the father of Egill and Aun (mundr) the brother of Aðils, and that this latter Aun is the Eanmund of the *Beowulf*. In another article I have further argued<sup>16</sup> that as early as the Rök inscription the two Auns had been fused and a composite saga had developed according to which king Aun became old, through human sacrifice, among the Hreiðgotar and finally died a violent death among them. This the oldest version (if my interpretation stands) of the story of Egill's father Aun has three traits in common with the story of Angantýr's father Heiðrekr: 1) both leave home and go to Hreiðgotaland; 2) both make human sacrifices to Óðinn among the Hreiðgotar; 3) both die a violent death among the Hreiðgotar. If to these correspondences we add the obvious identity (pointed out by Schück) of the sons Angantýr and Egill, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the fathers too have, in *HS*, become contaminated. More specifically, Aun contributed to the story of Heiðrekr the place of exile (Hreiðgotaland), the theme of human sacrifice and the manner of death.—How Angantýr came to be son of Heiðrekr is another question, to be taken up later, when more evidence is available.

We are now ready to take up the references to *HS* contained in the *Widsith* (hereafter referred to as *WS*). Of the two passages in question it will be convenient to begin with the second (v. 119 ff), which reads as follows:

|                                   |                          |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Wulfhere sohte ic ond Wyrmhære:   | ful oft þær wig ne alæg, |
| þonne Hræda here heardum sweordum |                          |
| ymb Wistla wudu wergan sceoldon   |                          |
| ealdne eþelstol Ætlan leodum.     |                          |

<sup>15</sup> I, 67ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIX, 223ff.

Wulphere I sought and Wyrmhære: full oft there war lagged not, when the army of the Hræde with stout swords by the Vistula wood must hold their old seats against the Huns.

The name *Hræde* corresponds precisely to the element *Hreið* in the name *Hreiðgolar*; similarly, the names *Wyrmhære* and *Ormarr* correspond phonologically. Again, both *WS* and *HS* localize the conflict in the same region, viz., East Prussia (Sámland) and the valley of the Vistula, as v. Friesen<sup>17</sup> has shown. Note also the patriotic tone of both stories. The passage in *WS* is thus obviously an English account of the same struggle between Goths and Huns as that told of in *HS*. It is also obvious, however, that the two accounts differ considerably. Their differences may be tabulated as follows:

1) in *WS* the struggle with the Huns is a long war, with many battles: in *HS* it appears as two battles, fought in immediate succession.

2) in *WS* the leaders of the Goths are Wulphere and Wyrmhære; in *HS* they are Angantýr and his sister Hervör (although Ormarr appears as the lady's chief-of-staff).

3) in *WS* the Goths are defending their country against an attempted conquest; in *HS* Angantýr and Hervör are fighting against their brother Hlöðr, who has got the support of the Huns in his attempt to take by force what he has not been able to gain by peaceful negotiation, viz., his rightful share in his deceased father's estate, the whole of which has been appropriated by Angantýr.

Here it is manifest that *WS* preserves an account essentially historic, whereas *HS* gives us an account in which history has become legend. It must be our next task to determine, as well as we can, how this legend-making proceeded.

A war against the Huns is recorded, not only in *WS* and *HS*, but also in the fifth book of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*.<sup>18</sup> A comparison of the three accounts ought to give us some indication of the course of development of the story (the story itself will be referred to as *GH*). The Saxonian version may be outlined as follows:

1) King Frotho of Denmark marries Hanunda, daughter of Hun, king of the Huns.

2) Hanunda commits adultery with a retainer of Frotho's.

3) Frotho puts away Hanunda, and takes another wife.

4) King Hun hears of his daughter's humiliation, and decides to avenge it. He allies himself with Olimar, king of the Orientales, and for two years busies

<sup>17</sup> v. Friesen, *Rökstenen*, pp. 108ff.

<sup>18</sup> ed. Holder, pp. 154ff; see also p. 122ff and p. 144f.

himself making preparations for war with the Danes. Olimar furnishes the fleet, Hun the army.

5) Frotho sends his scout Eric to spy out the forces of the enemy.

6) Eric is recognized by king Hun, but allowed to go in peace.

7) Eric reports to Frotho on the size of Olimar's fleet.

8) Frotho, though heavily outnumbered, destroys the fleet of Olimar, who now becomes Frotho's man. The corpses of the slain cover the sea so thickly that Frotho's fleet is seriously impeded in its voyage homeward.

9) Eric now reports on the size of Hun's army. Upon Eric's advice Frotho avoids battle with Hun, who eventually through lack of food is compelled to retreat, and the army of the Huns breaks up. Ugger (i.e., Óðinn) now deserts the Huns and goes over to Frotho.

10) Frotho likewise has trouble with the food supply; he breaks up his army into detachments.

11) Hun hears of this and reassembles an army; Frotho also collects a large force.

12) The two armies engage in battle in Russia for seven days; on the seventh day king Hun falls and the Huns surrender. "The slaughter on the first day was so great that three large Russian rivers were choked with corpses, so that they could be crossed dry-shod, as over a bridge."

Still another version of *GH* lies behind the reference in the *Chronicon Erici Regis*, a reference which I quote from Heinzl,<sup>19</sup> since the original is inaccessible to me. King Frothi of Denmark, with whom is a certain Eric Orthiloghe, in the course of his conquests has trouble with the Huns.

Contra hunc Frothi venit rex Hunorum cum aliis lxx regibus, qui ex se vi reges fecerant duces belli. Quorum quilibet habuit sub se 5000 navium et quaelibet navis habebat ccc armatos. Summa navium xxx millia. Summa virorum novies mille millia hominum. Hos omnes occidit Frothi, pugnans cum eis in mari juxta Bleking.

When we compare Saxo with *WS* and *HS* we find that the latter agree against Saxo in making the Goths rather than the Danes opponents of the Huns. Inasmuch as an old Scandian tradition located Reiðgotaland in Denmark (Jutland), a substitution of Danes for Goths would be natural enough. Note that Snorri speaks of *Golland* as an old name for Denmark. *WS* and *HS* are original here, though, of course. Saxo agrees (though only roughly) with *WS* and *HS* in his localization of the scene of the conflict. The other relationships are more complex, and will have to be taken up in some detail. We may begin with the leaders of the Goths in *WS* and *HS*.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 463.

According to *WS* the leaders of the Goths were Wulfhere and Wyrmore. This pairing has a poetic look, but in fact is good history, as we know from the accounts of the classical historians. From time immemorial it was Germanic custom, in time of warfare, to divide the fighting forces of the tribe into two armies, one led by the king, the other by his brother or some other member of the royal family. And the alliteration and parallelism of the names suffice to show that Wulfhere and Wyrmore were near kinsmen. The natural poetic development, based on this method of waging war, would be the reduction of the war to two battles, one fought by each army, and this reduction is manifest in *HS*, where in addition we have the trait, certainly poetic but perhaps historic as well, that the army led by the king's relative is defeated, whereas the army led by the king himself is victorious. We are also told that Hervör was slain but Ormarr escaped and took refuge with the army of Angantýr. Here two figures, Hervör and Ormarr, stand for the one figure Wyrmore in *WS*. We cannot be sure, then, whether historically Wyrmore was defeated and slain or whether he was simply defeated—the whole episode, indeed, may be poetic, as I have already suggested. This much however is clear. When the poetic story of the combat between the brothers Angantýr and Hlöðr (*AH*) was combined with the historic story of the war between Goths and Huns (*GH*), Angantýr was substituted for the historic king Wulfhere of the Goths. But since nobody was available to take the place of Wulfhere's kinsman Wyrmore, we find in *HS* an Ormarr who is still actually in command of the second army, though he has been made subordinate to the valkyria-like Hervör of the Guðmundr line (who of course had no place in the original *GH*).

How is this same material treated in Saxo? As he tells it, the story in one respect comes undeniably closer to *WS* than *HS* does, for it is the story of a war rather than of a duel; indeed, the motif of the combat between brothers does not occur at all. But the Saxonian account has certain peculiarities which make us suspect that it, too, is of composite origin, that it is an attempt to harmonize two versions of the war with the Huns. The fact that the first battle is represented as a sea fight needs in itself no such explanation, it is true. Schück has pointed out that this peculiarity is due to the influence of the viking period on



the tradition. The Scandians of that period were used to sea fights, and had to have them in saga as well as in real life. Hence the land battle of the old tradition was in viking times transformed into a naval encounter, (though only among the Danes even then). That the first battle is a victory for the Huns in *HS*, but a defeat for them in Saxo, makes more difficulty for the commentator. Yet *HS* must be right on this point, and in fact careful analysis of the material shows that the Saxonian account preserves traces of a source similar to *HS*. The *Chronicon* knows nothing of Olimar; it makes Frothi vanquish not Olimar but the king of the Huns in the sea fight. Where does Saxo's Olimar come from, then? I am convinced that he is none other than our old friend Ormarr. The name *Ormarr* is extremely unusual in the North; so far as I know, it occurs only in *HS*. Furthermore, it was subject to false analysis as *Or-marr* (instead of *Orm-arr*), and such a division would make it a name odd indeed. The author of the *R* version of *HS* evidently divided it thus, weighed it and found it wanting, for he rejected the *Or-* and substituted *Fróð-*, thus making a name which he presumably considered better suited to the realities of life. If he remodeled the name, we may admit the possibility that Saxo did likewise. In each case the extraordinary first element *Or-* was rejected and something more satisfactory substituted. According to P. Herrmann,<sup>20</sup> the name *Olimar* is a literary production of Saxo's, meant to be reminiscent of *Olimar*, the name of a king of the Wends defeated by the Danes in 1171. Herrmann makes out a good case for his theory, but Saxo must have had, in his source, some name to remodel, and the name at hand in the old tradition was just that of Ormarr, the actual leader of the defeated army in the first battle.

Moreover, Olimar's career as a whole fits in strikingly well with that of the Ormarr of *HS* and the Wyrnhere of *WS*. Olimar was king of the *Orientalēs*. I take *Orientalēs* to represent an old name for *Ostrogoths* 'Oriental Goths.' The use of the first element alone of the name of the Ostrogoths is parallel to the English use of *Hræde* for the full form *Hrædgotan* 'Hreiðgoths.' Saxo's translation of the name into Latin is in keeping with his style. Elsewhere his *Orientalēs* stands for the inhabitants of

<sup>20</sup> P. Herrmann, *Die Heldensagen des Saxo Grammaticus*, p. 360.

Sámland and the regions roundabout.<sup>21</sup> This would point specifically to the Hræde or Hreiðgoths, that branch of the Ostrogoths which, as v. Friesen has shown, held the regions in question. The realm of the Orientales is perhaps the Austrfrki of Snorri (*Ynglinga*, cap. 41). The Baltic doubtless got its old name *Eystrasalt* from the name of this the most important and famous tribe on its shores; cf. the *Hreiðmarr* 'Baltic' of the Rök inscription. The Alfredian tribe-name *Osti*, and the *Iste* of the *Widsith*, probably go back to the same source. They are usually explained as popular pseudo-etymological corruptions of the name of the Ests, but this explanation is unnecessary. Cf. Alfred's *Ostsæ* = Icel. *austmarr* 'Baltic' and the eponymous king *Ostrogotha* (Cassiodorus) = *Eastgota* (*Widsith*, v. 113). Alfred's *Osti* is doubtless from some such Scandian form as \**Austir*, with *o* for Scandian *au*.<sup>22</sup> Long before Saxo's day the old territories of the Ostrogoths had been taken over by Baltic and Slavic tribes, of course, and the remnants of the Ostrogothic people absorbed by the newcomers, but the old name need not die out on that account: witness the Jutes. Saxo also calls Olimar's subjects *Rutheni* 'Russians.' It is impossible to be sure whether he conceived of Olimar as ruling over Rutheni as well as Orientales, or whether he considered *Rutheni* and *Orientales* equivalent names for the same people. Historically, of course, the Ostrogothic realm included Slavs as well as Germans, while later on the Russians occupied most of the territory formerly held by the Ostrogoths, a circumstance which might lead to an identification of the two peoples. See further Heinzel.<sup>23</sup> In view of Saxo's rather restricted use of *Orientales* elsewhere, I am inclined to think that he did not identify that people with the Rutheni, but thought of Olimar as ruling over both nations.

But let us continue our examination of Olimar's career. After his defeat he takes refuge with Frotho much as Ormarr flees to Angantýr, and throughout the rest of the story he figures as Frotho's lieutenant. In this capacity he conquers Esthonia and Curland, and receives from Frotho the crown of Holmgardia, the *Hólmgarðr* of classical Icelandic literature, a realm situated east of the Baltic and very suitable for assignment to a prince

<sup>21</sup> ed. Holder, p. 186f; see also p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Sievers, *Ag. Gram.*, §26 note.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 486, note 1.

who historically belonged in the Sámland region. And quite apart from Olimar, we have at least one piece of evidence inconsistent with a defeat of the Huns in the first battle. Ugger (i.e., Óðinn) is represented as deserting the Huns, not during the first battle, but some time afterward, in the middle of the campaign that culminated in the second battle. And since he was presumably still with the Huns at the time of the first battle, the Huns ought to have won that battle, as they actually win it in *HS*. Note that in *HS* the challenger Gizurr tells the Huns that Óðinn is wroth with them just before he delivers his challenge to (the second) battle.

We may conclude, I think, that Saxo drew on two sources for his account of the war with the Huns. One of these (which may be called *Sa*) was substantially the same as that used by the author of the *Chronicon*. The other (*Sb*) was not very different from that which underlies the *HS* version of *GH*. Neither source had any connexion with *HS*. Hence Saxo, though he knows Guðmundr, Arngrímr, Angantýr I, Humli and even Hlöðr, says nothing about them in his account of the Hunnish war. The chief figure in *Sb* was perhaps Úlfarr (Wulfhere), leader of the victorious Gothic army. Beside him was Ormarr (Wyrmore), leader of the defeated Gothic army. Saxo of course substituted the Frothi of *Sa* for the Úlfarr of *Sb*. Ormarr remained. Since he was defeated, Saxo made of him an ally of the Huns and thus was able to give Frotho a second victory and to utilize both the sea victory of *Sa* and the land victory of *Sb*. Saxo therefore made two victories out of one.

That Saxo's two victories actually go back to two versions, one naval and the other military, of the same fight becomes even clearer when we consider the details of the Saxonian accounts. The two battles manifestly overlap. The statistics which Saxo (and the *Chronicon*) attach to the first or naval victory appear in *HS* in connexion with the second or Gothic victory. Frotho's scout does his work, and begins his report, before the first battle, but he finishes the report *after* the first battle; cf. Angantýr's herald, who does his work and makes his report after the first battle. Eric's two reports (one on Olimar's forces, the other on Hun's) appear in the *Chronicon* as a single piece of statistics on the size of the Hunnish army: the *Chronicon* begins by giving the number of kings in the army (= Eric's

second report); it continues by giving the organization and numbers of the host (= Eric's first report).<sup>24</sup> Eric's two reports, then, like the two pieces of statistics (prose and verse) in *HS*, refer to the same army in reality, although Saxo has seized upon the fact that the original report was in two parts, a reckoning of leaders followed by a reckoning of individuals, and has separated these parts, attaching the reckoning of leaders to Hun's army, the reckoning of individuals to Olimar's. Saxo's account of the immensity of the slaughter, although put in different terms (of sea and of land), is essentially the same for both battles. In sum, there was only one victory, and Saxo's art was not equal to the task of disguising the fact.

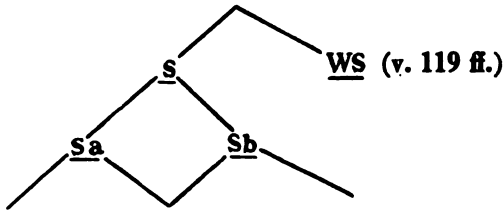
The motivation for the attack of the Huns is in *WS* simply the historical one: the Huns are engaged in a war of conquest. Both *HS* and Saxo however have gone over to poetic motivation. In *HS*, which presents a combination of *GH* and *AH*, the younger brother of the fatal duel is made grandson to king Humli of the Huns. Naturally, then, Humli takes his grandson's part. Saxo gives a different motivation. According to him, king Frotho divorces his wife Hanunda, daughter to king Hun, on the ground of adultery. King Hun attacks the Danes to take vengeance on Frotho for what he considers this unjust treatment of his daughter. The Saxonian motivation probably came from *Sb*, for we find a similar incident in *HS*, though it does not lead to war. Heiðrekr takes for a mistress and later puts away Sváfa, daughter to king Humli of the Huns. His action in putting her away is left entirely without motivation, Humli takes no steps to avenge his daughter, and the episode as it stands strikes one as nothing more than a rather clumsy device for effecting the birth of Hlöðr in Húnaland. The divorce as we know it from Saxo, however, has point enough. I therefore believe that Sváfa acquired her Hunnish nationality and came to be put away by her husband as a result of the incorporation of *Sb* into *HS*.—The leader of the Huns in their attack is not named or even mentioned in *WS*. The *Chronicon* refers to him simply as *rex Hunorum*. Saxo's name for him, *Hun*, is obviously an eponym. The name *Humli* in *HS* then was hardly got from *Sb* (or any other version of *GH*), particularly since neither of Saxo's two Humlis is a Hun.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 392, although he does not make this point.

Common to Saxo, *HS* and (apparently) the *Chronicon* is a character who serves in the double part of scout and herald for the Goths or Danes. In Saxo his function as scout gets the emphasis; in *HS*, his function as herald or challenger to combat. No such character appears in *WS*, and consequently we have no means of determining whether he goes back to the historical account (in a form fuller than that given in *WS*) or is an early creation of the poets. His name too must remain unknown to us. When *GH* was incorporated into the story of Frothi, our scout-herald *X* lost his identity, his part being taken over by the omnipresent Ericus disertus. Since Eric was a young man, he was good at scouting, and *X*'s scouting activities got the upper hand in the Saxonian account. Similarly, when *GH* was incorporated into *HS*, our *X* was absorbed by the evil counsellor Gizurr. Since Gizurr was an old man (as counsellors ought to be), he could hardly do much scouting; hence *X*'s part of herald or challenger got the upper hand in *HS*.

We are now able to summarize the results of our examination into the history of *GH*. The development of the tradition may be represented graphically as follows:

the *GH* of history



Here *S*, *Sa*, *Sb* denote hypothetical stages. *S* represents the Scandian account corresponding to the English *WS*. It was less close to history than is the English account, however, in at least one respect: it had begun the reduction of the war to two battles, the first a defeat for the Goths, the second a victory for them. *S* also included a scout-herald who may possibly have been historical but probably was not. Out of *S* developed *Sa* and *Sb*. The former differed from *S* in four important respects: the defeat was eliminated altogether, the victory was attributed to the Danish king Frothi and was turned into a sea fight, and the part of scout-herald was taken over by Eric the eloquent.

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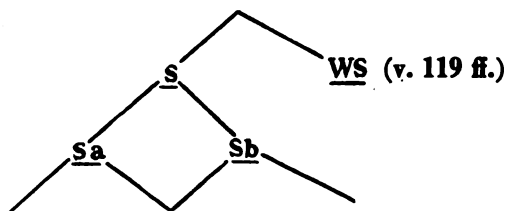
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We are now able to summarize the results of our examination into the history of *GH*. The development of the tradition may be represented graphically as follows:

the *GH* of history



*Chronicon*

*Saxo*

*Hervararsaga* (episode X)

Here *S*, *Sa*, *Sb* denote hypothetical stages. *S* represents the Scandian account corresponding to the English *WS*. It was less close to history than is the English account, however, in at least one respect: it had begun the reduction of the war to two battles, the first a defeat for the Goths, the second a victory for them. *S* also included a scout-herald who may possibly have been historical but probably was not. Out of *S* developed *Sa* and *Sb*. The former differed from *S* in four important respects: the defeat was eliminated altogether, the victory was attributed to the Danish king Frothi and was turned into a sea fight, and the part of scout-herald was taken over by Eric the eloquent.

*Sb* differed from *S* in only one important respect: it motivated the war by using the theme of the divorced wife. Saxo's account is based primarily on *Sa*, but to a considerable extent on *Sb*. The account in *HS* represents a combination of *Sb* with the main plot of *HS*: the combat between the brothers is given *GH* for a setting, and the war is motivated in terms of the brothers' dispute over their paternal inheritance.

We come now to *AH* and the other passage in *WS* referred to above. But before taking this passage up, let us first examine its context. The singer is telling of journeys which he has made (in imagination only, of course) to the courts of famous kings of Germanic antiquity. He starts from his home in the land of the Myrgings.

- 109   Donan ic ealne geondhwearf       eþel Gotena,  
          sohte ic á sipa               þa selestan:  
          þæt was innweorud       Earmannices.

Thence I traversed all the land of the Goths, I was always seeking the best of journeys, i.e., (journeys to) the court of Ermanric.

Note the parallelism of the first two lines, a parallelism which makes one sure that the *sipa* of v. 110 needs no emendation to *gesipa* (in spite of Ettmüller and his followers). But Ermanric's was by no means the only court that our poet frequented in the spirit. There follows a long list of other journeys:

- 112   Heðcan sohte ic ond Beadecan       ond Herelingas,  
          Emercan sohte ic ond Fridlan,       ond Eastgotan,  
          frodne ond godne       fader Unwenes.  
          Seccan sohte ic ond Beccan,       Seafolan ond þeodric,  
          Heaporic ond Sifecan       Hliþe ond Incgenþeow.  
          Eadwine sohte ic ond Elsan,       Ægelmund ond Hungar  
          ond þa wloncan gedryht       Wip-Myrginga.

Then comes the passage, already familiar to us, about Wulfhere and Wyrnhere and their struggle with the Huns. Then the singer completes his list thus:

- 123   Ræðhere sohte ic ond Rondhere,       Rumstan ond Gialhere,  
          Wipergield ond Freoþeric,       Wudgan ond Haman.

He adds some comment on the last two, and concludes the poem with a few general observations.

All this seems simple and straightforward enough. But the commentators, impelled by some demon of perversity, have made of it one of the most difficult problems in English literary



history! Even Chambers, in his otherwise admirable edition of the poem, clings to the old interpretation which makes the list of journeys into a list of the retainers of Ermanric. True it is that Ermanric is named first, and journeys to his court are represented as the best of all. The reason for this comes out in vv. 89 ff. Ermanric was a most generous king, and in particular he rewarded poets with unexampled liberality. Naturally, then, the minstrels would visit his court as often as possible. But the *sohte ic* of the poet, so often repeated, presumably applies to the court of Ermanric only when the goal of the journey is stated to be the court of Ermanric! We have no right to take the words of the poet at other than their face value unless we have cogent reasons for so doing, and when Widsith says he visited Eastgota, who, as we happen to know, was Ermanric's great-great-grandfather, we must not conclude that the poet really meant he was visiting Ermanric or anybody else at the court of Ermanric!

But let us take up the names in detail. Nobody knows who Heōca and Beadica were. The Herelingas (Emerca and Fridla) were Ermanric's nephews, according to sources (not English sources!) the earliest of which is several centuries later than the date of composition of the English poem. The story is generally thought to be a myth; at any rate we have no evidence that the English poet connected it with the unquestionably historical Ermanric. Eastgota was certainly not a retainer of Ermanric's, and cannot be made into one except on the assumption that the poet here was guilty of a gross blunder. Yet we have special reason to suppose him accurately informed in this very case, for he speaks of Eastgota, correctly enough, as father of Unwen. I know nothing of Secca. Becca is referred to, in v. 19 of our poem, as an independent monarch, king of the Banings; it seems unlikely, then, that in v. 115 he should be a retainer of Ermanric's. Similarly, ðeodric is referred to in v. 24 as king of the Franks. Seafola goes with ðeodric. The four names in the next line answer to the names of four characters in the *Hervararsaga*, as we shall see, and their occurrence here shows that our poet knew at least one of the stories included in that saga; but the *Hervararsaga* has nothing to do with Ermanric. Eadwine and Ægelmund are Lombard kings, who neither in history nor in story are ever represented as retainers of Erman-

ric. The identity of Elsa is uncertain. Since the name occurs in English royal pedigrees, and since in our poem the name appears in a passage devoted to the Lombards, Elsa is best explained as a Lombard king from a period when the English and the Lombards were still neighbors on the Continent, a king moreover from whom the English royal family could claim descent, perhaps originally and properly through a daughter. Hungar has been identified (dubiously enough) with a Gothic interpreter of Attila's. The identification rests solely on similarity of name, is not supported by the context in the English poem, and even if accepted does not take us to the court of Ermanric. The next line doubtless refers to the Lombards. Wulfhere and Wyrnhere are likewise unconnected with Ermanric. Rædhere and Rondhere have not been identified with assurance in later story. Rumstan seems to be identical with the Rimstein who in the German poem *Biterolf* is associated with the Harlungs (Herelingas), for whom see above. Gislhere is a Burgundian king, quite unconnected with Ermanric. Wipergield appears likewise in the *Beowulf*, where his association with Ermanric is not brought out. Freoþeric perhaps goes back to the historical king Frederic of the Rugians; this king had no original connexion with Ermanric, and there is no reason to suppose that the English poet gave him such a connexion. Wudga and Hama are described in v.129 f. as independent rulers.

I think we shall be safe in concluding that the list under discussion is not a list of Ermanric's retainers. Let us therefore proceed to examine the line in which we are particularly interested, without disturbing ourselves further over the Ermanric theory. The line in question has already been quoted, but it will be convenient to repeat it here:

116 (ic sohte) Heaþoric ond Sifecan Hliþe ond Incgenþeow.

These names correspond to the names of the characters Heiðrekr, Sifka, Hlöðr and Angantýr in *HS*. Phonologically the correspondences are not exact, and need discussion. They are however close enough to establish identity if one follows Heusler in such matters (as everyone does nowadays). The circumstance that clinches the identification, of course, is the fact that the four names occur *together* in these two monuments, and in these two only. The individual equations thus give one another mutual support.

The relationship of the characters is not clear from the *WS* line, although in view of the appearance of the names in the same line one may presume some relationship. Nor can we rely too confidently on *HS* to help us out, since *HS* is many centuries later than *WS*, and stories have a way of changing as the centuries roll on. We had best begin with the name-forms in *WS* itself, and see what we can learn from these. Put into classical Icelandic, the name *Heaporic* would give \**Höðrekr*. Now Björkman has shown<sup>25</sup> that the *Beowulfian* name *Hæðcyn* answers to an Icelandic \**Höðkon*. And we have seen that the historical prototype of *Heiðrekr* is precisely the *Hæðcyn* known to us from the *Beowulf*. The *Höðr* of Icelandic myth, as I have shown,<sup>26</sup> owes his name to the same historical character. The name of the Geatish king thus occurs in four variant forms. The true form of the name is doubtless that used in the *Beowulf*. But the second element *-cyn* = *-kon* is otherwise unknown in English, while even in Scandinavia it is familiar only in the name *Hðkon*. One is therefore not surprized to find it dropt altogether, as in *Höðr*, or replaced by a more familiar second element, as in *Heaporic* = \**Höðrekr*.

But why was just this name-element *-rekr* chosen? And how are we to account for *Heiðrekr*, our fourth variant form? Elsewhere<sup>27</sup> I have explained *Heiðrekr* as originally an epithet or title which belonged to *Hæðcyn*. The word means 'lord of the heath' and seems to have been an appellative; at any rate it was not in use as a true personal name. To be compared is the *Gautrekr* of the *Ynglinga* (cap. 34) and of the *Hrólfssaga Gautrekssonar*; the name *Gautrekr* seems to have been, in origin, an epithet or title meaning 'lord of the Gaut.' But how did *Hæðcyn* get such a title as *Heiðrekr*? I formerly sought an explanation in the *Hænum* of the *Beowulf* (v. 1983). But this word is better explained otherwise.<sup>28</sup> I now believe that *Hæðcyn's* title *Heiðrekr* reflects the story of his conquest of Jutland (*Reiðgotaland*). A man who overran the Jutish heaths might very appropriately be called lord of the heath. In fact not *Hæðcyn* but his Geatish compatriots of a later generation overran Jutland. Hence no such title as *Heiðrekr* is bestowed upon

<sup>25</sup> *Eigennamen im Beowulf* s.v.

<sup>26</sup> *Lit. Hist. of Hamlet*, I, 168ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 158f.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. J. V. Svensson, *Namn och Bygd*, V, 127 note.

Hæðcyn in the *Beowulf*. But the ascription of the feat to Hæðcyn is probably old. In my opinion the *Widsið* poet knew Hæðcyn as lord of the heath; if he did, we have an explanation for his *-ric* instead of *-cyn* as the second element of the name of the Geatish king. The name *Heaðoric* is probably a contamination of true name and title. In *HS* the title alone survives.—When we consider that *Heiðrekr* in OE form would be *\*Hæðric* we realize that contamination with *Hæðcyn* would be easy, particularly since both names applied to the same person.

We may conclude that the *Widsið* poet knew two stories about *Heaðoric*: the story of his accidental fratricide and the story of his conquest of Jutland. The latter story however hardly had the form which it has in *HS*; in particular the element of human sacrifice formed no part of the tale. The two stories together made up a tale of the "black sheep" type, for a discussion of which see above. The poet thus doubtless thought of *Heaðoric* as a man banished from home for his misdeeds but risen to fame and high rank abroad through heroic achievement. This is to be contrasted with the essentially historical account of Hæðcyn's career given us in the *Beowulf*. That two accounts so different should be in existence almost or quite contemporaneously is not at all surprizing; on the contrary, it is perfectly normal. As the point is one of considerable importance I will quote Schück's well-founded dictum:

En bland filologer ofta förekommande villomening är, att en saga vid en viss tidpunkt har en bestämd, fastslagen redaktion, om än ej till orden, så dock till själfva innehållet. Men detta är att förblanda en upptecknad och händelsevis bevarad redaktion med den muntliga sagan, som vanligen föreligger i en mångfald af redaktioner. Alldeles samtidigt kunde man t. ex. år 1000 berätta en saga i den form, som den fått år 500, samt i den form den fått på 800-talet.<sup>29</sup>

Schück continues with illustrations which support his point. But they are hardly needed, for plenty of examples will occur to the reader out of his own store of story.

Let us now pass on to *Hliþe*. As Heinzel<sup>30</sup> has pointed out, the vowel of the first syllable of the name must be long. The extant Icelandic form *Hlǫðr*, then (where *ö* = *ø*), goes back

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 491.

to an earlier *\*Hlǫðr*. The shortening may be due to association with *Höðr*, a character actually confused with *Hlōðr* in both Saxo and Messenius. The name remains anomalous, however, even after we have restored to the vowel its original length. I believe we have to do with a metathetic form of a primitive *\*HrōþilaR*, a name of normal Germanic formation—corresponding precisely, indeed, to the Beowulfian *Hreðel*. The metathesis gives *\*HlōþiraR*, a form which, through the stages *\*HlōþirR* and *\*Hlǫðrr*, would develop phonetically to *\*Hlǫðr*. The absence of the *-r-* of the stem in the oblique cases is phonetic for the genitive; for the other cases, we have again the analogy of *Höðr*, reinforced by the analogy of the generality of *a*-stems. In English, the development likewise seems to have proceeded from a metathetic *\*HlōþiraR*. The syncope of the *-a-* took place here as in the North, but when this syncope brought *r* and *R* together the result was not *rr* or *RR* but a single *R*, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. The name, which had remained an *a*-stem in Scandinavia, thus became a *ja*-stem (more precisely, an *ia*-stem) in England. The phonetic development from this point would lead to a final English form *\*Hleþe*, and this was doubtless the reading in the MS. from which the extant MS. is descended. But at some stage in the MS. history of the poem the *l* of *\*Hleþe* may have been written with a final up-stroke (at the bottom and to the right) somewhat longer than usual. If so, this up-stroke could easily be taken for an *i*, and this would give a reading *\*Hlieþe*, whence the *Hliþe* of our text.

The degree of plausibility of my explanation of the name *Hliþe* must naturally be determined by critical methods. The phonological considerations which I have advanced make it possible for us to identify *Hliþe* with *Hreðel*. The question now arises, does this identification fit our passage and its parallels in Scandian tradition? We know already that *Heaporic* corresponds to the Beowulfian *Hæðcyn*. It is obviously fitting that the poet mention *Hreðel*, the father, along with *Hæðcyn*, the son. And the Swedish king *Incgenþeow* (the name is spelt *Ongendþeow* in v. 31) goes perfectly with the two Geatish kings; he was their contemporary and their bitterest opponent. The three names hang together well; they all belong to the same tradition, a tradition preserved to us in the *Beowulf*. When,

however, we turn to *HS*, we find all sorts of discrepancies. First of all, the Hlöðr of *HS* is not the father but the son of Heiðrekr. How are we to account for this? A familiar parallel occurs in the *Skjöldunga*. From the *Beowulf* we know that Froda was the father, Ingeld the son, but the *Skjöldunga* makes Ingjaldr the father, Fróði the son! Yet the interchange of name affects the story hardly at all. The father keeps his part, whatever name he goes by. The parallel with *HS* is very striking, for Angantýr kills the son, whether that son is called Hæðcyn or Hlöðr. Again, in *HS* we find Hlöðr and Angantýr represented as hostile brothers, whereas historically they were enemies, indeed, but not kinsmen. Here again the *Skjöldunga* gives us a parallel. Ingjaldr and Hálfðan appear there as brothers, and the historical war between Danes and Bards is thus transformed into fratricidal strife! The development of the tradition represented by *HS* seems to have proceeded much like the development of the *Skjöldunga* tradition. The latter grew out of historical events: the long war between Bards and Danes, ending in the complete victory of the latter and the annexation to Denmark of the land of the Bards. The political union of the two peoples in time led to a fusion, in tradition, of the two royal families: the old Bardish kings, like the old Danish kings, came to be felt as *Skjöldunga*s. The hostilities between them accordingly were interpreted as fratricidal strife. Similarly, the long wars between Geats and Swedes ended in the annexation of Geatland to Sweden. The union had its effect on the traditions both of the Geats and of the Swedes. Thus, the Geatish king Hugelíkr (Hygelac) appears in the *Ynglingasaga* as a Swedish monarch. Again, the Swedish king Ongenþeow or Incgenþeow (Angantýr or Egill) appears in *HS* as a *Reiðgothic* (i.e., Geatish) monarch, and his historical wars with Hreðel and Hæðcyn are represented as fratricidal strife with Hlöðr. Moreover, other factors influenced the development, and made inevitable the attraction of Angantýr into the Geatish royal house. These factors I have discussed at length in the first volume of my *Literary History of Hamlet*. That volume is indeed devoted primarily to an exposition of them. I may be pardoned, then, for not going further into the matter here.

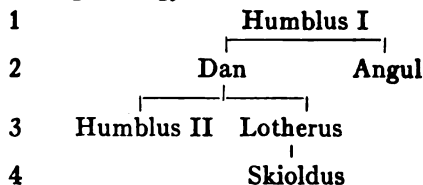
We find definite evidence, in *HS* as it stands, that Heiðrekr properly belongs elsewhere in the genealogy. If we compare the two genealogies of the Guðmundr line, we see that the *HS* version knows two Heiðrekr. Its Heiðrekr úlfhamr is misplaced: instead of appearing as son of Guðmundr, or of Guðmundr's doublet Höfundr, he is dropt two generations down and so appears as son of Angantýr! Why? Obviously he was made to change places with his namesake the Reiðgothic Heiðrekr (i.e., the Heaþoric of the *Widsith*). This latter, then, earlier appeared as son of Angantýr. And here he is in the right generation, at least, although made son of the wrong brother. But if so late a monument as *HS* retains traces of the original relationship, we may feel pretty confident that *WS* knew Heaþoric as he was historically, viz., as son, not father, of Hliþe (Hreðel).

Before examining further evidence let us look at the historical Hreðel for a moment. Our information about him we get from the *Beowulf*, of course, where he appears at the head of the Geatish royal dynasty much as Healfdene appears as founder of the Danish (Scilding) dynasty. It would seem that Hreðel was an empire-builder. He it was who made Geatland one of the great powers of Scandia. The Geats were certainly a great people for a time; Procopius bears witness to that. Yet their rise to power must have been sudden, for Jordanes knows nothing of a large Geatish state.<sup>21</sup> Here it must suffice to say that the Geatish expansion was eastward, and brought the tribe into conflict with the Swedes. The Swedish king contemporary with Hreðel was Egill (Angantýr, Ongenþeow, Incgenþeow). This king, as an old man, was killed in a war with the Geats, a war which apparently took place shortly after the death of Hreðel. The English poet tells us nothing about earlier wars between Geatland and Sweden. He describes the death of both Hreðel and Ongenþeow, but gives us no information about their career. From the *Ynglingatal*, however, we learn that Egill, long before his death, had burnt a temple of *austr* (i.e., in Geatland, which here, as often, is located in the east by confusion with the Ostrogothic Hreiðgotaland on the Vistula).

<sup>21</sup> For a reconstruction of the history of the short-lived Greater Geatland, see my *Literary Hist. of Hamlet*, I, 44f.

This temple-burning obviously must have occurred in the course of a war between Hreðel and Ongeneow.

In other sources, less trustworthy because later in date, we get more information. Apart from *HS* itself, three stories need to be considered here, viz., Saxo's story of Lotherus (Hlöðr), Saxo's story of Hotherus (Höðr), and Messenius's story of Lotherus (Hlöðr). All three agree in one respect: Hreðel (Hlöðr) and his son Hæðcyn (Höðr, Heiðrekr) have been fused into one character, called now Hlöðr, now Höðr. I will begin with Saxo's Lotherus. This monarch appears in the first book of the *Gesta Danorum*. His position in the Danish royal genealogy (as given us by Saxo) is best shown by a chart of the first four generations of that genealogy, as follows:



Saxo's history begins with the brothers Dan and Angul, the eponymous ancestors of the Danes and the English. He makes the brothers rulers, but not kings. Of their father, Humblus, he has nothing to say. Dan's son Humblus was the first to bear the title king. His brother Lotherus waged war on him and forced him to abdicate. Lotherus now became king, but proved so tyrannical that the nobility rebelled and slew him. His son Skioldus, who was a great improvement on his father, managed to recover the throne, and became the next king. Skioldus had difficulties with freedmen. A certain slave, whom he had freed, plotted against his life. He therefore promulgated a law by which, apparently, all freedmen were again reduced to slavery. Saxo mentions the difficulty with the slaves immediately after telling us that Skioldus succeeded in recovering the throne lost by his father. There is however nothing, except this juxtaposition, to indicate that Saxo connected the struggle for the throne with a servile revolt.

We know from the *Beowulf* that the Danes of old were called *Scildings* or (in Scandian form) *Skioldungs*. The name *Skioldus* is thus eponymous, like *Dan* and *Angul*. Humblus (Humli) is usually connected with Hulmul or Humal, an early Ostrogothic



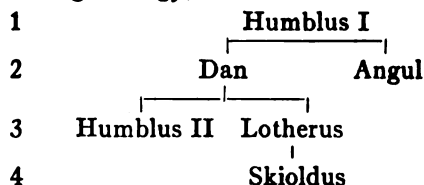
king mentioned in Jordanes.<sup>22</sup> Humblus thus stands for the Goths, as Dan for the Danes, Angul for the English and Skioldus for the Scildings. Since *Gottland* was an old name for Denmark (so Snorri, in *Skáldskaparmál* 42), it is not surprizing to find a representative of the Goths among the kings at the head of the Danish royal genealogy. But if the Geats colonized Jutland they too were among the tribes later consolidated to form the Danish nation, and a representative of theirs deserved a place with the representatives of the other tribes. On the present theory Lotharus (Hlöðr) is to be explained as this representative of the Geats, and his overthrow of Humblus is to be interpreted as a reflection of the Geatish conquest of Jutland. Certainly his name supports such an explanation, if *Hlöðr* actually is derived from *Hreðel*. For Hreðel, the founder of Geatland as a great power, would be eminently suitable for use along with Dan, Angul, and Skioldus.—Historically, of course, the name *Hreið-gotaland* for Jutland does not antedate the colonization of the peninsula by the Geats or (Hreið-)Gotar. In other words, the new name for the peninsula was derived from the name of the tribe which colonized it. The old name, *Julland*, outlived the new, however. Hence in later times the name that was no longer in use naturally came to be felt as the original name of the peninsula, while the current name was thought to be an innovation! But if the peninsula was originally the land of the Goths, then it was originally inhabited by Goths, and the Geatish conquest was an overthrow of an earlier Gothic kingdom! Thus tradition made the Geats conquer a Gothic kingdom on Danish soil (though historically no such kingdom ever existed), and a Gothic monarch found his way into the Danish royal genealogy.

We obviously have two versions of the conquest: that of Saxo and that of *HS*. The two differ widely. According to Saxo, the conqueror was Hlöðr, i.e., Hreðel, the redoubtable founder of the greater Geatish state. According to *HS*, the conqueror was Heiðreker, i.e., Hæðcyn, the black sheep of the Geatish royal house. The method of conquest differed with the hero. Since Hreðel was pre-eminently a campaigner (his very name, in the form *hlöðr*, came to be used by the Skaldic poets as an epithet meaning 'prostrator'), his conquest was naturally

<sup>22</sup> ed. Mommsen, p. 76; see Müllenhoff's note, p. 143.

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represented as having been accomplished by sheer force of arms; later his opponent was made his brother and the war became civil strife, as so often in Scandian story. Heiðrekr won Reiðgotaland in a very different way. His story, as it stands, shows signs of contamination with the story of Aun. If we eliminate this extraneous matter, we have left something like the following. Heiðrekr, banished from his father's house and kingdom, comes to Hreiðgotaland and enters the service of the king of that country. He so distinguishes himself that he is rewarded with the hand of the king's daughter, along with half the kingdom. Upon the king's death he inherits the throne.

In the Saxonian version, Hlöðr's opponent is Humli. I believe that in the original form of *HS* too the king of Hreiðgotaland was Humli, although in the extant form a certain Haraldr plays this part. Certainly Humli goes back to a Gothic, not to a Hunnish king, and certainly Heiðrekr marries Humli's daughter, even in *HS* as it stands, although Humli has been made king of Húnaland for reasons explained above in connexion with my discussion of *GH*, the daughter having been identified with Sváfa when *T* and *AH* were combined.

Each version shows signs of contamination from the other. Saxo, besides Humli the brother of Hlöðr, has another Humli the grandfather of Hlöðr. This elder Humli doubtless comes from *HS*, where Humli is represented as grandfather of Hlöðr. Again, Lotherus loses his life in a revolt of the nobility, and his son has trouble with slaves. This reminds us of *HS*, where Heiðrekr loses his life in a revolt of slaves of noble birth, and his son has trouble with these same slaves. The trait properly belongs to *HS*, since it goes back to a historical servile revolt against Egill, for which see above. Finally, the mildness of Humblus, his ready submission to his brother, seems strange, but may be explained if we assume contamination from the other version, where of course the Reiðgothic king had no reason to be other than mild, since Heiðrekr was in his service and had married his daughter. It is conceivable, indeed, that Heiðrekr was actual though not titular king during his father-in-law's old age, in the original form of *HS*. Saxo thus shows what amounts to a fusion of Hlöðr and Heiðrekr. And here, perhaps, we have an explanation of the curious fact that Saxo, although he knows many names and stories from *HS*, never

once says anything about *Heiðrekr*.—The influence of the Saxonian version (in a pre-Saxonian form, of course) upon *HS* is less marked. One may note that in *HS* we find *Heiðrekr* making war upon *Humli* and overrunning his kingdom, without any particular reason that one can discover. The trait perhaps comes from the other version.

We have got no further historical information about *Hlöðr* from Saxo's account, but we have learned something of one tradition of which he was the chief figure. A certain amount of historical fact has survived, however, I think, in Messenius's story of *Lotherus* (*Hlöðr*). I have discussed this story in detail in my *Literary History of Hamlet*.<sup>22</sup> Here I will content myself with a summary of my results. By comparison of the account of Messenius with those of *Snorri*, *Þjóðólfr inn hvinverski*, etc. we may conclude with some plausibility that an old tradition told of a war between *Hreðel* and *Egill*, in which *Hreðel* was first defeated and forced to flee to *Jutland*, but later returned, defeated *Egill* and drove him into exile. *Egill* took refuge with the *Danes*, and by their help recovered his kingdom. Two things need to be noted here. First, *Hreðel* and *Egill* appear as opponents. The former has been driven into exile, and *Egill* has taken possession of his domains. He returns and wages war with *Egill* in order to recover these domains. In this war he is supported by *Jutish* auxiliaries. Secondly, *Hreðel* when driven into exile takes refuge in *Jutland*. In this tradition, I think, we have the root of *AH*. In the original form of *HS*, as we have seen, the king of *Jutland* or *Reiðgotaland* was probably *Humli*. The episode *AH* of *HS*, then, I believe, is another version of Messenius's tale, a version in which, originally, *Hlöðr* was defeated and driven into exile by *Angantýr*, took refuge with king *Humli* of *Jutland*, won that king's help and with him invaded *Geatland* to recover his possessions from *Angantýr*. When this story was combined with *T*, *Hlöðr* and *Angantýr* took the places of the hostile brothers of *T* and so themselves became brothers. The fatal outcome of the dispute may have been in *AH* before the combination with *T*. If so, we must assume a fusion of *Hreðel* and *Hæðcyn* under the name *Hlöðr*, for historically *Angantýr* (*Ongenþeow*) killed *Hæðcyn* in battle, as we know from the *Beowulf* (v. 2930).

<sup>22</sup> I, 164ff.

Since Hlöðr and Höðr are manifestly confused or rather fused in Messenius and Saxo, and since in *HS* not Heiðrekr but Hlöðr is killed in battle with Angantýr, we may with some plausibility assume at least this, that the final scene in Heiðrekr's life had been transferred to Hlöðr before *AH* was combined with *T*. Such an assumption would naturally make it easier to explain why *AH* and *T* were combined.

What now was the form of the story known to the *Widsith* poet? Certainly his version was closer to history than that of Messenius or Saxo or *HS*. He could hardly have known Hlipe and Incgenþeow as brothers, and his Hlipe was doubtless the father, not the son of Heaþoric. And for him Heaþoric, not Hlipe, died at the hands of Incgenþeow. In other words, the story referred to in *WS* is the story of Heaþoric. Hlipe is mentioned because, as Heaþoric's father, he plays some part in the story. Incgenþeow is mentioned because he was the slayer of Heaþoric. That Heaþoric is the center of things appears, indeed, from the position of his name at the head of the list of characters. The hostilities between Hlipe and Incgenþeow, although doubtless known to the poet, were for him merely a prelude to the later hostilities between his hero Heaþoric and the same Swedish king. The *AH* of *WS*, then, is strictly subordinate to the story of Heaþoric and lacks the tragic conclusion which it was to acquire later on Scandian soil.

At the same time the story complex, even to the *Widsith* poet, was not the severely historical narrative that we find in the *Beowulf*. We have already seen that Heaþoric is a saga hero, a black sheep at home who won fame abroad. But our line mentions at least one character who can hardly be made historical at all, but must be looked upon as poetic. I refer, of course, to Sifeca. From his name one would expect Sifeca to be the evil counsellor of the story, the villain who by his treachery or bad advice brought the hero to ruin. For Sifeca is a stock name for such a character in Germanic story; cf. the German Sibich and the Sifka of the *þiðrekssaga*. But the Sifka of *HS* is a woman! She betrays her lover, Heiðrekr, it is true, and to that extent lives up to her name, but her betrayal has no tragic consequences, and the whole episode in which she figures might be omitted from the story without materially affecting the course of the action. One is driven to conclude that the Sifka

of *HS* is a secondary and comparatively late development. It is unlikely that either the episode or the woman existed in the primitive form of the story known to the English poet. It does not follow, however, that no *Sifka* existed in the original story. It follows rather that in the original story *Sifka* was a man, not a woman, an evil counsellor, not a mere betrayer of secrets. Such a character we must assume for the English version of the tale. And such a character in fact appears in *HS*, though he is called not *Sifka* but *Gizurr*. The ill-fame of *Gizurr* is attested by the following lines from a poem composed by bishop Bjarni (†. 1223):

*Gizurr varð at rógi saðr,  
etja vildi hann jöfrum saman.*

For a discussion of the passage see Heinzel.<sup>34</sup> Our task thus becomes that of explaining how *Gizurr* came to usurp *Sifka*'s proper function, and how *Sifka* came to be changed into a woman. The latter change, at least, is not at all surprising. The word *Sifka* looks like a woman's name, not a man's. Now when *T* was combined with *AH* to form *HS*, the parts of mother and evil counsellor to the two brothers overlapped. The mother in *T*, when she put the fatal sword into the hands of her son, was thereby instrumental (however unwittingly) in bringing about the fatal duel. Her part thus had a distinct likeness to the part of *Gizurr* (earlier *Sifeca*) in egging the brothers of *AH* on to strife. Accordingly we find *Sváfa*, the original mother of the brothers, bearing the name *Sifka* in the *R* version of *HS*. In this way *Sifka* became a woman, and took over the part of mistress to *Heiðrekr*. Version *U* preserves the true name *Sváfa* as we have seen. Its author had heard of the *Sifka* of version *R*, however, and included her as an additional mistress of *Heiðrekr*. In both versions the motivation for the duel is that inherited from *AH*. *Tyrfingr* plays no part, and the story of its exhumation is found attached to *Hervör*. But the mother though deprived of the fatal part proper to her in *T*, acquired instead a part more treacherous (as befitted her new name) though less fatal than the old. A story developed in which she betrayed her husband, and this story, along with the name, was taken over by the author of the *U* version, who thus, while clinging to the old *Sváfa*, uses the new *Sifka* as well.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 463f.

But if the evil counsellor ceased to be called *Sifka*, he was by no means lost to the story. Under the new name *Gizurr* he continued to flourish. Why was he renamed *Gizurr*? The name is an Óðinsheiti, applicable to Óðinn in his capacity of inciter to battle: perhaps the skald got his idea from this usage. But *Gizurr*, though old, is not one-eyed, and in general is not represented as Óðinn in disguise; that the name goes back to the Óðinsheiti, then, seems unlikely. It is more plausible to suppose that *Gizurr* was already a character in the story, and that he grew at the expense of the original evil counsellor *Sifka*. *Gizurr* is first mentioned as foster-father of *Heiðrekr*, and this may have been his original part. In *HS* as it stands his evil nature does not appear until *Hlöðr* appears, to claim of *Angantýr* half of the paternal inheritance. He then gives counsel, and his counsel is certainly bad enough to belong to *Sifka*. As a result of his activities the two brothers fight it out to the bitter end, and *Hlöðr* loses his life. The evil counsel of *Sifeca* thus probably belongs at the end of the tale, and *Heaþoric* is made to die at the hands of *Incgenþeow* because his expedition against the Swedes was ill advised, the adviser of ill being *Sifeca*. This same *Sifeca* perhaps advised *Hliþe* too; he may have counselled him to banish *Heaþoric*, after that hero had accidentally slain *Herebeald*. But no trace of this has survived in *HS*, nor could well survive, since the wise *Höfundr* had no use for any kind of counsellor, good or evil.

There are certain indications that the foster-father of *Heiðrekr* and the evil counsellor of *Heiðrekr*'s children were separate characters originally. We have already noted the fact that *Gizurr*'s evil nature does not appear while he plays the part of foster-father to *Heiðrekr*. Furthermore, it is hardly satisfactory to find a foster-father inciting to mortal combat with each other the children of his own foster-son. More weighty is the evidence to be drawn from a fragment of an old epic catalogue of kings (preserved to us because quoted in *HS*):

Ár kváðu Humla  
Gizur Gautum,  
Valdar Dönum,  
Alrek enn frökna

Húnur ráða,  
Gotum Angantý,  
enn Völum Kíar,  
enskri þjóðu.

The catalogue was evidently written by a skald who knew *HS*. He seems to have known it, however, in a form earlier than



the one extant, for he makes Gizurr a king, while *HS* knows him as a subject. Now a counsellor ought to be a subject. But a foster-father need not be: witness Hákon Aðalsteinsfóstri. We may perhaps assume, then, that in an earlier form of the saga Gizurr was a king of the Gauts who took Heiðrekr to foster, and that later on, when he took over the part of evil counsellor as well, his kingship was sacrificed.

Historically, of course, Gizurr was no king of the Gauts. But he may well have been a historical character. Evidence of his original antecedents is afforded by his surname *Grýtingaliði*. Jordanes in his *Getica*,<sup>28</sup> after telling us something of the Gauts, adds: *dehinc Mixi, Evagre, Otingis*. This extraordinary jumble is usually rewritten: *dehinc mixti Eva-Greotingsis*. Even so the meaning is hardly clear. I take the passage to mean that the Gauts were (politically) united or allied with their neighbors the *Eva-Greotingi* 'horse-Greutings.' For *eva-* 'horse,' (earlier *\*ehva-*) cf. the English doublets *eoh* and *Eaha* 'horse.' In an earlier passage Jordanes uses the same epithet, if his *Vagoth* is properly emended to *\*Eva-Goth*. The two tribes were perhaps given an equestrian epithet because they were especially devoted to horse-worship or the horse cult. J. V. Svensson<sup>29</sup> locates the Greutings in and about what is now the Örgryte *socken* or parish, near Göteborg by the mouth of the Gautelfr. The historical Gizurr (if he *was* historical) may have been a king who ruled over the Greutings; if so, he doubtless owed allegiance to the Gautish king, since the Greutings were included in the Gautish state. In the later tradition he was advanced to the Gautish throne, if we may judge from the fragment quoted above. His advancement was gained, I suspect, not only through his connexion with the Geatish royal family (by virtue of his service as foster-father of Hæðcyn) but also through the initial sound of his name, which alliterates nicely with *Gautar*! Later still however even this availed him nothing; he was reduced to the rank of subject.

Jordanes now goes on to mention the *Ostrogothae* and some other tribes as dwelling beyond the Greutings. In view of the position of these Ostrogoths in Jordanes's list, one is tempted to locate them in South Bohuslän, across the river from the

<sup>28</sup> ed. Mommsen, p. 59.

<sup>29</sup> *Namn och Bygd*, V, 131.

Greutings. J. V. Svensson goes further, and conjectures<sup>27</sup> that the Ostrogoths of Jordanes, located on the west coast of present-day Sweden, were a remnant of that Scandian mother tribe of which the Ostrogoths across the Baltic were an offshoot. If so, the Gauts, whose kingdom included all Bohuslän, and who themselves were but another branch of the Goths, might with great accuracy and propriety be called *Hreiðgotar* 'home Goths.' As I have pointed out in my *King Alfred's Geats*, the Gauts were probably the original holders of the Hreiðgothic name. Later on, however, with the great Ostrogothic migration from the Vistula southward, the Goths left on the south Baltic coast might in their turn claim the title of 'home Goths.' Thus two tribes came to be called *Hreiðgotar*. The story of *Heiðrekr* is the story of the Gautish or Jutlandic *Hreiðgotar*; the war between Goths and Huns represents a tradition of the Ostrogothic *Hreiðgotar*. In later times the two *Hreiðgotalands* would naturally become identified, and one result of this identification was the combination of *AH* and *GH*. No such combination appears in *WS*, where the story of *Heaporic* and the story of the Hunnish war are referred to in separate passages.

Did the poet of the *Widsith* know of both *Hreiðgotalands*? He uses the name *Hræde* not for the Geats but for the Ostrogothic *Hreiðgotar* of the Vistula. This proves nothing, however. We may be sure of one thing only: he did not confuse the two *Hreiðgotalands*, as did the Icelanders of later times.—The *Beowulf* poet once (v. 445) calls the Geats *Hreðmen*. The half-line, which reads *mægen hreðmanna*, parallel to the *Geata leode* of v. 443, is nowadays often emended to *mægenhreð manna*, it is true, but the emendation is unnecessary, in my judgment. The usual argument for it, based on the *m*-alliteration, seems to me unsound. Since the *m* of *Hreðmanna* is not initial, there is no need to assume that it alliterates at all; the *m* of *mægen* amply satisfies the alliterative needs of the half-line. The decisive factor here must be the stylistic parallelism with *Geata leode*, which emphatically supports the actual reading of the ms. and makes any emendation not only gratuitous but arbitrary and violent. The element *Hreð*- in *Hreðmen* probably stands for the Scandian *Hreið*-, although we should expect æ

<sup>27</sup> *Namn och Bygd.*, V, 133 note.

rather than *e*. For a discussion of the matter see Chambers, *Widsith*.<sup>28</sup> The objections raised by v. Friesen are not convincing, to me at least.

We have now completed our examination of the seven stories that make up the extant *HS*. We have found three of these stories, viz., the life of *Heiðrekr*, the strife between *Hlöðr* and *Angantýr*, and the war between Goths and Huns, in the *Widsith* also. There however they appear in a form much more primitive than that preserved to us in *HS*, and this, of course, is just what one would expect. *GH* in the *Widsith* is indeed history rather than story, and like the *GH* of Saxo it has not the slightest connexion with *AH*. This latter appears in the English poem only as a prelude to the story of *Heaðoric*, and without the fatal ending given it in *HS*; indeed, we cannot be absolutely sure that the English poet knew *AH* at all. We can tell more about the English version of the life of *Heiðrekr*. The story of *Heaðoric* may be outlined as follows. Our hero, younger son of the Geatish king *Hliþe* (*Hreðel*), grew up a black sheep. By accident he killed his elder brother *Herebeald*, and in consequence was banished. His banishment was probably instigated by *Sifeca*, an evil counsellor who lived at the court of *Hliþe*. *Heaðoric* went to Jutland, and entered the service of the king of that country. He so distinguished himself that he won the hand of the king's daughter and with her half the kingdom. Upon the king's death he inherited the throne. When *Hliþe* died *Heaðoric* became king of Geatland as well. By the advice of *Sifeca* he undertook an ill-fated expedition against the Swedish king *Incgenþeow*, who defeated and slew him in battle. Thus the evil counsellor at last brought the hero to his death.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Chambers, *Widsith*, p. 252f.

<sup>29</sup> For an interesting discussion of the *Widsith* (from a point of view entirely different from mine) in its relations to Scandian story, see G. Schütte, in *A. f. n. F.* XXXVI 1-32.

### XXXVI. THE *PEARL*—A NEW INTERPRETATION

Spenser, realizing how doubtfully his allegory or dark conceit might be construed, wrote a letter to Sir Walter Raleigh explaining, in part, the general structure of *The Faerie Queene*. The poet of the *Pearl*, except within the poem itself, has given us no inkling of its meaning. The attempt to find that meaning has been and is yet a matter of unusual interest to scholars.

There are two well-defined theories regarding the message that the poet intended to convey to his readers:

(1) That the poem is an elegy, expressing the deep personal grief of a father for the loss of his child. This interpretation has been stoutly defended by Professor Osgood<sup>1</sup> and by Professor Coulton.<sup>2</sup> If the majority rules, this should be called the orthodox view.

(2) The other theory is that advanced by Professor Schofield: "The poem is not autobiographical, but allegorical, with a theological digression, cast in elegiac form; it mourns no loss, but is merely intended to illustrate the beauty of purity under the symbolism of a Pearl and in the guise of a personification."<sup>3</sup>

Professor Bateson suggests an interpretation which is in the nature of a compromise between these two theories. He says: "It appears probable, however, in view of the arguments of Professor Schofield, that the *Pearl* was no such elegy (as Professor Osgood conceives it), but was largely a theological discussion in elegiac form."<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, he holds that Professor Schofield goes too far in utterly rejecting the reality of the occasion. During the period of the *Pearl*, he adds, one need not infer a severance of the poet's connection with the church: "One can imagine that this connection had always some laical nature and he probably married and had a child, a little maid who was lost to him in her second year."<sup>5</sup> This, he

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Osgood, *The Pearl*, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> G. G. Coulton, "In Defense of *Pearl*," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, II, 39-43.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Schofield, "The Nature and Fabric of *The Pearl*," *P.M.L.A.* XIX, 154-215; "Symbolism, Allegory and Autobiography in *The Pearl*," *P.M.L.A.*, XXIV, 585-675.

<sup>4</sup> H. Bateson, *Patience*, Manchester, 1912, *Intro.*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

suggests, may have been the preliminary impulse which produced the didactic elegy of his later years. Under the softening influence of a great sorrow the poet was developing reflections on grace and pure maidenhood. The *Pearl* was thus a sort of composite of progressive mental experiences. Finally, he recognizes that the structure of the poem was determined quite as much by the poet's knowledge of conventional form, as by his personal experience.

In the following pages I shall undertake to show that the poem, although cast in elegiac form, ~~is not autobiographical, but parabolical~~; that the theological discussion which it contains is not a digression, ~~but that the poem as a whole~~ was designed to illustrate the doctrine of Divine Grace.

To enforce his spiritual lesson the poet deliberately chose the figure of a child who died in infancy. This did not refer to the actual loss of a child, but was merely a literary fiction. That the poet has succeeded in clothing his literary fiction in such warm and human colors as to persuade his readers that it is an expression of personal grief is, after all, a high testimony to the perfection of his literary art. Nevertheless, in its purpose the *Pearl* is probably no less homiletic than *Cleanness* and *Patience*, though it is cast in the form of a vision and is warmed by emotion. X

On the basis of probability one may object to the interpretation proposed by Professor Bateson that its acceptance requires us to believe in two things: (1) in the reality of the maiden; (2) in the poem as a symbolical exposition of divine grace or pure maidenhood. It is not an easy thing to prove that either of the two is correct. An attempt to prove that both are correct is a task doubly hard. The difficulty involved in the suggestion of Professor Bateson lies not in the mere combination of literal and symbolical elements but in the combination of two theories, one of which, at least, is exceedingly improbable. It is all the more difficult to prove, if not more improbable, because we do not even know who the poet was. It is all the more improbable, because the poet is forced to use the same symbol for two entirely different things—one, his actual daughter and the other, a pure abstraction.

The two principal theories are not so easily disposed of. Let us consider the elegiac theory. The fallacy that lies at the root

of this theory is the belief that, if a poet or novelist creates the impression that his work is the embodiment of an actual experience, a poem or novel may not be the embodiment of an imaginative experience. According to this belief, we should still be thinking that *Captain Singleton* is a narration of actual experiences. If all of Robert Greene's books were destroyed, except those in which he exalted the virtue of womanhood, and if, in some way, we might blot out the image of things one could plausibly associate with Harvey's tale of Rhenish wine and pickled herring, we might still be thinking that Robert Greene never met the requirements of an Italianate Englishman.

It is dangerous to say that a poem should be given a strictly literal meaning, especially if the poem abounds in things that cannot be reconciled with a strictly literal interpretation. The *Pearl* poet had the privilege of saying that the maiden was his child but he did not say so. This being the case, it is not probable that the child was his daughter. Especially is it improbable when the proponents of this theory are forced to stretch the thread of their ingenuity almost to the breaking point to establish such a relationship. Poetry is no less poetry when it reveals truth through fiction.

The poet's statement that he mourned over the loss of a pearl cannot be taken as literal fact, because the poet certainly did not mourn over the loss of an actual gem. The pearl for which he mourned was, of course, the maiden. The grief of the poet was an integral part of the literary fiction. That critics should be led to think the poem reveals the loss of an actual child in infancy and the grief of its father is a worthy tribute to the poet's artistic skill.

A natural desire to see in the poem the embodiment of a father's lament for his little girl has led many to exaggerate the significance of the personal touches. Professor Schofield cheerfully concedes that the modern reader would enjoy the poem more if it were a strictly 'personal' elegy.<sup>6</sup> But the evidence for this simply is not there. Weigh for yourself the significant passages upon which Professor Osgood builds his case:

- (1) So rounde, .....  
So smal, so smole hyr sidez were (vv. 5-6).

<sup>6</sup> Schofield, *P.M.L.A.*, XXIV, 645.

- (2) Queresoeuer I jugged gemmez gaye,  
I sette hyr sengeley in syngl(e)re. (vv. 7-8).
- (3) Allas! I leste hyr in on erbere  
þurz gresse to grounde hit fro me yot (vv. 9-10).
- (4) I dewyne,.....  
Of þat pryvy perle wythouten spot (vv. 11-12).
- (5) þer hit down drof in moldez dunne (v. 30).
- (6) On huyle þer perle hit trendeled down (v. 41).
- (7) I playned my perle þat þer watz spenned (v. 53).
- (8) At þe fote þerof þer sete a faunt,  
A Mayden of menske ful debonere (vv. 161-162).
- (9) I knew hyr wel, I had sen hyr ere (v. 164).
- (10) On lenghe I loked to hyr þere,  
þe lenger I knew hyr more & more (vv. 167-168).
- (11) þat gracios gay withouten galle,  
So amoþe, so small, so seme slyzt,  
Rysez up in hir araye ryalle,  
A precios pyece in perlez pyzt (vv. 189-192).
- (12) Ho watz me nerre þen aunte or nece (v. 233).
- (13) O Perle, quod I, in perlez pyzt,  
Art þou my perle þat I haf playned,  
Regretted by myn one, on nyzte?  
Much longeyng haf I for þe layned,  
Syþen into gresse þou me aglyzte (vv. 241-245).
- (14) Sir, ze haf your tale mysetente (v. 257).
- (15) Now haf I fonde hyt, I shal ma feste,  
& wony wyth hyt in schyr wod-schawez (vv. 283-284).
- (16) Demez þou me, quod I, my sweete,  
To dol agayn, þenne I dowyne (vv. 325-326).
- (17) My precios perle dotz me gret pyne (v. 330)!
- (18) & quen we departed, we wern at on,  
God forbede we be now wroþe,  
We meten so selden by stok oþer ston (vv. 378-380).
- (19) þou lyfed not two zer in oure þede;  
þou cowþez neuer God nauþer plese ne pray,  
Ne neuer nawþer Pater ne Crede (vv. 483-485).
- (20) þen saz I þer my lyttle quene (v. 1148).
- (21) So wel is me in þys doel-doungoun,  
þat þou art to þat Prynsez paye (vv. 1148-1149).

These are the personal touches that are supposed to prove the lament of a father for his little girl. Of the forty-one lines only one has even a suggestion of relationship—"Ho watz me nerre þen aunte or nece"—and, according to the suggestion of some critics, this line, in all probability, was so fashioned for purposes of rhyme.<sup>7</sup> This, in itself, would nullify the suggestion

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Schofield, *P.M.L.A.*, XXIV, 657.

of relationship. Professor Schofield's argument with reference to these lines is sufficient to convince us that the identification of the Pearl with the poet's daughter is exceedingly improbable.

On the other hand Professor Schofield oversteps the limits of probability by converting the maiden into so cold and impersonal a thing as the symbol of a mere abstraction. Many of these lines glow with the warmth of personal emotion and it is absurd to apply them to the Pearl if it is nothing more than a symbol of pure maidenhood.

In the next place, the poet is said not only to have had a daughter but to have named her Margaret or Marguerite or Margery. The mere use of the pearl does not justify such an assumption. The girl is nowhere named in the poem. We find three expressions—"Wyth þe myryste margarys" (v. 199); "Of mariorys" (v. 206); and "Vch zate of a margyrye" (v. 1037)—and there is no allusion to a person in any case.

Professor Osgood finds in the poet's heresy in the matter of the doctrine of equal rewards another evidence of the elegiac character of the poem, for such heresy he regards as the reflex of violent emotional experience. It is true that the heresy of the poet may have been the reflex of violent emotional experience, indeed, it is unlikely that a poet whose nature was not fervent and emotional would have adopted, in the first place, the literary fiction employed in the poem. But Professor Osgood's difficulty lies in proving that this violent emotional experience was the loss of his own child.

No less than three hundred lines, almost at the center of the poem, are devoted to the doctrines of divine grace and equal rewards. The maiden continues to remind the poet that the grace of God is great enough and this message brings joy to his troubled soul. Since the grace of God and not merit saves men, works are no measure of God's grace and, *a priori*, rewards must be equal. In support of these doctrines, the maiden recites the Parable of the Vineyard. And as further evidence of divine grace, the poet reveals the actual presence in heaven, of a two year-old child, crowned with jewels and living a life co-equal with all other heavenly queens, save Mary alone.

It is clear that the discussion between the dreamer and the maiden is a literary device for imparting spiritual teaching. The dreamer's function consists solely in introducing the



maiden and allowing her to utter her revelations in regard to divine grace and the heavenly rewards. The poet's real sentiments are those which are expressed by the maiden, not the objections urged by the dreamer. The poet, then, though feigning the contrary, is actually projecting his own views through the maiden's lips and the dreamer merely supplies an audience for the maiden's spiritual disquisition. The poet, then, simply takes this method of imparting general directions to his readers how they may win the grace of God.

Let us turn, for a moment, to two of the poet's sources. We may admit with plausible assurance that the poet was indebted to Boccaccio's *Fourteenth Eclogue* and to Dante's *Divine Comedy* for some of his material. The relation of the parallels is too strong to regard them as coincidences. In the *Eclogue* and in the *Pearl* there is a maiden transformed and appearing in a state of maturity. Each praises the Virgin. The poet, in each case, asks the maiden to explain her beatified state. Both reveal the efficacy of grace as a means of salvation. The closing refrain of four stanzas spoken by Olympia is as follows:

Vivimus aeternum meritis et numine Codri.

The closing refrain of five stanzas spoken by Pearl is:

For þe grace of God is gret inoghe.

On the other hand, while both poets mourn over the loss of something, the poet of the *Eclogue* is left in inconsolable grief but the poet of the *Pearl* is comforted. This, in itself, would serve to differentiate the maidens. Not only that, there is no allusion whatever in the *Eclogue* to a failing on the part of the poet and no advice given by the daughter as to how the poet might best overcome it. How do we account for this difference?

There is an incident in the *Divine Comedy* which seems to be a sufficient explanation of the matter. Beginning with Canto XXVIII of the *Purgatorio*, Dante advances through the forest to explore the Terrestrial Paradise until he is stopped by a stream. On the other side he sees a maiden. She does not happen to be Beatrice, however, but Matilda, who is sometimes considered symbolical of active religious as Beatrice is of spiritual life. Later, Beatrice descends from heaven in the midst of a shower of roses strewn by an angel choir. As Dante walks along the stream, there descends an Apocalyptic vision. Before

Beatrice unveils to him her celestial beauty, she rebukes him for having permitted some merely mortal thing with ill desire to lead him away. "His wing drooped heavily to the earth to wait for further blows, or a little maid, or other vanity of briefer worth." This may allude to an alleged amour with Gentucca or to his marriage with Gemma Donati after Beatrice's death. The *Pearl* poet probably took from Boccaccio the idea of the beatified maiden and the theme of grace and joined them with Dante's idea of the sinful poet, who needed to forsake the wicked world. If this is a reasonable conclusion, then, we find in the sources of the poet's material sufficient explanation of his employment of the maiden as a literary device for imparting spiritual truth.

Professor Osgood suggests that the poet, in early life, could have been a layman. We do not get this from the text, but of course, there is such a possibility. The more one assumes doubtful hypotheses, however, the more improbable his theory becomes. The probably correct chronological arrangement of the poems—*Cleanness* and *Patience* or *Patience* and *Cleanness*, *Sir Gawain* and the *Pearl*—rather suggests that the poet was an orthodox ecclesiastic<sup>8</sup> in his earlier years—in fact, several years before the *Pearl* was written and probably more than two years before his supposed child died. Elaborate details and ingenuity of an hypothesis are almost always fatal to its reception. A theory that requires the concurrence of so many minute circumstances in its support has already reached the nth degree of improbability.

We must admit with Professor Osgood that the representation of a two-year-old child as a mature person is not an argument that the child did not live. Boccaccio's *Eclogue* proves that. But when Professor Osgood says that the maturity of Boccaccio's daughter gives credence to the theory of the reality of *Pearl*, he draws an improbable and unwarranted conclusion. The maturity of the maiden was necessary for verisimilitude. No child could talk theology intelligibly and the coincidence only shows that the actual experience of one poet furnishes the material for the imaginative experience of the other.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The article by Professor Carleton Brown in the *P.M.L.A.*, XIX: 115-153, furnishes convincing proof that the author of the *Pearl* was an ecclesiastic.

<sup>9</sup> Professor Schofield brings out this point admirably, *P.M.L.A.*, XIX, 213f.

Professor Osgood suggests that the poet might have married before taking orders. He might have done so, but the suggestion only increases the number of mental figments and makes the elegiac theory the more untenable.

Finally, in order to square with the elegiac theory the natural order of the poems has been shifted by placing the *Pearl* and *Sir Gawain* first. Then the grief, revealed in the *Pearl*, has been represented as leading to the more serious reflection upon the virtues—purity and patient resignation—in *Cleanness* and *Patience*. According to the most careful scholars, such an arrangement is exceedingly improbable.

What shall be said of Professor Schofield's theory? In the first place, it is essential that we note the contents of two significant stanzas—stanzas one and twenty-one. For the original of stanza one, I shall substitute the translation by Professor Schofield.

## I

Pearl—pleasant to princes' pleasure  
 To (en)close cleanly in gold so clear—  
 Out of the Orient, I hardly say,  
 I never found its precious peer.  
 So round, so radiant in each array,  
 So small, so smooth its sides were,  
 Wheresoever I judged gay gems,  
 I set it singly in uniqueness,  
 Alas! I lost it in an 'arbor.'  
 Through grass to ground it went from me.  
 I dewyne, pierced with love's power,  
 For that privy pearl without spot.

## XXI

'O Perle,' quod I, in perlez pyzt,  
 Art þou my perle þat I haf playned,  
 Regretted by myn one, on nyzte?  
 Much longeyng haf I for þe layned,  
 Sy þen into gresse þou me aglyzte;  
 Pensyf, payred, I am forpayned,  
 And þou in a lyf of lykyng lyzte,  
 In paradys erde, of stryf unstrayned.  
 What wyrd hatz hyder my iuel vayned,  
 And don me in þys del and great daunger?  
 Fro me in tynne wern towen, and twayned,  
 I haf ben a joylez juclere.'

Professor Schofield says there is no indication in the opening stanza of what the poet lost. We may assume, then, that the lines are not to be taken literally; but we are given no hint of their meaning. The poet, therefore, intends the symbolism of the poem to disclose itself slowly. Further on, he says the lines are to be taken literally and are best understood by comparison with the lapidaries. If, he adds, we tear away the fictitious veil of personal references which have been made to enshroud the opening of the *Pearl*, we shall see that every statement of the poet is not only literally exact but calculated to arouse the interest of the readers and to lay the foundation for the symbolism which he planned to develop.

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In the first stanza occurs this line:

þurz gresse to grounde hit fro me yot.

It is perfectly plain that the poet makes use of two separate figures—the pearl in the arbor and the maiden across the stream—but he identifies the one with the other. Such identification, however, is no argument that the maiden is the poet's daughter. It only shows the progressive revelation of the symbolism of the poem and gives evidence of the poet's architectonic skill.

Professor Schofield ridicules the idea that the lines quoted on pages 5-7 have any reference whatever to the poet's own child. It is absurd, he says, to think that the line—"On huyle þer perle hit trendeled down"—refers to any maiden at all. The

poet is undoubtedly using here the figure of an actual pearl but later he reveals the maiden which the pearl symbolizes. But Professor Schofield does not end his symbolism here. He interprets the maiden as the symbol of purity. Consequently, he gives to the poem an unnecessarily frigid and artistically manufactured character. He fails to appreciate the poet's emotional fervor—the fervor of the mystic and contemplative soul, not that of the bereaved father. Literary art alone, without the emotion of the mystic, could never have produced the poem.

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There is a reason why Professor Schofield ignores the matter. He insists that the *Pearl* symbolizes "purity or clean maidenhood." Professor Schofield does not explain clearly what he means by the phrase—"purity or clean maidenhood." The pearl was the poet's pearl and, if the pearl symbolizes purity, it should symbolize purity as it is related to the poet's own conduct. We might enlarge the idea to include purity as it is related to the conduct of people in general, but we are confronted with the difficulty of explaining how the definite suggestions given the poet for the recovery of his lost jewel could produce the desired result. The maiden advises the poet to forsake the wicked world and live a life of righteousness. Such, if done, would hardly purify people in general. The poet was

Beatrice unveils to him her celestial beauty, she rebukes him for having permitted some merely mortal thing with ill desire to lead him away. "His wing drooped heavily to the earth to wait for further blows, or a little maid, or other vanity of briefer worth." This may allude to an alleged amour with Gentucca or to his marriage with Gemma Donati after Beatrice's death. The *Pearl* poet probably took from Boccaccio the idea of the beatified maiden and the theme of grace and joined them with Dante's idea of the sinful poet, who needed to forsake the wicked world. If this is a reasonable conclusion, then, we find in the sources of the poet's material sufficient explanation of his employment of the maiden as a literary device for imparting spiritual truth.

Professor Osgood suggests that the poet, in early life, could have been a layman. We do not get this from the text, but of course, there is such a possibility. The more one assumes doubtful hypotheses, however, the more improbable his theory becomes. The probably correct chronological arrangement of the poems—*Cleanness* and *Patience* or *Patience* and *Cleanness*, *Sir Gawain* and the *Pearl*—rather suggests that the poet was an orthodox ecclesiastic<sup>8</sup> in his earlier years—in fact, several years before the *Pearl* was written and probably more than two years before his supposed child died. Elaborate details and ingenuity of an hypothesis are almost always fatal to its reception. A theory that requires the concurrence of so many minute circumstances in its support has already reached the nth degree of improbability.

We must admit with Professor Osgood that the representation of a two-year-old child as a mature person is not an argument that the child did not live. Boccaccio's *Eclogue* proves that. But when Professor Osgood says that the maturity of Boccaccio's daughter gives credence to the theory of the reality of *Pearl*, he draws an improbable and unwarranted conclusion. The maturity of the maiden was necessary for verisimilitude. No child could talk theology intelligibly and the coincidence only shows that the actual experience of one poet furnishes the material for the imaginative experience of the other.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The article by Professor Carleton Brown in the *P.M.L.A.*, XIX: 115-153, furnishes convincing proof that the author of the *Pearl* was an ecclesiastic.

<sup>9</sup> Professor Schofield brings out this point admirably, *P.M.L.A.*, XIX, 213f.

Professor Osgood suggests that the poet might have married before taking orders. He might have done so, but the suggestion only increases the number of mental figments and makes the elegiac theory the more untenable. ✓

Finally, in order to square with the elegiac theory the natural order of the poems has been shifted by placing the *Pearl* and *Sir Gawain* first. Then the grief, revealed in the *Pearl*, has been represented as leading to the more serious reflection upon the virtues—purity and patient resignation—in *Cleanness* and *Patience*. According to the most careful scholars, such an arrangement is exceedingly improbable.

What shall be said of Professor Schofield's theory? In the first place, it is essential that we note the contents of two significant stanzas—stanzas one and twenty-one. For the original of stanza one, I shall substitute the translation by Professor Schofield.

## I

Pearl—pleasant to princes' pleasure  
 To (en)close cleanly in gold so clear—  
 Out of the Orient, I hardly say,  
 I never found its precious peer.  
 So round, so radiant in each array,  
 So small, so smooth its sides were,  
 Wheresoever I judged gay gems,  
 I set it singly in uniqueness,  
 Alas! I lost it in an 'arbor.'  
 Through grass to ground it went from me.  
 I dewyne, pierced with love's power,  
 For that privy pearl without spot.

## XXI

'O Perle,' quod I, in perlez pyzt,  
 Art þou my perle þat I haf playned,  
 Regretted by myn one, on nyzte?  
 Much longeyng haf I for þe layned,  
 Sy þen into gresse þou me aglyzte;  
 Pensyf, payred, I am forpayned,  
 And þou in a lyf of lykyng lyzte,  
 In paradys erde, of stryf unstrayned.  
 What wyrde hatz hyder my iuel vayned,  
 And don me in þys del and great daunger?  
 Fro me in tynne wern towen, and twayned,  
 I haf ben a joylez juelere.'

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not a scape-goat to bear the sins of the multitude. If we extend the idea to include purity as an abstract principle, we are forced to exclude the representation by the poet of personal loss and grief.

Professor Schofield seems to use the pearl as the symbol of purity in a restricted sense, such as clean virginity or spotless maidenhood. "Pearl," he says, "was crowned clean in Virginity. Therefore, purity is first and foremost the theme of the *Pearl*." If this is true, one of the reasons he ignores the mourning of the poet is that his symbolism of the pearl is something over the loss of which the poet would not be very likely to mourn. Thus, he furnishes no motivation for the poet's later joy and, as far as I can see, completely ignores it.

Professor Schofield<sup>10</sup> says it is worthy of notice that the poet peopled Paradise with none but maidens. I am in a quandary as to what classification should be made of the Elders and legions of angels of whom the poet speaks in the following lines:

X

 þise aldermen, quen he aproched,  
 Groveling to his fete þay felle.  
 Legyounes of aungeles togeder voked,  
 þer kesten ensens of swete smelle.
 
✓

I dare not venture any further suggestions concerning Paradisi- cal sexology.

It matters not whether the pearl is made to symbolize "spotless maidenhood" or purity in the abstract; in either case the theory of Professor Schofield is faulty.

(1) If the pearl symbolizes clean virginity or spotless maiden- hood, it cannot be reconciled either with a literal or allegorical interpretation of the poet's mourning. If we are to have verisimilitude, that which the pearl symbolizes must be some- thing over the loss of which the poet may properly mourn, whether he actually does so or not, and at the same time be of such a nature as to call up the image of a maiden. The use of the pearl as the symbol of clean maidenhood would entitle the poet to use the figure of the maiden, but would not account for the poet's real or apparent grief and subsequent joy.

The pearl symbolizes the maiden but the maiden is not meant to symbolize anything. If Professor Schofield had avoided

<sup>10</sup> *P.M.L.A.*, XIX, 629-30.

giving such a frigid interpretation to the Parable, he might have been able to offer a sufficient explanation of the apparent grief of the poet.

Professor Schofield in replying to Professor Coulton's criticism refers him to the figure of the maiden Rose in the *Romance of the Rose*, who after all is a mere symbol. Is the allegory, then, sheer nonsense? "Imagine a lover wanting to kiss a symbol!"<sup>11</sup> But Professor Coulton did not object to the use of the symbol *per se*, but only to an unnatural use of it. No insanity is involved in kissing a symbol<sup>12</sup> (a rose, for instance), provided the symbol represents—as it does in the case he mentions—his beloved. Romantic persons sometimes press roses to their bosoms and kiss them too, not because they are mere roses, but because they are symbols of the persons who gave them. That is quite a different thing, to Professor Coulton, from a poet's mourning over a symbol when the symbol is his lost maidenhood.

(2) To make the pearl symbolize abstract purity would not only exclude the representation of the poet's personal loss and grief but it would oblige us to regard vv. 421-720—one-fourth of the poem—as a theological digression, which would be sufficient to stamp the poem as a poor work of art. But it seems improbable that the author was so careless an artist as to destroy the unity of his poem by an overwhelming digression which is wholly unrelated to (what Professor Schofield thinks) is the fundamental teaching of the poem. In *Gawain and the Green Knight* our poet displays a masterful architectonic sense, and again in *Cleanness* he succeeds in weaving many scriptural stories into a unified whole, by grouping them about three central incidents each of which illustrates the beauty of purity. This remarkable structural skill will be recognized also in the *Pearl* if we interpret aright its underlying purpose. It is to be noted that no less than sixty of the 101 stanzas of the poem are devoted to the religious discussion, so that what Professor Schofield regards as a digression is seen to be its central motive. In fact, it is only by means of this doctrinal discussion—the dominant chord of the poem—that we arrive at an interpretation which makes the poem intelligible.

<sup>11</sup> Schofield, *P.M.L.A.*, XXIV, 642.

<sup>12</sup> Note Lydgate's poem in explanation of the custom of devoutly kissing stone, wood, earth or iron (*Min. Poems of Lydgate*, ed. MacCracken, I, 116).

x | The figure of a child lost in infancy is employed, then, as a literary device to impart the spiritual lesson of divine grace. Filled with joy on comprehending the manifestation of divine grace toward the maiden, the poet is strengthened in his resolve to endure this dungeon of woe, by the hope that to him, as well as to all others who will it to be so, there may be extended this same eternal salvation through divine grace so gloriously manifested in the personified Pearl. This interpretation makes provision for the use of the poet's mourning and joy; it establishes a proper relation between the maiden and the poet's grief; it makes unnecessary the expedient of ignoring any detail; and, above all, it redeems the poet from the grave misrepresentation of having inserted into the midst of the poem an unpardonably long digression.

No one would think, of course, of forcing a wholly literal interpretation on the poem. On the other hand, I am unwilling to reject all reality by denying the emotion of the poet and thus reducing him to the level of an architect, who coldly and mechanically constructs an amazingly symbolical structure without shedding a tear—for, what is worse, sheds tears over a pure abstraction, which has no relation to his personal experience.)

Fortune has indeed been unkind in burying with his ashes the secrets of so admirable a poet. The whole of the good, fortunately, has not been interred with his bones. We are the heirs of a rich legacy and we regret that we do not know what donor to thank.

The *Pearl* is a rare and precious stone even among the jewels of Middle English poetry. It has its faults, but a great poem, with a few faults, is to be preferred to a mediocre poem that is faultily faultless. "Royal carelessness," Professor Bliss Perry once remarked, "is preferable to plebeian correctness."<sup>13</sup> Only the text of the poem has come down to us—the very name of the author is unknown, and lacking this we are left without hope of finding external evidence which might disclose the secret of its composition. But from the study of the poem itself we seem to be justified in drawing the following inferences concerning its author:

<sup>13</sup> In a Harvard lecture.

(1) that the poet of the *Pearl* wrote the other three poems of the manuscript; (2) that he was an ecclesiastic; (3) that he was familiar with the usages of courtly life; (4) that he was trained either in the monastic schools or in the university; (5) that he was keenly interested in the religious questions that stirred men's souls; (6) that he was particularly interested in the doctrine of divine grace. That is about all we have a right to infer.

WALTER KIRKLAND GREENE

### XXXVII. SPENSER AND BOIARDO

No systematic study of the parallels in the *Orlando Innamorato* and the *Faerie Queene* has hitherto been presented. Random references to analogues were noted by Upton,<sup>1</sup> but most of them remain of little value as positive proof of influence.

The first complete edition of the *Innamorato* for which there is at present certain evidence was published at Scandiano in 1495, an incomplete edition having appeared at Venice in 1487 and an earlier one in 1484, possibly at Reggio. There is definite record of nineteen editions of the poem in its original form, all published in Italy, the last of which appeared in 1544.<sup>2</sup> The poem was then "remade" by two different *rifacitori*. The *Rifacimento* of Francesco Berni appeared in 1541, 1542, and 1545; that of Lodovico Domenichi in 1545. After 1545 no edition of Berni's *Rifacimento* appeared until the eighteenth century, although that of Domenichi was printed several times.<sup>3</sup> It will thus be seen that the poem first appeared in Italy during the half century preceding Spenser's birth.

That the poem was being read in England during the years in which Spenser was writing his *Faerie Queene* seems altogether probable. The great success of the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, which assumes on the part of its readers a knowledge of the *Innamorato*, would in itself be likely to induce a reader of Spenser's range to familiarize himself with the beginning of the story in Boiardo's poem. There is direct evidence of English interest in the fact that it was translated into English heroic verse by Robert Tofte and printed in London in 1598, the translation being of Domenichi's version.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Upton, *The Faerie Queene, A New Edition with a Glossary, and Notes explanatory and critical*. London, 1758, 2 vols.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Francesco Fòffano, Edit. *Orlando Innamorato*, Bologna, 1906-7, vol. 3, p. iii ff.; Giulio Reichenbach, "Le prime edizioni dell' *Orlando Innamorato*," *Giorn. Stor. della Lett. Ital.*, LXXXIV (1924), 68-74.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Antonio Panizzi, Edit. *Orlando Innamorato*, London, 1830-31, vol. 2, pp. cxxxiii-cxxxv.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Mary Augusta Scott, *Elisabethan Translations from the Italian*. Boston and New York, 1916, pp. 152-153.

With regard to the differences between the *Rifacimenti* and the original, Panizzi writes:

Berni altered the diction of almost every stanza of the poem, added comparisons, left out some passages, and introduced a few stanzas at the beginning of each canto, in imitation of Ariosto. Domenichi . . . altered the poem rather freely at the beginning, but, as he advanced, his emendations were less frequent and unimportant, although sufficient to destroy the original character of the work. . . . He neither added, nor omitted one single stanza, except in the first canto of the first book.<sup>6</sup>

For the purpose of this paper, the text studied in its entirety and the text here quoted is that of Boiardo's original poem. The nature of the passages here presented is such that they occur in all three versions of the poem. I have examined the corresponding passages in Berni and Domenichi, but all three versions are so similar that it is not possible to prove from the parallels which version Spenser may have used.<sup>6</sup>

The following study does not find such closely verbal imitation of Boiardo as Spenser has of Tasso,<sup>7</sup> nor such a large amount of parallel material as he has with Ariosto.<sup>8</sup> It is not the contention of this paper that Boiardo's poem received the amount of attention from Spenser that either Ariosto or Tasso did. On the other hand, evidence is here given to show that Spenser had read the *Orlando Innamorato*, that it lay in his memory along with his reading of other romances of chivalry, and that parts of it asserted themselves when occasion was offered in the creation of his own poem.

Every comprehensive study of the sources of the *Faerie Queene* reveals the intricate mosaic quality of Spenser's art, the product of a poetic consciousness enriched by wide reading. Consequently, it is to be expected that, in many cases, individual incidents, situations, or longer narratives as they appear in the *Faerie Queene* represent the fusion or synthesis in Spenser's

<sup>6</sup> A. Panizzi, *op. cit.*, II, cxxxvi.

<sup>7</sup> The texts used are: Spenser, R. E. N. Dodge, Cambridge Edition, Boston and New York, 1908. Boiardo, Antonio Panizzi, *op. cit.*; Berni, Edition of 1545, Venice; Domenichi, Edition of 1824, London.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., compare *F.Q.* II, xii, 74-76 with *G. L.* XVI, 14-17; vid. E. Koeppel, "Die englischen Tasso-übersetzungen des XVI Jahrhunderts. II. La Gerusalemme Liberata," *Anglia*, XI, 351-352.

<sup>9</sup> Vid. R. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," *P.M.L.A.*, XII, 199-204; XXXV, 91-92; also A. H. Gilbert, *ibid.*, XXXIV, 225-232.

consciousness of elements taken from several sources, varying in similarity, which his past reading had left in his memory, together with the modification which his own individuality gave.<sup>9</sup> It is the purpose of the present paper to determine and to segregate those elements in the mosaic of the *Faerie Queene* which seem to be due to Spenser's memory of the *Orlando Innamorato*.<sup>10</sup>

I. The incident in which Red Cross and Una meet Sir Trevisan fleeing from Despair (*F. Q.* I, ix, 21 ff) has several details parallel with the one in *O. I.* in which Rinaldo and his company meet a knight fleeing from the fighting Orlando (*O. I.* I, xvii, 51 ff).

The parallel details are the following:

- (1) An armed knight, with pale face and general appearance of great fear, comes galloping upon a steed.
- (2) He keeps looking backward as though some pursuer were close behind.
- (3) He does not reply upon being first questioned.
- (4) In speaking, his tongue shakes with his body.

So as they traveild, lo! they gan espy  
*An armed knight towards them gallop fast,*  
 That seemed from some feared foe to fly,  
 Or other griesly thing that him aghast.  
*Still as he fledd his eye was backward cast,*  
*As if his feare still followed him behynd:*  
 Als flew his steed as he his bandes had brast . . . .

Nigh as he drew, they might perceive his head  
 To bee unarmd, and curld uncombed heares  
 Upstaring stiffe, dismaid with uncouth dread:  
*Nor drop of blood in all his face appeares,*  
 Nor life in limbe . . . .

*He answerd nought at all;* but adding new  
 Feare to his first amazment, staring wyde

<sup>9</sup> Professor A. S. Cook presents a typical case of the multiplicity of parallel passages with which the investigator of Spenser's sources is confronted: "The House of Sleep—A Study in Comparative Literature," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, V, 10-22. I have sought to distinguish elements coming from different sources but existing in combination in the *Faerie Queene* in a previous study, "Imitations from Tasso in the *Faerie Queene*," *Studies in Philol.*, XXII, 198-221, especially in parallels numbered 1, 5, and 10.

<sup>10</sup> The parallels are arranged in general in the order in which the passages involved occur in the *Faerie Queene*.



With stony eyes and hartlesse hollow hew,  
 Astonisht stood . . . .  
 Him yett againe, and yett againe, bespake  
 The gentle knight; *who nought to him replyde;*  
*But, trembling every joynt, did inly quake,*  
*And foltring tongue, at last, these words seemd forth to shake*  
 (F.Q. I, ix, 21, 22, 24).

Vidon venir, correndo a la pianura,  
*Sopra un cavallo un uom tutt' armato,*  
 Che mostrava a la vista gran paura;  
 Ed era il suo caval molt' affannato,  
 Forte battendo l'uno e l'altro fianco;  
 Ma l'uomo trema, ed è nel viso bianco. .

Ciaschedun di novelle il dimandava,  
*Ma lui non rispondeva alcuna cosa,*  
*E pur a dietro spesso risguardava.*  
 Dopo, a la fine in voce patirosa,  
*(Perchè la lingua co'l cor gli tremava)*  
 Disse: . . . .

Io vidi, (e ancor mi par che l'aggia in faccia) . . . .  
 Dugento miglia son fuggito in caccia,  
 E volentier m'avria nel mar sommerso,  
*Perchè averlo a le spalle ognor mi pare.*  
 Ora a Dio siate; non voglio aspettare (O. I. I, xvii, 51, 52, 55).

To be sure, as the facts are, the objects from which the knights are fleeing are different: Spenser's knight is fleeing from the grim and gruesome figure of Despair; Boiardo's, from the fighting Orlando. In both cases, however, the object is terrifying, and it seems entirely possible that the dramatic picture of Boiardo's fleeing knight remained in Spenser's memory so that he used such details of it as would readily fit into his own situation.

II. The battle between Red Cross and the Dragon has been found to contain parallel details with the dragon fight in the *Seven Champions of Christendom*,<sup>11</sup> and with those in *Sir Beves of Hamtoun*<sup>12</sup> and *Huon of Bordeaux*.<sup>13</sup> One detail, however,

<sup>11</sup> Vid. H. M. Percival, *The Faerie Queene, Book I*, London, 1893, p. 310. The reference is to the *Seven Champions*, Part I, chap. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Vid. Lilian Winstanley, *The Faerie Queene, Book I*, Cambridge, 1920, pp. xlv-xlvii.

<sup>13</sup> Vid. L. Winstanley, *op. cit.*, pp. xlvii-xlviii; J. R. Macarthur, *Jour. of Ger. Philol.*, IV, 215-238.

is paralleled in none of these sources, nor have I found it elsewhere in the romances. The parallel lies in the fact that both knights are definitely described as fighting in the flame from the dragon's mouth so that their armor becomes heated and they are grievously pressed.

And from his wide devouring oven sent  
A flake of fire, that flashing in his beard  
Him all amazd, and almost made afeard:  
The scorching flame sore swunged all his face,  
*And through his armour all his body seard,*  
That he could not endure so cruell cace,  
But thought his armes to leave, and helmet to unlace . . . .

*Whom fyrie steele now burnt, that erst him armd,  
That erst him goodly armd, now most of all him harmd.*

(*F.Q.* I, xi, 26-27)

Gettando sempre fuoco e fiamma viva . . . .  
La bocca aperse il diverso dragone . . . .

Ma come piacque a Dio, nel scudo il prese . . . .  
Era di legno, e sì forte s'accese,  
Che presto e incontinente fu bruciato;  
*E così 'l sbergo e l'elmo e ogni altro arnese,*  
*Venne quasi rovente ed affocalo:*

*Arsa è la sopravesta, e 'l bel cimiero  
Ardea tuttora in capo al Cavaliero.*

Non ebbe il Conte mai cotal battaglia,  
Poichè a quel fuoco contrastar conviene;  
Forza non giova, od arte di scrimaglia,  
Perchè 'l gran fumo, che con fiamma viene,  
Gli entra ne l'elmo e la vista gli abbaglia,  
Nè a pena vede il brando ch' in man tiene . . . .

(*O.I.* I, xxiv, 49-51).

III. Belpheobe's splendid utterance to Braggadocchio concerning honor seems to contain elements which might well have been developed from similar passages remembered in both Boiardo and Tasso.

'Who-so in *pompe of proud estate*,' quoth she,  
'Does swim, and bathes him selfe in *courtly blis*,  
Does waste his dayes in dark obscuritee,  
And in oblivion ever buried is;  
Where ease abownds, yt's eath to doe amis:  
But who his limbs with labours, and his mynd  
Behaves with cares, cannot so easy mis.

*Abroad in armes, at home in studious kynd,  
Who seekes with painfull toile, shal Honor soonest fynd:*

*'In woods, in waves, in warres, she wonts to dwell,  
And wilbe found with perill and with paine;  
Ne can the man that moulds in ydle cell  
Unto her happy mansion attaine:  
Before her gate High God did sweate ordaine,  
And wakefull watches ever to abide;  
But easy is the way, and passage plaine  
To Pleasures pallace; it may soone be spide,  
And day and night her dores to all stand open wide.*

*'In Princes court'—(F. Q. II, iii, 40-41).*

*Ma non già per cacciare, o stare a danza,  
Nè per festeggiar dame ne i giardini,  
Starà nel mondo nostra nominanza,  
Ma conosciuta fia da lamburini.  
Dopo la morte sol fama n'avanza,  
E veramente son color tapini,  
Che d'aggrandirla sempre non han cura,  
Perchè sua vita poco tempo dura.*

*Nè vi crediate, che Alessandro il grande,  
Qual fu principio de la nostra gesta,  
Per far conviti d'ottime vivande  
Vincesse il mondo, nè per star in festa;  
Ora per tutto il suo nome si spande,  
E la sua istoria, che è qui manifesta,  
Mostra, che al guadagnar d'onor si suda,  
E sol s'acquista con la spada nuda (O. I. II, i, 35-36).*

*Signor, non sotto l'ombra in spiaggia molle  
Tra fonti e fior, tra Ninfe e tra Sirene,  
Ma in cima a l'erto e faticoso colle  
De la virtù riposto è il nostro bene.  
Chi non gela, e non suda, e non s'estolle  
De la vie del piacer, là non perviene (G. L. XVII, 61).*

Here it will be seen that the lure to oblivion mentioned in Spenser is expressed in the terms, *pompe of proud estate, courtly blis, in Princes court*. This conception is nearer to Boiardo's *per cacciare, o stare a danza, per festeggiar dame ne i giardini, per far conviti d'ottime vivande, per star in festa*, than it is to Tasso's *sotto l'ombra in spiaggia molle Tra fonti e fior, tra Ninfe e tra Sirene*.

Furthermore, in Tasso's passage, mention of the life of arms and of battles is made only in the following manner:

T'alzò natura in verso il ciel la fronte,  
E ti diè spirti generosi ed alti . . . .  
E ti diè l'ire ancor veloci e pronte . . . .

. . . . perchè il tuo valore, armato d'esse,  
*Più fero assalga gli avversari esterni* . . . . (G. L. XVII, 62-63).

Spenser's *abroad in armes, in woods, in waves, in warres, with perill and with paine* would seem to be echoes much more of Boiardo's *conosciuta fia da lamburini*, and the example of Alexander conquering the world *con la spada nuda* than the colorless line of Tasso's, *Più fero assalga gli avversari esterni*.

IV. The story which Phedon tells to Sir Guyon (*F. Q.* II, iv, 17 ff) is, in the main, taken from *O. F.* IV, 57 ff. A certain part of it, however, is paralleled in an incident in Boiardo.

Phedon, infuriated because he has been deceived with regard to his lady by his trusted friend, pursues Pryene, his friend's mistress who had assisted in the deception, through woods and plains in an attempt to kill her. In the midst of his course, he is met by Furor who pursues, overtakes, and beats him (*F. Q.* II, iv, 31-33).

Orlando, in order to secure a certain key with which to release imprisoned friends, pursues the fay Morgana unceasingly over mountains and through valleys. In his mad career, he is met by a woman who issues from a cave. She tells him that she is Penitence, that she always follows the one whom Fortune abandons, and counsels him to have patience. When Orlando scorns her counsel, she pursues and scourges him (*O. I.* II, ix, 3 ff).

It will be seen at once that the same very general frame exists in both of these stories. Phedon, in mad pursuit of Pryene, is met by Furor, who pursues and scourges him. Orlando, in heated pursuit of Morgana, is met by Penitence, who pursues and scourges him.

The part of the parallel which is of value, however, lies in the two following points and their combination.

(1) Both Furor and Penitence are distinctly allegorical figures in human form (although of different sex and constitution); they appear because of the acts and state of mind

of Phedon and Orlando respectively. Phedon is completely carried away with the wrath caused by the deception which has been practised upon him. Orlando is consumed with his desire to catch Morgana, and scorns the idea of patience.

(2) The consequence of the state of mind is represented in each case by pursuit and scourging on the part of the allegorical figure.

Phedon speaks:

As I her, so he me *poursued* apace,  
And shortly overtooke . . . .  
Betwixt them both, they have me doen to dye,  
Through wounds, and strokes, and *stubborne handling*  
(*F.Q.* II, iv, 32-33).

Again, elsewhere:

Whom sore he bett, and *gor'd* with many a wound,  
That cheekes with teares, and sydes with blood did all abownd  
(*F.Q.* II, iv, 3)

In Boiardo:

Perchè, giungendo *co'l flagello in mano*,  
Sconciamente *di dietro lo battia* . . . . (O. I. II, ix, 10).

Onde lasciolla ancora, e per il monte  
Si pose al tutto *a seguitar* Morgana;  
*Ma sempre dietro* con oltraggio ed onte  
*Forte lo batte la Dama villana* (O. I. II, ix, 14).

V. The detail in the combat between Sir Guyon and Pyrocles in which Guyon accidentally kills the latter's horse by cutting off its head has been compared by Kitchin to an incident in Sidney's *Arcadia*.<sup>14</sup> Although the *Arcadia* was published in 1590, it was probably written in 1580-82<sup>15</sup> and circulated in manuscript. We know that the *Faerie Queene* was begun and

<sup>14</sup> G. W. Kitchin, *The Faery Queene, Book II*, Cambridge, 1899, p. 197. The reference is to *Arcadia*, Lib. 3, chaps. 6-7. "Amphialus . . . with rayne and spurre put forth his horse; and withall gave a mightie blow in the descent of his horse, upon the shoulder of the forsaken Knight; *from whence sliding, it fell upon the necke of his horse*, so as horse and man fell to the ground: but he was scarce downe before he was up on his feete againe, with brave gesture shewing rising of corage, in the falling of fortune. But the courteous Amphialus excused himselfe, for having (against his will) kild his horse."

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that a part of it was in the hands of Harvey by 1580.<sup>16</sup> It is difficult, therefore, to prove the direction in which any possible influence may have operated so far as Books I-III of Spenser's poem are concerned. There does exist, however, a parallel incident in Boiardo, the outstanding feature of which Spenser may well have remembered.

But lightly shunned it, and passing by,  
 With his bright blade did smite at him so fell,  
 That the sharpe steele, arriving forcibly  
 On his broad shield, bitt not, but *glaucing fell*  
*On his horse necke before the quilled sell,*  
*And from the head the body sundered quight.*  
 So him, dismounted low, he did compell  
 On foot with him to matchen equall fight;  
 The truncked beast, fast bleeding, did him fowly dight  
(F.Q. II, v, 4).

El scudo gli spezzò quel maledetto,  
 Le piastre aperse, come fosser carte,  
 E crudelmente lo piagò nel petto,  
*Giunse a l'arcione e tutto lo disparte,*  
*E 'l collo al suo ronson tagliò via netto* (O. I. III, viii. 38).

VI. Koepfel<sup>17</sup> has pointed out the resemblances between the figure of Phaedria and the *fatal donzella* of Tasso's *G. L.*, XV, 3 ff, who is sent by an aged magician to convey in her magic bark two Christian knights to the distant enchanted island of Armida for the purpose of regaining Rinaldo for the Christian army. Certain details, however, which occur in Spenser and do not in Tasso, may be found in a similar incident in Boiardo.

1. In *F. Q.* the circumstances are such that both Cymocles and Guyon *come to a river* while on their travels (*F. Q.* II, vi, 2 and 19). In *G. L.* the two knights have arisen from the river bed where they have spent the night with the aged magician (*G. L.* XV, 1-3). 2. Both Cymocles and Guyon in turn *desire to be ferried across* (*F. Q.* II, vi, 4 and 19). In *G. L.* the knights are not crossing the river but planning a long sea voyage. 3. Spenser's knights find there a damsel who is *unknown* to them. In *G. L.* the knights have been previously told of the woman by the magician (*G. L.* XIV, 72). 4. Phaedria *betrays*

<sup>16</sup> Vid. Spenser's letter to Harvey, April, 1580, Cambridge *Spenser*, p. 772, l. 98.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 348.



*them* by taking them amidst the seductions of her enchanted isle. In *G. L.* the damsel is friendly to the knights and is sent to aid them by the aged magician.

In the following parallel situation in *O. I.* it will be seen that the knights come to a river in their travels; they find there an unknown damsel; they desire to be ferried across; they are betrayed into the hands of a hostile power. Rinaldo is traveling in company with three other knights.

E prima cercherà molte contrade,  
Strane avventure e diversi paesi . . . .

Ed era già passato il quinto giorno . . . .  
Quando da lunge odìr suonare un corno  
Sopra ad un castello alto e ben murato;  
Nel monte era il castello, e poi d'intorno  
Avea gran piano, e tutto era d'un prato;  
*Intorno il prato un bel fiume circonda,*  
Mai non si vide cosa più gioconda.

L'acqua era chiara a meraviglia e bella,  
*Ma non si può vadar* tanto è corrente,  
A l'altra ripa stava *una donzella*  
Vestita a bianco, e *con faccia ridente,*  
*Sopra a la poppa d'una navicella.*  
Diceva: O Cavalieri, o belle gente,  
Se vi piace passare, entrate in barca,  
Però che altrove il fiume non si varca.

*I Cavalier, che avean molto desire*  
*Di passar oltre* e prender suo viaggio,  
La ringraziarno di tal proferire,  
E travargano il fiume a quel passaggio.  
Disse la dama nel lor dipartire;  
Da l'altro lato si paga il pedaggio,  
*Nè mai di quindi uscir si può, se prima*  
*A quella ròcca non salite in cima* (*O. I. II, ix, 49-53*).

The damsel then informs the knights that the land they are about to enter belongs to one King Monodante, and that it will be impossible for them to leave it until they have dealt with him. They meet the king, who imposes upon them a battle with Balisardo, a giant and necromancer. Here then we have the details in Spenser not found in Tasso.

It will be noted in addition that Boiardo's damsel is described *con faccia ridente*, suggesting at once the seductive mirth of

Phaedria. Also, Boiardo's knights are traveling on foot, having been deprived earlier of their horses (*O. I. II, ix, 50*), in much the same way as Guyon, whose horse had been stolen by Braggadocchio (*F. Q. II, ii, 11* and *II, iii, 3 ff.*).

VII. *Castle Joyous*, in which Britomart spends a night at the household of Lady Malecaster (*F. Q. III, i, 31*), seems to have been suggested in name by *Palazzo Gioioso*, which the devoted Angelica has created for Rinaldo (*O. I, I, viii, 1-14*).

As a background to the names, the following very general similarities may also be noted:

- (1) The palaces are of great sensuous appeal and costly furnishing. Details:

The roiall riches and exceeding cost  
Of every pillow and of every post,  
Which all of purest bullion framed were,  
And with great perles and pretious stones embost;  
That the bright glisten of their beames cleare  
Did sparckle forth great light, and glorious did appeare  
(*F. Q. III, i, 32*).

Di gemme e d'oro e vaga dipintura  
Son tutti i lochi nobili e gioiosi: . . . .

Adorna molto, ricca e delicata,  
Per ogni faccia e per ogni cantone  
Di smalto in lama d'oro istoriata . . . .  
E le colonne di quel bel lavoro,  
Han di cristallo il fusto e 'l capo d'oro . . . .

Di grosse perle adorno era il suo seggio (*O. I. I, viii, 5, 6, 9*).

- (2) In each case the lady of the palace is offering her love to the guest, and in each case it is spurned: Malecaster's by Britomart, Angelica's by Rinaldo.

VIII. The figure of the "hideous beast" which the Witch calls forth to pursue Florimell (*F. Q. III, vii, 22 ff*) reminds one in certain of its aspects of the monster known as an orc in Boiardo.

Boiardo's story is as follows:

Gradasso and Mandricardo, in their travels, come upon a naked damsel, Lucina, chained to a rock by the sea. She informs them that an orc dwells in a cave beneath, horrible of aspect, who feeds upon human flesh, and who, although blind, pursues one's track by scent so persistently that escape is impossible. The knights call the monster forth, Gradasso is overcome by it, but Mandri-

cardo takes flight, since it is impossible to kill the beast. In his flight he hurls a huge stone which hits the orc in the forehead and which is shattered into a thousand pieces. The knight takes refuge on a mountain, but the orc follows him to its summit. As he turns toward the valley, he comes to a deep ravine cleft in the mountain, wider than twenty cubits. This he leaps over, but the orc, being blind, cannot see it and falls headlong to the bottom. Mandricardo, hearing the crash at the bottom and seeing the spattered blood, assures himself with satisfaction that the battle is over, and returns to free his comrade and the damsel with great joy. As the three depart along the strand, they attract the notice of a ship at sea which turns out to be one belonging to Lucina's father, who is in search of her. After they have embarked, the orc, quite alive, appears following Mandricardo's trail on the hillside, rushes down into the sea, and, since it is apparently unable to swim, hurls a huge rock at the ship. Great terror ensues, a fierce storm arises, but escape is achieved by sea (*O. I.* III, iii, 24ff).

In the text of this story, certain minor parallels will be noted at once between the orc and the Witch's monster in *F. Q.*

- (1) Both monsters issue from a cave, causing great horror to be expressed at their appearance.

Eftesoones out of her hidden cave she cald  
An hideous beast, of horrible aspect,  
That could the stoutest corage have appald;  
Monstrous, mishapt . . . . (*F. Q.* III, vii, 22).

Dimora un orco là sotto a quel scoglio, . . . .  
. . . . questo è sì terribile a la faccia,  
Che a ricordarlo il sangue mi s'agghiaccia.

Appena appena che parlar vi posso,  
Che 'l cor mi trema in petto di paura . . . .

(*O. I.* III, iii, 27, 28).

- (2) Both monsters feed upon human flesh:

That feeds on wemens flesh, as others feede on gras (st. 22).

Però che sol si pasce a carne umana,  
E tien di sangue d'uom a bere un vaso. (30)

Of far greater prominence, however, as the outline above indicates, is the long pursuit which the orc gives to Mandricardo. Boiardo has elaborated this part of his story with considerable dramatic effect so that it stands out in the reader's memory. Now, in Spenser, the sole function for which the Witch calls forth the beast is to trace Florimell in her flight and to recapture her. Thus two most important characteristics of the

orc which make its pursuit of Mandricardo possible are just the two traits in Spenser's beast which enable it to carry out the task for which the Witch calls it forth. These two parallel elements, then, are as follows:

(3) Both beasts follow the track by scent:

The monster, swifte as word that from her went,  
Went forth in haste, and *did her footing trace*  
So sure and swiftly, *through his perfect sent*  
And passing speede, that shortly he her overhent (st. 23).

E, *com' un bracco, seguirò la traccia;*  
Non valerà difesa, nè fuggire,  
Chè cento miglia vi darà la caccia,  
E converravvi in tutto al fin perire. (31)

E dietro al Cavalier par che si metta,  
*Com' un seguso a l'orme d'una fiera.* (44)

(4) Both pursue the trail persistently anywhere:

It forth she cald, and gave it streight in charge,  
Through thicke and thin her to poursew apace,  
Ne once to stay to rest, or breath at large,  
Till her he had attain'd, and brought in place (st. 23).

As the subsequent narrative shows, the beast carries out these injunctions.

Ogni speranza del fuggir è vana:  
Per piani e monti e ripe e luoghi forti,  
Mai non vi lascerà, sin chè v'ha morti. (36)

Mandricardo's subsequent flight is narrated in stanzas 45ff.

(5) Furthermore, the third characteristic which makes the orc's pursuit possible lies in the fact that, although it can be wounded to the extent of shedding blood, it cannot be killed. This, it will be noted, is also the case with Spenser's beast.

Full many wounds in his corrupted flesh  
He did engrave, and muchell blood did spend,  
Yet might not doe him die . . . . (st. 32).

The orc shatters the huge stone hurled at him into a thousand pieces (45), and falls from the mountain without being injured (48 ff), although he sheds blood:

. . . . quelle pietre del suo sangue smalta (49).

and later

La barba a sangue sè gli vedea piovere (56).

(6) Finally, in both cases, the creature follows in its pursuit to the seashore where, unable or unwilling to swim, it is compelled to stop, so that final escape is by sea: *F. Q.* III, vii, 27-28; *O. I.* III, iii, 56 ff.

Boiardo's story is taken up by Ariosto, who confines himself almost entirely to creating new incidents to which Boiardo's tale serves as a conclusion (*O. F.* XVII, 29 ff). Ariosto has modified Boiardo's orc so much, however, that the monster approaches the figure of Homer's Polyphemus. Although it has two caves (and keeps goats and human prisoners therein), and feeds upon male human flesh, and comes running along the shore with its snout to the sand for some scent of humans, no mention whatsoever is made of the long pursuit of Mandricardo up mountain and down valley nor of any long pursuit, ending at the edge of the sea, nor is any mention made of the invulnerability of the creature.

In this connection, the detail in which Sir Satyrane leaps upon the back of the beast to subdue it has also a parallel in Boiardo, in another part of the poem, where Orlando is fighting with a dragon.

Greatly he grew enrag'd, and furiously  
Hurling his sword away, *he lightly leapt*  
*Upon the beast*, that with great cruelty  
Rored and raged to be underkept;  
Yet *he perforce him held*, and *strokes upon him hept*  
(*F.Q.* III, vii, 33).

Al fin con molto ardir *gli salta addosso.*  
E cavalcando *tra le coscie il tiene,*  
*Ferendo ad ambe mani, a gran tempesta*  
*Colpi raddoppia a colpi su la testa* (*O. I.* II, iv, 18).

IX. The episode in which Britomart comes upon the despairing Scudamore, learns of his trouble, and goes with him to the castle of Busirane (*F. Q.* III, xi-xii) is a composite of similar episodes in Ariosto,<sup>18</sup> Tasso,<sup>19</sup> and Boiardo. Certain details in

<sup>18</sup> Vid. Dodge, *P.M.L.A.*, XII, 202.

<sup>19</sup> Vid. Koepfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-356; also my earlier paper, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-213.

the *F. Q.*, however, are either nearest to or are found alone in the *O. I.*

In the *F. Q.* the discovery of Scudamore by Britomart is described in part as follows:

. . . . she at last came to a *fountaine sheare*,  
By which there lay a knight all wallowed  
Upon the grassy ground . . . .

*His face upon the ground did groveling ly,*  
As if he had beene slombring in the shade;  
That the brave *Mayd* would not for courtesy  
Out of his quiet slomber him abrade,  
Nor seeme too suddainly him to invade.  
Still as she stood, she heard with grievous throb  
Him grone, as if his hart were peeces made,  
And with most painefull pangs to sigh and sob,  
That pity did the Virgins hart of patience rob . . . .

Tho stouping downe she him amoved light;  
Who, therewith somewhat starting, up gan looke,  
And seeing him behind a stranger knight,  
*Whereas no living creature he mistooke . . . .*

(*F. Q.* III, xi, 7, 8, 13).

Here it will be noted: (1) Scudamore is found *at* a fountain. (2) He is lying face downward, lamenting audibly. (3) There is a sympathetic hesitation on the part of Britomart before she speaks to him. (4) Scudamore is mentioned as unaware that Britomart is there.

In the *O. F.* Pinabello is found by what appears to be a stream *from* a fountain (II, 34); he is sitting and is silent (35). In the *Rinaldo*, Florindo is found under a pine (V, 12); he is lying outstretched, but does not seem to be face downward for his chin, cheeks and eyes are described (12, 15). In neither case is there any marked hesitation to speak on the part of the discoverer, and consequently no special mention that the discovered is unaware of a second person.

In the *O. I.* the incident will be seen to parallel that of the *F. Q.* in all four of these details. It is described as follows:

. . . dentro un bel verziero,  
Vide *giacersi al fonte* un Cavaliero.

Piangea quel Cavalier sì duramente,  
Che avria fatto un dragon di sè pietoso;

*Nè di Rinaldo s'accorgea niente,  
 Perchè avea basso il viso lagrimoso.  
 Stava il Principe quieto, e ponea mente  
 Ciò che facesse il Baron doloroso;  
 E ben ch' intendia che colui si duole,  
 Scorger non puote sue basse parole* (O. I. I, xvi, 60-61).

Again, in all four of the poems, the traveling knight goes to the assistance of the one in trouble in some manner, but only in Boiardo and Spenser are the following details included: (1) There is a definite offer of unselfish assistance. (2) The knight in trouble attempts to dissuade the helper. (3) The traveling knight then states his motive.

*'But yet, if please ye listen to my lore,  
 I will, with prooffe of last extremity,  
 Deliver her fro thence, or with her for you dy.'*

*'Ah! gentlest knight alive,' sayd Scudamore,  
 'What huge heroicke magnanimity  
 Dwells in thy bounteous brest? What couldst thou more,  
 If shee were thine, and thou as now am I?  
 O spare thy happy daies, and them apply  
 To better boot, but let me die, that ought;  
 More is more losse: one is enough to dy.'  
 'Life is not lost,' said she, 'for which is bought  
 Endlesse renown, that more then death is to be sought'*  
 (F.Q. III, xi, 18-19).

Rinaldo, odendo il fatto sì pietoso . . . .  
 E con parlar cortese ed animoso,  
 Profferendo sè stesso, il confortava,  
 Dicendo a lui: Baron, non dubitare,  
 Che 'l tuo compagno ancor potrà campare . . . .

*E per la fè di cavalier ti giuro,  
 Ch' io te li scoterò con tal travaglia,  
 Che alcun di lor non si terrà sicuro  
 D'aver fuggita da mia man la morte,  
 Fin che sia giunto d'Orgagna a le porte.*

Guardando il Cavalier e sospirando  
 Disse: *deh vanne a la tua via, Barone . . . .*

*Partiti in cortesia, che già non voglio,  
 Che tu per mia cagione sia quel gionto;  
 Parte non hai di quel grave cordoglio,  
 Che m'induce a morir com' io t'ho conto;  
 Ed io non posso mo, sì com' io soglio,  
 Renderti grazia, a questo estremo ponto . . . .*

Disse Rinaldo . . . .  
*Nè per gloria lo faccio, o per desio*  
*Aver da te nè guiderdon, nè merto;*  
 Ma sol perch' io conosco al parer mio,  
 Che un par d'amici al mondo, tanto certo,  
 Nè or si trova, nè mai s' è trovato;  
*S' io fossi il terzo, io mi terria beato . . . .*

Ma sempre sarò vosco, e morto, e vivo;  
 E se pur oggi avete ambi a morire,  
 Voglio esser morto per vosco venire (O. I. I, xvii, 17-22).

X. In the joust between Britomart and Artegall there occurs a detail which is closely paralleled in Boiardo by one in the combat between Brandimarte and the giant Oridante. In each case the horse is struck on the back behind the saddle and the owner of the horse continues the combat doughtily on foot with sword.

So, as they coursed here and there, it chaunst  
 That, in her wheeling round, behind her crest  
 So sorely he her strooke, that thence it glaunst  
 Adowne her backe, the which it fairely blest  
 From foule mischance; ne did it ever rest,  
 Till on her horses hinder parts it fell;  
 Where byting deepe so deadly it imprest,  
*That quite it chynd his backe behind the sell,*  
*And to alight on foote her algates did compell:*

Yet she no whit dismayd, her steed forsooke,  
 And casting from her that enchaunted lance,  
*Unto her sword and shield her soone belooke;*  
 And therewithall at him right furiously she strooke  
 (F. Q. IV, vi, 13-14).

Oridante il crudel non menò in vano,  
 Anzi giunse 'l destrier, e con fracasso  
*Dietro a la sella su le groppe il prese,*  
 Sì che sfilato in terra lo distese.

Subito è in piedi l'ardito guerriero,  
 Nè d'esser vinto per questo si crede.  
 A terra morto rimase il destriero,  
*Lui con la spada si difende a piede* (O. I. I, xx, 15-16).

A similar incident occurs in the O. F. but the parallel to Spenser is not so close for it offers no counterpart to the phrase *behind the sell*; furthermore the knight is subdued and, instead



of renewing the fight on foot, saves himself by creeping away on all fours:

Ma Zerbin dietro un gran fendente tira,  
Dicendo: Traditore, aspetta, aspetta.  
Non va la botta ove n'andò la mira,  
Non che però lontana vi si metta:  
Lui non potè arrivar, *ma il destrier prese*  
*Sopra la groppa, e in terra lo distese.*

Colui lascia il cavallo, e *via carpone*  
*Va per campar, ma poco gli successe* (O. F. XVI, 63-64).

XI. When Timias tries to rescue Amoret from the Savage Lust, the latter holds her up before his body as a shield. This incident has a parallel in Boiardo in which Orlando rescues Angelica from Santaria.

Thereto the villaine used craft in fight;  
For ever when the squire his javelin shooke,  
*He held the lady forth before him right,*  
*And with her body, as a buckler, broke*  
The puissance of his intended stroke.  
And if it chaunst, (as needs it must in fight)  
Whilest he on him was greedy to be wroke,  
That any little blow on her did light,  
Then would he laugh aloud, and gather great delight.

Which subtill sleight did him encumber much,  
And made him oft, when he would strike, forbear;  
*For hardly could he come the carle to touch,*  
*But that he her must hurt, or hazard neare*  
(F. Q. IV, vii, 26-27).

Ma Santaria, che vede quella prova,  
Digran paura trema tutto quanto,  
Nè riparar si sa del colpo crudo,  
Se non *si fa di quella Dama scudo.*

Perchè Orlando già gli è giunto addosso,  
Nè difender si può, nè può fuggire;  
*Temeva il Conte di averlo percosso,*  
*Per non far seco Angelica perire.*  
Essa gridava forte a più non posso;  
Se tu m'ami, Baron, fammel sentire;  
Occidimi, io ti prego, con tue mane,  
Non *mi lasciar portare a questo cane . . . .*

Orlando then attacks Santaria with his fists, while the latter

La Dama sostenea dal manco lato,  
E ne la destra mano avea la spada (O. I. I, xv, 35-38).

XII. The adventure by which Scudamore gains the Shield of Love and hence entrance to Venus' Island (*F. Q. IV, x, 5 ff*) resembles the incident in Boiardo in which Mandricardo comes to the Shield of Hector (*O. I. III, ii, 3 ff*).

'Before that castle was *an open plaine*,  
And in the midst thereof a *pillar placed*;  
On which this shield, of many sought in vaine,  
The Shield of Love, whose guerdon me hath graced,  
Was hangd on high with golden ribbands laced;  
And in the marble stone was written this,  
With golden letters goodly well enchaced:  
/'Blessed the man that well can use his blis:  
{ Whose ever be the shield, faire Amoret be his" . . . .

Ne stayed further newes thereof to learne,  
But with my speare upon the shield did rap (*F. Q. IV, x, 8-9*).

Lo ricondusse in quella *prateria*  
Ov' eran l'opre sì maravigliose.  
L'alto edificio avanti si vedla . . . .

Ma, come arriva Cavaliero, o Conte,  
Sopra a la soglia de l'entrata, giura . . . .  
Toccar quel scudo, che davanti vede.

Posto è il bel scudo, in mezzo a la *gran piaccia* . . . .

Benchè 'l scudo d'Ettòr, ch' io v'ho contato,  
Qual era posto in mezzo a la *gran corte*,  
Non era in parte alcuna tramutato,  
Ma tal, quale il portava il Baron forte,  
Ad un *pilastro d'oro* era *chiavato*,  
Ed avea scritto sopra, in lettere scorte:  
{ S' un altro Ettor non sei, non mi toccare;  
{ Chi mi portò, non ebbe al mondo pare . . . .

E Mandricardo fece più nè meno;  
Poi passò dentro, senza resistenza,  
E, sendo giunto in mezzo a quel bel loco,  
Trasse la spada e toccò 'l scudo un poco (O. I. III, ii, 3-9).

In both cases, the castle is approached across an open expanse:  
in Spenser, *an open plaine*; in Boiardo, *quella prateria*. In

Spenser, a pillar bearing a shield stands in the middle of the plain; in Boiardo, it is in the middle of the court within the castle—in *mezzo a la gran piaccia, in mezzo a la gran corte*. In one case, the pillar, in the other, the shield, bears an inscription which consists of the last two lines of the stanza in which each occurs. To be sure, the general custom of announcing one's challenge by rapping upon a shield exposed for that purpose is frequently met in the romances of chivalry,<sup>30</sup> but the combination of the parallel details here quoted—the castle with the open expanse before it, the shield hanging on a column, the inscription consisting of the last two lines of the stanza, together with the rapping of the shield—seems to indicate that memories of Boiardo's specific passage asserted themselves in Spenser's mind.

XIII. When Artegall disperses the Souldan's followers, he is described as follows:

Then Artegall himselfe discovering plaine,  
Did issue forth gainst all that warlike rout  
Of knights and armed men, which did maintaine  
That ladies part, and to the Souldan lout:  
All which he did assault with courage stout,  
All were they nigh an hundred knights of name,  
*And like wyld goates them chased all about,*  
*Flying from place to place with cowheard shame,*  
So that with finall force them all he overcame

(*F. Q. V*, viii, 50).

There are two similar similes in Boiardo descriptive of similar situations. I have been unable to find this simile elsewhere.

Rinaldo è con lor sempre mescolato,  
Ed a destra e sinistra il brando mena;  
Chi mezzo 'l capo, chi ha un braccio tagliato,  
Le teste in gli elmi cadon a l'arena.  
*Come un branco di capre disturbato,*  
*Cotal Rinaldo avanti sè li mena* (*O. I. I*, iv, 44).

<sup>30</sup> E.g., the following passage from Sidney's *Arcadia* is a fair instance of the general idea:

"... they wayted for the coming of Phalantus, who the next morning having already caused his tents to be pitched, neere to a faire tree hard by the Lodge, had uppon the tree made a shield to bee hanged up, which the defendant should strike, that woulde call him to the mainteyning his challenge. The Impresa in the shield; was a heaven full of starres, with a speech signifying, that it was the beauty which gave it the praise" (*Lib. I*, chap. 16).

Ora la gente a lui fugge davante,  
 Nè si ritrova alcun, che si conforte  
 Di star con seco volentieri a faccia,  
*Ma come capre avanti ognun si caccia* (O. I. II, xvii, 11).

XIV. The incident in which Calidore comes upon Colin Clout piping to the Graces (*F. Q. VI, x, 6 ff*) has a parallel in Boiardo in which Ranaldo comes upon the God of Love and his companions in the Forest of Ardennes (*O. I. II, xv, 43 ff*).

- (1) In both cases, the setting for the incident is the same: an open space surrounded by a wood. (The location in Boiardo is not on a hill-top as it is in Spenser.)

. . . . a spacious plaine  
 Did spred it selfe, to serve to all delight . . . .

As Calidore approaches, he hears the thumping of feet

That through *the woods* their echo did rebound.

He durst not enter *into th' open Greene* . . . .  
 But *in the covert of the wood* did hyde (*F. Q. VI, x, 8, 10-11*).

*Nel bosco un praticello è pien di fiori* (O. I. II, xv, 43).

- (2) Three naked damsels are dancing about a youth who is making merry music.

There he a troupe of ladies dauncing found  
 Full merrily, and making gladfull glee,  
 And *in the midst a shepheard piping* he did see . . . .

An hundred *naked* maidens lilly white,  
 All raunged in a ring, and dauncing in delight.

All they without were raunged in a ring,  
 And daunced around; but in the midst of them  
*Three other ladies did both daunce and sing* (*F. Q. VI, x, 10-12*).

In mezzo il prato *un giovenetto ignudo*,  
*Cantando, sollazzava con gran festa.*  
*Tre Dame intorno a lui, come al suo drudo,*  
*Danzavan, nude anch' esse e senza vesta* (O. I. II, xv, 44).

- (3) The damsels throw flowers: in Spenser, upon the central maid of all; in Boiardo, at the trespassing Ranaldo.

And ever, as the crew  
 About her daunst, sweet flowres, that far did smell,  
 And fragrant odours they uppon her threw;  
 But most of all, those three did her with gifts endew  
 (*F. Q. VI, x, 14*).

Di ròse, e di viole, e d'ogni fiore  
 Costor, ch' io dico, avean canestri in mano . . . . .  
 Con quei canestri, al fin de la parole,  
 Tutti a Ranaldo s' avventarno addosso;  
 Chi getta ròse, chi getta viole,  
 Chi gigli, chi giacinti a più non posso (O. I. II, xv, 45-46).

XV. The identification of Pastorella as the daughter of Sir Bellamoure and Lady Claribell is an example of the interweaving of material from similar stories in two Italian writers. Koepfel<sup>21</sup> has traced it to Tasso's *Rinaldo*. Spenser has, however, remembered Boiardo more than Tasso here.

In Spenser (*F. Q.* VI, xii, 3-22), Claribell, in order to preserve her infant daughter from her enraged father, has her maid Melissa leave it abroad in the empty fields, where it is found by a shepherd. Before the maid abandons it, she notices a mark in the shape of a rose on its breast. In later years, Calidore finds and woos her among the shepherds, and brings her to stay with Sir Bellamoure and Lady Claribell while he finishes his knightly quest. The maid Melissa, when Pastorella is robing herself, recognizes the mark on her breast, and announces to her lady that her daughter has been restored. Claribell runs hastily to Pastorella, rends open her breast, sees the mark, and accepts her as her daughter with great rejoicing.

In Tasso (*Rinaldo* XI, 86 ff), Florindo tells the story of his shipwreck. He tells how he was found on the shore by a noble knight, Scipio the Bold, who put him in charge of a famous doctor to restore his health. While Florindo was lying in bed, Scipio discovered a red mark resembling a rose on his breast, and recognized him as his own son who had been stolen by pirates years before.

In Boiardo (*O. I.* II, xxvii, 25 ff), the truth is revealed from the lips of a prisoner whom Brandimarte has captured. The prisoner confesses to King Dolistone and Perodia his wife that he had stolen their daughter years before and sold her to a certain count of Samaria, but that he had since received no knowledge of her. Brandimarte then inquires of the king if his daughter bore any mark of recognition. Perodia immediately replies that, if she still lived, she bore the figure of a black mulberry upon her right breast. Thereupon Brandimarte

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 360.

reveals that Fiordelisa, his beloved, is their daughter. Requesting all the others to leave the room, he causes Fiordelisa to open her breast and reveal the mark to them.

In comparing these three stories, the following similarities will be noted:

- (1) In Tasso, only the father is present; the mother died with grief when the child was stolen (*R. XI, 94*).  
In Boiardo and Spenser, father and mother both are present; in one case, a king and queen; in the other, a noble lord and his illustrious lady.
- (2) In Tasso, there is no intermediary: the story is much simpler. In Boiardo, the discovery is ultimately made through the agency of Brandimarte (*O. I. II, xxvii, 27*), as in Spenser through that of the nurse Melissa (*F. Q. VI, xii, 15 ff*).
- (3) In Tasso, the character in question is a son. In Boiardo and Spenser, it is a daughter.
- (4) In both Tasso and Boiardo, the mark is on the breast, as in Spenser.
- (5) In Boiardo, the mark is a black mulberry.

*Ha per segnale una voglia di mora;  
D'una mora di gelso . . . .  
Sotto la poppa avea quel segno nero (O. I. II, xxvii, 28-29).*

In Tasso, it is a red mark resembling a flower.

*Mi vide un segno che rassembra un fiore.  
Da la pelle il segnal rosso traspare.  
Come da vetro un fior d'orto vermiglio (R. XI, 89-90).*

In Spenser, it is described as follows:

*She mote perceive a little purple mold,  
That like a rose her silken leaves did faire unfold . . . .  
The rosie marke, which she remembred well . . . .  
The lille purple rose which thereon grew  
(F. Q. VI, xii, 7, 15, 18).*

- (6) In Tasso, Florindo is lying on the bed. In Boiardo, Brandimarte has Fiordelisa open her breast to reveal the mark; in Spenser, Claribell, in her eagerness, rends open Pastorella's breast for the same purpose.

The matrone stayd no lenger to enquire,  
 But forth in hast ran to the straunger mayd;  
 Whom catching greedily for great desire,  
*Rend up her brest, and bosome open layd*  
 In which that rose she plainly saw displayd (F. Q. VI, xii, 19).

E fatto gli altri tor di quel cospetto,  
 Però che Fiordelisa avea vergogna,  
*La fece avanti a loro aprire il petto,*  
 Onde più prova ormai non vi bisogna (O. I. II, xxvii, 30).

Thus far it will be seen that Tasso's influence enters only in the location and description of the mark. There is one other element taken from Tasso, not pointed out by Koeppel. Melissa explains the origin of Pastorella's original name in her speech to Claribell.

For on her brest I with these eyes did vew  
 The litle purple rose which thereon grew,  
 Whereof her name ye then to her did give (F. Q. VI, xii, 18).

In like manner Florindo speaks in Tasso:

E che, forse dal fior ch' avea nel petto,  
 Venni nel mio natal Florindo detto (R. XI, 92).

Thus it will be seen by a comparative study of the three stories that two details occur only in Tasso and Spenser, that one detail occurs in all three, and that four details occur only in Boiardo and Spenser.

This general theme occurs also in the *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus and in Robert Greene's *Pandosto* published in 1588. In the recognition scene in which Daphnis' history is revealed,<sup>22</sup> both father and mother are present as in Spenser. In both works the truth comes out through an intermediary: in Longus by a shepherd and a goatherd; in Greene, by a shepherd.<sup>23</sup> In both works a character of unknown identity is a daughter. In neither work, however, is the means of identification a birthmark. Consequently, in neither work is there an occasion for exposing the daughter's breast. This last detail exists, so far as I know, in Boiardo and in Spenser alone.

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<sup>22</sup> Vid. Bk. I, 2 and 5, Bk. IV, 19-24 and 34-36; for this recognition scene, especially IV, 21.

<sup>23</sup> Vid. *Daphnis and Chloe* IV, 19 and 30; *Pandosto*, Edition by P. G. Thomas, New York and London, 1907, p. 83.

### XXXVIII. THE NATURE DOCTRINE OF VOLTAIRE

The importance of the appeal to Nature in the eighteenth century is well known, but the subject as a whole is so vast that it still awaits its historian. The present article aims to present in brief space the results of a study of this particular topic in the works of Voltaire. It is evident at once that in Voltaire the nature doctrine has less importance than it does in Diderot or in Rousseau or in a host of lesser writers, but this is not to say that it is negligible. On the contrary, it is much more influential in his thinking than one might at first be inclined to suspect, and it leads him to express ideas which one does not ordinarily associate with his name. Yet it is not at all surprising, on second thought, that Voltaire in this respect, as in others, should share the mental attitude of predecessors and contemporaries. Rabelais and Montaigne had appealed to nature. Fénelon had drawn for the readers of *Télémaque* an idyllic picture of Bétique and its inhabitants. Montesquieu's Troglodytes in the *Lettres persanes* make one think, not only of Rousseau, but of El Dorado in Voltaire's *Candide*. Then there was the Epicurean school of the Temple, with which Voltaire was in close contact when he was a youth of eighteen or twenty. In that group were men like Chaulieu and La Fare,<sup>1</sup> who were imbued with a natural religion, which appears in Voltaire as early as 1716 and never disappears from his thought.

So far as possible this study will be chronological. We shall find that nature references in Voltaire's works are during the first half of his career sporadic, if we consider them in proportion to the immense bulk of his writings. Nevertheless, they indicate the trend of his thought, which in later years tends to concentrate, so far as this doctrine is concerned, along two or three main lines.

In 1716, when Voltaire was twenty-two years old, he wrote an *Épître à Madame de G \* \* \**, in which is expressed clearly the idea that the law of nature is the law of God.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially *Poésies inédites du Marquis de la Fare*, pub. par Gustave L. Van Roosbroeck, Paris, 1924, pp. 7, 9, 10, 11, 18, 19, 36-37.



La loi de la nature est sa première loi;  
 Elle seule autrefois conduisit nos ancêtres;  
 Elle parle plus haut que la voix de vos prêtres,  
 Pour vous, pour vos plaisirs, pour l'amour, et pour moi.<sup>2</sup>

But we should be careful not to attach much philosophical importance to these verses, for in them Voltaire is engaged merely in gracefully urging his suit and in breaking down the lady's scruples by an appeal to the so-called law of nature. The author is more in earnest in the following passage from the *Henriade*. Voltaire says of God:

Partout il nous instruit, partout il parle à nous;  
 Il grave en tous les cœurs la loi de la nature,  
 Seule à jamais la même, et seule toujours pure.<sup>3</sup>

This law is constant, universal, free from artificial accretions, and by it alone, Voltaire tells us in a variant,<sup>4</sup> the heathen are judged by God. To this law even the unorthodox Spinoza was obedient.

Spinoza fut toujours fidèle  
 A la loi pure et naturelle  
 Du Dieu qu'il avait combattu.<sup>5</sup>

Of still more interest is a variant to the *Ode sur la paix de 1736*, which implies that man was born for goodness rather than for evil.

Notre cœur n'est point né sauvage:  
 Grands dieux! si l'homme est votre image,  
 Il n'était fait que pour aimer.<sup>6</sup>

Here, as elsewhere, Voltaire is expressing his opposition to war, but he is already by implication attacking the idea that man is by nature evil, a belief which he combats with still more emphasis in his last years.

At the beginning of the *Discours sur l'homme* in 1738 is expressed the basic natural equality of mankind,<sup>7</sup> and in his *Ode*

<sup>2</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres* (Moland ed.), X, 232.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 172.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 191-92.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 428.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 438. Cf. second variant on the same page. Cf. also the *Avant-Propos sur la Henriade par le Roi de Prusse* (1739) (pub. 1756), VIII, 27: "La nature ne nous forma point assurément," etc.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 379. Cf. again Frederick's preface to the *Henriade*, VIII, 27, and also *Corr.* XXXVII, 145, the verse, "Et tout est égal en ce monde."

on *La Félicité des temps* in 1746, Voltaire, the partisan of progress, brushes aside statements that mankind has degenerated,<sup>8</sup> for nature is inexhaustible in her possibilities.

Loin ce discours lâche et vulgaire,  
Que toujours l'homme dégénère,  
Que tout s'épuise et tout finit:  
La nature est inépuisable,  
Et le Travail infatigable  
Est un dieu qui la rajeunit.<sup>9</sup>

The utterances of Voltaire on this subject thus far cited have been in verse. We come now to a passage in prose in which the author explains more definitely what he means by natural religion. In the *Eléments de la philosophie de Newton* of 1738,<sup>10</sup> Voltaire writes:

J'entends par religion naturelle les principes de morale communs au genre humain. . . . La religion naturelle n'est autre chose que cette loi qu'on connaît dans tout l'univers: *Fais ce que tu voudrais qu'on te fît*. . . . Qu'on me trouve un pays, une compagnie de dix personnes sur la terre, où l'on n'estime pas ce qui sera utile au bien commun: et alors je conviendrai qu'il n'y a point de règle naturelle. Cette règle varie à l'infini sans doute; mais qu'en conclure, sinon qu'elle existe? . . . Newton pensait donc que cette disposition que nous avons tous à vivre en société est le fondement de la loi naturelle, que le christianisme perfectionne.<sup>11</sup>

Thus natural religion is based upon a sort of lowest common denominator of human morality, which is summarized in the Golden Rule, a principle to which, here in its affirmative form, elsewhere often stated negatively after the fashion of Confucius, Voltaire frequently returns as representative of the essence of morality and religion. The common welfare is the universal criterion by which morality is determined. This standard of morality is no doubt infinitely variable, it exists nevertheless. Mankind has a disposition to live in society, which makes some

<sup>8</sup> Voltaire may have in mind, not only contemporary pre-Rousseauistic statements, but also such passages as are to be found in Lucretius regarding the gradual wearing-out of nature and of life in general.

<sup>9</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres*, VIII, 459. Cf. *ibid.*, XIX, 330-31.

<sup>10</sup> The text as it stands is certainly not later than 1748; it first appeared in 1738.

<sup>11</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXII, 419, 420-21. For this absoluteness of morality, cf. Renan's dictum, "le bien, c'est le bien; le mal, c'est le mal" (*Essais de morale et de critique*, Lévvy, 7e éd., p. ii).

sort of natural morality necessary. Voltaire here in advance takes a position regarding society opposite to that of Rousseau. Later, as one would expect, he definitely combats in this respect the attitude of his great rival.

It will be remembered that the poem of 1752 now called *Poème sur la loi naturelle* was first entitled *Poème sur la religion naturelle*. This title caused trouble; it was too bold for the orthodox and was therefore changed. But Voltaire of course was none the less still speaking of natural religion. In the Preface of 1756 he declared: "Qu'on appelle la raison et les remords comme on voudra, ils existent, et ils sont les fondements de la loi naturelle."<sup>12</sup> Voltaire has been speaking of the wild girl of Châlons, who as the type of the primitive, uncultivated mind was inspired by nature with remorse for having killed her companion. Upon this natural remorse, not upon *amour-propre*, says Voltaire, natural morality is based. Similarly in the poem itself the thought is repeated that this moral law is uniform and universal, inspired by God and nature, and preserved by the qualms of conscience.<sup>13</sup>

We come now to the famous letter to Rousseau in which Voltaire in 1755 acknowledged receipt of the *Discours sur l'inégalité*. This letter is a marvelously clever *badinage*, by which Rousseau's Discourse is most effectively ridiculed, if not precisely refuted. Voltaire says that he cannot seek out primitive simplicity among the *sauvages du Canada*, "parce que la guerre est portée dans ces pays-là, et que les exemples de nos nations ont rendu les sauvages presque aussi méchants que nous."<sup>14</sup> This is jesting, of course, but none the less it indicates Voltaire's matter-of-fact opinion that the "state of nature" leaves much to be desired in comparison with civilization. Later Voltaire several times returns to the subject and reiterates the same opinion seriously. In this connection one recalls also Chapter XVI of *Candide*. Candide and his companion, Cacambo, are about to be roasted and eaten by the savages called Oreillons.

Candide, apercevant la chaudière et les broches, s'écria: "Nous allons certainement être rôtis ou bouillis. Ah! que dirait maître Pangloss, s'il voyait

<sup>12</sup> Voltaire, *op. cit.*, IX, 440.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 444-45. Cf. J.-J. Rousseau, "Conscience! conscience! instinct divin, immortelle et céleste voix," etc. (*Emile*, Hachette, II, 262).

<sup>14</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXXVIII, 447.

comme la pure nature est faite? Tout est bien: soit, mais j'avoue qu'il est bien cruel d'avoir perdu Mlle Cunégonde et d'être mis à la broche par des Oreillons." . . . "Messieurs," dit Cacambo, "vous comptez donc manger aujourd'hui un jésuite? c'est très-bien fait; rien n'est plus juste que de traiter ainsi ses ennemis. En effet le droit naturel nous enseigne à tuer notre prochain, et c'est ainsi qu'on en agit dans toute la terre."

But when the Oreillons learn that Candide is not a Jesuit, they reverse their decision forthwith, and Candide exclaims:

"Mais, après tout, la pure nature est bonne, puisque ces gens-ci, au lieu de me manger, m'ont fait mille honnêtetés dès qu'ils ont su que je n'étais pas jésuite."<sup>15</sup>

In this chapter Voltaire's mockery is distributed over the Jesuits, the state of nature, and that *droit naturel* which exists only in theory without being followed in practice even by civilization. The implication is that the Oreillons are not better, but neither are they more ferocious than so-called civilized peoples.

But what of El Dorado to which Candide shortly comes? At first sight this looks like a glorification of primitive simplicity very much in the manner of Fénelon in *Télémaque* and Montesquieu with his Troglodytes. But there is a very considerable difference. Luxury, instead of simplicity, is all about. The children play with gold, emeralds, and rubies, all unheeding. Candide and Cacambo enter a house magnificent as a palace in Europe. It is an inn. There is pleasing music. They sit down at the table.

On servit quatre potages garnis chacun de deux perroquets, un contour bouilli qui pesait deux cents livres, deux singes rôtis d'un goût excellent, trois cents colibris dans un plat, et six cents oiseaux-mouches dans un autre; des ragoûts exquis, des pâtisseries délicieuses; le tout dans des plats d'une espèce de cristal de roche. Les garçons et les filles de l'hôtellerie versaient plusieurs liqueurs faites de cannes de sucre.<sup>16</sup>

After this exotic but magnificent repast, the host apologizes:

"Vous avez fait mauvaise chère ici, parce que c'est un pauvre village; mais partout ailleurs vous serez reçus comme vous méritez de l'être."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 171, 172.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 174. On the sources of Voltaire's details on El Dorado, see the authoritative critical edition of *Candide* by André Morize (Hachette, 1913).

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And this was an inn maintained at government expense "pour la commodité du commerce" and for the accommodation of "des marchands et des voituriers, tous d'une politesse extrême!" The two travelers next visit one of the old and wise men of the village.

Ils entrèrent dans une maison fort simple, car la porte n'était que d'argent, et les lambris des appartements n'étaient que d'or. . . . L'antichambre n'était à la vérité incrustée que de rubis et d'émeraudes; mais l'ordre dans lequel tout était arrangé réparait bien cette extrême simplicité.<sup>18</sup>

The people have preserved their innocence and happiness. They believe in natural religion, worship one God. Their prayers are of adoration, not of petition. There are no priests. Voltaire's El Dorado is a mingling of such idyllic imaginings as those of Fénelon and of Montesquieu with a very strong dose of Voltaire's own *Mondain*, which shows so real an appreciation of "ce siècle de fer" and of the "superflu chose très- nécessaire."<sup>19</sup> There is nothing in this El Dorado to suggest the state of nature. It is a jesting utopia, in which only religion is simplified. Admiration of primitivism is not part of Voltaire's nature doctrine.

This last conclusion is definitely confirmed by the *Essai sur les Mœurs*. Voltaire is refuting Rousseau.

On a écrit que cet état [d'hommes vivant en brutes] est le véritable état de l'homme, et que nous n'avons fait que dégénérer misérablement depuis que nous l'avons quitté. Je ne crois pas que cette vie solitaire, attribuée à nos pères, soit dans la nature humaine.<sup>20</sup>

Voltaire argues that social life has been in accordance with the nature of man from the beginning, since it grows directly out of the family relationships.

L'homme, en général, a toujours été ce qu'il est. . . . Il a toujours eu le même instinct, qui le porte à s'aimer dans soi-même, dans la compagnie de son plaisir, dans ses enfants, dans ses petits-fils, dans les œuvres de ses mains.<sup>21</sup>

In the *Dictionnaire philosophique* Voltaire wrote similarly:

Quelques mauvais plaisants ont abusé de leur esprit jusqu'au point de hasarder le paradoxe étonnant que l'homme est originairement fait pour vivre seul comme un loup cervier, et que c'est la société qui a dépravé la nature. . . .

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 175.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 19-20.

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 84.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 21.

Loin que le besoin de la société ait dégradé l'homme, c'est l'éloignement de la société qui le dégrade."<sup>22</sup>

This last statement suggests comparison with Diderot's assertion in his *Fils naturel*, which so angered Rousseau in his solitude at the Hermitage: "Il n'y a que le méchant qui soit seul."<sup>23</sup> Voltaire's favorable attitude toward society and his hostility to primitivism are clear. It is society, and not solitude, which is natural to man.

But Voltaire is more like Rousseau when he holds that nature supplies an instinct which forms the basis of morality. "Il est donc prouvé que la nature seule nous inspire des idées utiles qui précèdent toutes nos réflexions. Il en est de même dans la morale. Nous avons tous deux sentiments qui sont le fondement de la société; la commisération et la justice."<sup>24</sup> Rousseau also had emphasized the importance of pity in his *Discours sur l'inégalité*. "Je parle de la pitié, . . . vertu d'autant plus universelle et d'autant plus utile à l'homme, qu'elle précède en lui l'usage de toute réflexion."<sup>25</sup>

Another Rousseauistic note appears in a dialogue work published by Voltaire in 1768 under the title of *L'ABC*. In it he says: "Je pense que la nature de l'homme n'est pas tout à fait diabolique. Mais pourquoi dit-on que l'homme est toujours porté au mal?"<sup>26</sup> A similar and even clearer attack upon the doctrine of the natural perversity of man had already appeared in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*.

On nous crie que la nature humaine est essentiellement perverse, que l'homme est né enfant du diable et méchant. Rien n'est plus malavisé . . . Il serait bien plus raisonnable, bien plus beau de dire aux hommes: Vous êtes tous nés bons; voyez combien il serait affreux de corrompre la pureté de votre être. . . . L'homme n'est point né méchant; il le devient, comme il devient malade. . . . Assemblez tous les enfants de l'univers, vous ne verrez en eux que l'innocence, la douceur et la crainte. . . . L'homme n'est donc pas né mauvais; pourquoi plusieurs sont-ils donc infectés de cette peste de la méchanceté? C'est que ceux qui sont à leur tête, étant pris de la maladie, la communiquent au reste des hommes. . . . Le premier ambitieux a corrompu

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 378-79.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J.-J. Rousseau, *Confessions* (Hachette), VIII, 327.

<sup>24</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XI, 22

<sup>25</sup> J.-J. Rousseau, *Œuvres* (Hachette), I, 98. Cf. *Emile*, *Œuvres*, II, 193.

<sup>26</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XXVII, 338.



la terre.<sup>27</sup> . . . . Vous avez donc tout au plus sur la terre, dans les temps les plus orageux, un homme sur mille qu'on peut appeler méchant, encore ne l'est-il pas toujours.<sup>28</sup>

Here at last Voltaire joins Rousseau to whom he is so often opposed, and curiously enough they are agreed upon the one point where they might have been supposed to be most in discord. Just as Rousseau had directed against the doctrine of natural perversity and original sin his idea of natural goodness,<sup>29</sup> so now Voltaire insists: "L'homme n'est point né méchant; il le devient, comme il devient malade." He suggests that we ought to say to mankind: "Vous êtes tous nés bons; voyez combien il serait affreux de corrompre la pureté de votre être." It is hardly probable that Voltaire has been influenced here by Rousseau. To be effective, such influence would have had to act upon Voltaire without his being conscious of it, for he is too definitely opposed to most of Rousseau's characteristic teaching not to react violently against it here also. But the presence of such ideas in this and in other passages<sup>30</sup> of Voltaire's works during this period shows how deeply some phases of Rousseau's doctrine have been called forth by the needs of the age, so that they belong not alone to Rousseau, his precursors, and followers, but even to so different a thinker as Voltaire. The fact shows also how impossible it is to understand Rousseau's theory of "la bonté naturelle" without reference to its opposite against which he was reacting, the doctrine of "la perversité naturelle," to which Voltaire was of course no less opposed and in terms, as we have seen, surprisingly similar. If Rousseau's attitude entitles him to the ridicule of those critics who enjoy holding him up to scorn, then it must be

<sup>27</sup> Cf. J.-J. Rousseau, who puts ambition at the climactic point in man's downward course. *Discours sur l'égallité*, *Œuvres*, I, 113.

<sup>28</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XX, 53-56. Cf. the equally vigorous and clear attack under the article *Homme*, XIX, 381.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. George R. Havens, "The Theory of 'Natural Goodness' in Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Nov. 1921 (Vol. XXXVI), pp. 385-94, and "The Theory of 'Natural Goodness' in Rousseau's *Confessions*," *ibid.*, May 1923 (Vol. XXXVIII), pp. 257-66. See also three studies of this theory in Rousseau's whole work, in the *Revue d'Histoire litt. de la France* (1924-1925).

<sup>30</sup> See various attacks on the "péché originel" in Voltaire, *Œuvres*, IX, 359-360; XVII, 585; XX, 151-156; XXV, 379; XXVI, 341-42; XXVII, 460.

confessed that Voltaire must also in some measure bear the brunt of their mockery.

Voltaire's novel *L'Ingénu* of 1767 has bearing upon the subject of Voltaire's nature doctrine, for "l'ingénu" is Voltaire's portrait of the "bon sauvage." The Huron is without prejudices, because, "son entendement, n'ayant point été courbé par l'erreur, était demeuré dans toute sa rectitude."<sup>21</sup> So Voltaire after all has his "noble savage," but he is of course not to be taken too seriously. He is very much of a philosophical abstraction, used as a basis to attack the shortcomings of eighteenth century French civilization. Moreover, he is far from the so-called state of nature. What that state was in Voltaire's estimation may be clearly seen from the following passage, under the heading, "De l'homme dans l'état de pure nature":

Que serait l'homme dans l'état qu'on nomme de *pure nature*? Un animal fort au-dessous des premiers Iroquois qu'on trouva dans le nord de l'Amérique. . . . Plus de la moitié de la terre habitable est encore peuplée d'animaux à deux pieds qui vivent dans cet horrible état qui approche de la pure nature, ayant à peine le vivre et le vêtir, jouissant à peine du don de la parole, s'apercevant à peine qu'ils sont malheureux, vivant et mourant sans presque le savoir.<sup>22</sup>

Again we see that Voltaire does not idealize the state of nature.

But the principles of virtue are universally recognized:

Toute la terre reconnaît donc la nécessité de la vertu. D'où vient cette unanimité, sinon de l'intelligence suprême, sinon du grand Demiourgos, qui, ne pouvant empêcher le mal, y a porté ce remède éternel et universel?<sup>23</sup>

But what is nature, asks the philosopher?

"Qui es-tu, nature?—Je suis le grand tout. Je n'en sais pas davantage. . . . On m'a donné un nom qui ne me convient pas: on m'appelle *nature*, et je suis tout art.

And the philosopher admits: "Il est vrai. Plus j'y songe, plus je vois que tu n'es que l'art de je ne sais quel grand être bien puissant et bien industrieux, qui se cache et qui te fait paraître."<sup>24</sup> Neither nature nor the God behind it is necessarily infinite in power. As usual, it is from design that Voltaire argues

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 284. Cf. p. 278. Cf. Georges Pellissier, *Voltaire philosophe* (Paris, 1908), 194.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 383-84.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 462.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 115-16. Cf. XXI, 55 4-55, 578-79.

the existence of God. "Tout se correspondant dans ce que je connais de la nature, j'y aperçois un dessein; ce dessein me fait connaître un moteur; ce moteur est sans doute très-puissant, mais la simple philosophie<sup>36</sup> ne m'apprend point que ce grand artisan soit infiniment puissant."<sup>38</sup>

Now the natural law, as we have seen, is based upon the feeling for what is just and unjust. "Il y a une loi naturelle; et elle ne consiste ni à faire le mal d'autrui, ni à s'en réjouir." The other speaker in the dialogue replies: "Vous avez raison, il y a une loi naturelle; mais il est encore plus naturel à bien des gens de l'oublier." Voltaire answers: "Il est naturel aussi d'être borgne, bossu, boiteux, contrefait, malsain; mais on préfère les gens bien faits et bien sains,"<sup>37</sup> a characteristically clever Voltairean answer. Vice is not more natural than deformity or illness.

To conclude, let us try in a few words to sum up Voltaire's thought in regard to this doctrine of nature. We have seen that he early starts with an identification between the law of nature and the law of God. At the beginning he is perhaps only partly serious. The idea appeals to him as making a pretty phrase for his verse. Yet he clings to this belief to the end, and expresses it finally in terms that seem more fully reasoned out and more part of his mental attitude than at the beginning. Natural religion is based upon the Golden Rule, which, since man is naturally sociable, furnishes the only safeguard for society as a whole. El Dorado in *Candide* does not represent a return to natural simplicity. Voltaire's mundane taste for luxury forms a nature idyll quite different from that characteristic of the devotees of Spartan simplicity. The so-called state of nature is not in accordance with man's inherently social nature, which grows out of that basic human institution, the family. Solitude is not man's natural state. The state of nature, so far from being ideal, would be the state of an undeveloped brute. But nature supplies the instinct, the conscience, upon which morality is based. Pity and justice are its fundamental sources. This morality is in the main absolute and universal, with only

<sup>36</sup> Apart from divine revelation.

<sup>37</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres*, I, 75 (*Correspondance*, 1776).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 605-06 (1771).

minor variations in different environments.<sup>28</sup> Man is not born evil. He becomes bad just as he becomes sick. Vice is a disease. Nothing could be more Rousseauistic than this unexpected Voltairean opinion. The universal principles of virtue spring from God, who is not necessarily infinite, but who is the creator of the universe. The law of nature may be broken, but so also may the laws of health. Vice is not more natural than deformity or illness.<sup>29</sup>

GEORGE R. HAVENS

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the passage in the *Philosophe ignorant* in which Voltaire on this point disagrees with his favorite philosopher, John Locke. *Œuvres*, XXVI, 85.

<sup>29</sup> As it has naturally been impossible to cite all passages bearing upon this subject, reference is here made to those omitted. They are confirmatory of what has previously been said, but in the main of minor importance. Of special interest is the passage in which Voltaire, perhaps not altogether seriously, expresses admiration for irregular gardens, "à l'anglaise," X, 307-08.

*Œuvres*, VI, 310; VIII, 464-65, 544, 545, 559; XI, 307; XII, 370; XV, 430; XIX, 397 (repeated in XXVIII, 92); XX, 554; XXVII, 351, 570; XXVIII, 98, 100; XXIX, 456; XXX, 472; XLV, 345.

### XXXIX. THE KINSHIP OF HEINRICH VON KLEIST AND OTTO LUDWIG

An even half-century ago, Moritz Heydrich, in giving to the world the posthumous writings of Otto Ludwig, expressed his belief that Ludwig was more closely akin to Heinrich von Kleist than to any other German dramatist, and that this kinship was based principally on an inner relationship of both poets to the German "Sturm und Drang."<sup>1</sup> In the years that have intervened, no one has proceeded further than to a brief and sporadic reference in the direction suggested by Heydrich. And yet Ludwig, no less than Hebbel,<sup>2</sup> may claim poetic consanguinity with Kleist; if Hebbel is primarily the heir and continuator of Kleist's dramatic art,<sup>3</sup> Ludwig may be said to share with Kleist a tragic idiosyncrasy of genius. In the internal as well as the external fate of their lives, they represent a phase of the tragedy of greatness which has been described as peculiarly German.<sup>4</sup>

Both Ludwig and Kleist were, and considered themselves to be, primarily dramatists.<sup>5</sup> Even their prose works exhibit decidedly dramatic qualities, while their lyrics do not rise above the ordinary. It has been asserted that Ludwig's genius was essentially epic;<sup>6</sup> yet Ludwig himself regarded his epic writings as humbly ancillary,<sup>7</sup> and it is significant that the visions which inaugurate his poetic production are distinctly plastic and dramatic in character.<sup>8</sup> This strongly dramatic talent rendered both poets incompatible with the Romantic school, though

<sup>1</sup> *Nachlasschriften Otto Ludwigs*, herausgegeben von Moritz Heydrich, Leipzig (Cnobloch), 1874, vol. I, pp. 125ff. Hereafter quoted as "Heydrich."

<sup>2</sup> W. G. Howard, "Schiller and Hebbel, 1830-40," *P.M.L.A.*, XV, 312-315.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Silz, *Heinrich von Kleist's Conception of the Tragic*, Göttingen (Hesperia), 1923, pp. 94-95.

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich Gundolf, *Heinrich von Kleist*, Berlin (Bondi), 1922, pp. 139-140.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Heinrich von Treitschke, *Otto Ludwig*, in *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Leipzig (Hirzel), 1907, vol. 2, p. 314. W. G. Howard, "A Representative Man," *P.M.L.A.*, XXXVII, p. lrv.

<sup>7</sup> Julian Schmidt, *Charakterbilder aus der zeitgenössischen Literatur*, Leipzig (Duncker & Humblot), 1875, p. 192, quotes: "Meine Erzählungen schrieb ich aus Not. Fürs rechte Drama war ich noch nicht reif, und da ich es als meine poetische Lebensaufgabe ansah, wäre es mir eine Enttheiligung gewesen, es zu

they were not without sympathetic relationship to certain of its writers.<sup>9</sup>

In continuing Kleist's tendency toward the realistic and the characteristic in the drama,<sup>10</sup> Ludwig, like Kleist, felt himself drawn toward Shakespeare and away from Schiller.<sup>11</sup> But whereas Kleist's admiration for Shakespeare was warm, Ludwig's was idolatrous; whereas Kleist's opposition to Schiller was more intuitive than conscious, Ludwig's was not only avowed but merciless.<sup>12</sup>

Ludwig, like Kleist, found fate inherent in character, and tragedy in the relation of the individual to his environment;<sup>13</sup> for Ludwig, also, the only genuine tragedy is the tragedy of

gemeiner Brodarbeit zu machen . . . da die Natur meines Talents nicht zum Epischen neigt, im Gegenteil dem Wesen des Epischen entgegengesetzt ist." Adolf Stern, *Otto Ludwig. Ein Dichterleben*, 2. Aufl., Leipzig (Grunow), 1906, p. 138, quotes: "Der plastische Trieb . . . scheint das Entschiedenste in meiner Natur zu sein."

<sup>9</sup> Ludwig's *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Erich Schmidt and Adolf Stern, Leipzig (Grunow), 1891, vol. 6, pp. 215ff (Hereafter quoted as *Schriften*). Plans of Ludwig's novels show that he first saw even his epic figures plastically, "in theatralischer Geste": *Otto Ludwig. Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Paul Merker and others, München (Müller), 1912ff, vol. 3, p. XXVII. Merker regards Ludwig's "confession" as proof of the essentially dramatic nature of the poet's talent, his epic tendency being clearly secondary: *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. VII. A similar statement concerning Kleist in Walter Muschg, *Kleist*, Zürich (Seldwyla), 1923, p. 248.

<sup>10</sup> Ernst Kayka, *Kleist und die Romantik*, Berlin (Duncker), 1906. Jakob Stöcker, *Otto Ludwig und sein Stil im Erbfürster*, Marburg (Noske), 1912, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Julian Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 166. Adolf Stern, *Die deutsche National-literatur vom Tode Goethes bis zur Gegenwart*, 5. Aufl., Marburg-Leipzig (Elwert), 1905, p. 103.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Hess, *Otto Ludwig und Schiller*, Köln (Quos), 1902, pp. 3-4.

<sup>13</sup> Heinrich Kühnlein, *Otto Ludwigs Kampf gegen Schiller*, Programm des Gymnasiums Münsterstadt, 1900.

<sup>14</sup> *Schriften*, vol. 5, pp. 173, 175, 180, 207, 251, 282. Gaston Raphaël, *Otto Ludwig. Ses Théories et ses Oeuvres Romanesques*, Paris (Rieder), 1920, p. 219. Werner Isch, *Otto Ludwigs Erbfürster*, Porrentruy (Chalverat & Borel), 1918, pp. 49-50. Wilhelm Scherer, *Otto Ludwigs Shakespearestudien*, in *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, etc., Berlin (Weidmann), 1874, p. 393. Ludwig's quotation from Goethe, "Im Trauerspiele kann und soll das Schicksal, oder, welches einerlei ist, die *entschiedene Natur* des Menschen . . . walten und herrschen" (*Schriften*, vol. 5, pp. 445-446), applies as well to Kleist's works as to his own: cf. Silz, *op. cit.*, p. 44. In *Maria* occurs the dictum: "Der Charakter des Menschen ist sein Schicksal" (*Schriften*, vol. 2, p. 547).

character.<sup>14</sup> Ludwig, like Kleist, is interested chiefly in the psychological processes in his personages that result from outward incident, and tends to make the plot subservient to the exhibition of character;<sup>15</sup> in consequence, Ludwig's works, like Kleist's, are sometimes deficient in external form and structural cogency.

Both Ludwig and Kleist believed themselves to be laboring as pioneers toward a new German national drama. If we may credit a recent writer on Kleist, Ludwig's doctrine of "poetic realism" was a reassertion of the ideal fusion of antique and modern dramatic styles essayed by Kleist in *Robert Guiskard*.<sup>16</sup> Certainly Ludwig's Shakespeare studies are comparable in momentousness and intensity of purpose to Kleist's titanic struggles with *Guiskard*. Both poets had to renounce their lofty ambition, and did so with characteristic pride: they step back before a greater poet for whom the time is not yet ripe, but for whose coming they are conscious of having prepared the way.<sup>17</sup>

When Ludwig wrote: "Ich mache keinen Anspruch darauf, ein Dichter zu heissen; ich weiss, dass meinen Kräften die dazu notwendige Harmonie fehlt, wenn auch nicht der ernste Wille und gewissenhaftes Streben nach dieser Harmonie,"<sup>18</sup> he epitomized not only his own but Kleist's tragedy as a creative artist, perhaps the tragedy of the modern artist as such—the loss of naïve, harmonious artistic gift, which is not compensated for by deliberate intellectual effort, however conscientious. It is the condition that Kleist considered in his memorable essay,

<sup>14</sup> August Sauer, *Otto Ludwig, in Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze*, etc., Wien und Leipzig (Fromme), 1903, p. 302.

<sup>15</sup> *Schriften*, vol. 5, pp. 173, 180, 264, 320. Isch, *op. cit.*, p. 70. Kurt Adams, *Otto Ludwigs Theorie des Dramas*, Greifswald (Hartmann), 1912, p. 82. Cf. *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 470: "Der poetisch-tragische Gehalt ist die Hauptsache; die Tathandlung, der pragmatische Nexus darf nur der Gelegenheitsmacher sein," etc.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Petsch, *Heinrich von Kleist. Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, Leipzig & Berlin (Teubner), 1917, p. 8. Cf. Ludwig's remark on Sophocles and Shakespeare, *Schriften*, vol. 6, p. 422, and p. 445.

<sup>17</sup> Compare Kleist's words on this occasion (*Werke*, ed. Erich Schmidt and others, Leipzig & Wien (Bibliog. Inst.), 1904ff, vol. 5, p. 300, 8-17. Hereafter quoted as *Werke*) with Ludwig's (*Schriften*, vol. 6, p. 377; Adolf Stern, *Otto Ludwig*, etc., pp. 364-365; Heydrich, p. 85).

<sup>18</sup> Heydrich, p. 85.

*Über das Marionettentheater*<sup>19</sup>—the destruction of naturalness in action and creation by the emergence of consciousness and reflection. Kleist, and to a much greater extent Ludwig, suffered as poets from an undue interference of critical reason with the free play of their fantasy.<sup>20</sup> Both possessed that "melancholy clarity" of vision which impelled them to probe beneath the phenomenal beauties of nature for their ultimate meaning.<sup>21</sup> Both were endowed with a passion for the ascertainment of recondite truth which seemed to destine them rather for scholarship than for poetry.<sup>22</sup> Their scientific ventures were not of the nature of incidental excursions, but were for the time the most serious business of their lives.

The same avidity of intellect that made Kleist plunge himself into the study of science and philosophy, the same naïveté of mind that led him confidently to accumulate an "Ideenmagazin" for future use, is evident also in Ludwig, who with the optimistic trustfulness of the true rationalist attacks the mountain Shakespeare, expecting by patient digging to reach the veins of gold and lay bare the secret of Shakespeare's genius. Kleist was recalled from his ill-starred quest by a profound intellectual catastrophe; Ludwig was released only by death from the obsessive study that paralyzed his creative powers.<sup>23</sup>

Ludwig and Kleist were rigorously honest natures, incapable of compromise or self-deception. The same relentless self-criticism that drove Kleist to destroy the manuscript of *Guiskard* prevented Ludwig finally from producing at all.<sup>24</sup> His excessive analytical bias induced him to divide and sub-divide, and to

<sup>19</sup> *Werke*, IV, pp. 133-141.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. for this and the following: Walter Silz, "Rational and Emotional Elements in Heinrich von Kleist," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVII, 321ff. *Schriften*, V, 9-10.

<sup>21</sup> *Werke*, vol. 5, pp. 189, 24-32; 427, 27-34. R. M. Meyer, *Otto Ludwigs Shakespearestudium* (Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, 37. Jahrgg., Berlin (Langenscheidt), 1901, p. 60, testifies to Ludwig's "deutliche, überdeutliche Anschauung." Stöcker, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Gustav Freytag, *Otto Ludwig*, in *Gesammelte Werke*, Leipzig (Hirzel), 1887, XVI, 21-22.

<sup>23</sup> Sauer, *op. cit.*, p. 300: "Für Otto Ludwig wurde Shakespeare gleichsam ein Vampyr, der ihm das Blut aus den Adern saugte."

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bring forth instead of spontaneous poetry plans of plans and revisions of revisions. In this respect, as in many others, Ludwig exhibits the extreme development of predispositions clearly discernible in Kleist.

These two men devoted themselves without reserve to whatever they undertook. They had the fanatic single-mindedness of the true "Autodidakt," and they betray equally the deleterious effects of this mode of education. It emphasized their inclination toward loneliness;<sup>25</sup> it made more difficult for them, as for many another German poet, salutary contact with the national life of their times.<sup>26</sup> Hermits by nature, solitary and self-taught, they followed wrong paths, and were late in coming to a recognition of their real calling. They were heavy-blooded, and matured slowly;<sup>27</sup> they remained learners for a great part of their lives, and their careers were cut short before they could give to the world the finest fruits of their impeded but profound development.

Ludwig's reason was sufficiently acute to recognize its own excess; he was distressingly conscious of his self-consciousness. Of him might be said what he remarked with such perspicacity of Hamlet, that in him reason itself had become a passion.<sup>28</sup> Ludwig carried to a pathological extreme the bent toward morbid introspection from which Kleist suffered;<sup>29</sup> he said that he could not breathe without thinking to do so.<sup>30</sup> Like Kleist, Ludwig pondered on this condition, which he regarded as the common heritage of modern civilized man, the result of excessive culture. His process of thought on this subject, as well as his diction, is strongly reminiscent of Kleist's essay on the marionettes: to regain the unconsciousness of instinct, to be able to walk once more with the assurance of somnambulists, we should have to forget what we already know, and revert to the original state of nature. But Ludwig, like Kleist, realizes that this is impossible; the course of evolution cannot be turned back; once we have eaten of the tree of knowledge, we must go

<sup>25</sup> Stöcker, *op. cit.*, p. 1. *Schriften*, VI, pp. 409-410.

<sup>26</sup> Gundolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9, 22, 78. Muschg, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> Treitschke, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

<sup>28</sup> *Schriften*, V, 163. Cf. also IV, 40; V, 14, 15; VI, 221, 222, 230.

<sup>29</sup> Treitschke, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-325.

<sup>30</sup> Julian Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

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<sup>25</sup> Stöcker, *op. cit.*, p. 1. *Schriften*, VI, pp. 409-410.

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<sup>28</sup> *Schriften*, V, 163. Cf. also IV, 40; V, 14, 15; VI, 221, 222, 230.

<sup>29</sup> Treitschke, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-325.

<sup>30</sup> Julian Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

on and on; out of the maze into which reason has led us, only more reason can free us; half knowledge being worse than none, we must strive to reach perfect knowledge.<sup>31</sup> According to the account of Betty Paoli,<sup>32</sup> Ludwig did finally attain, through intellectual development, this last stage of human evolution described in Kleist's essay.

Both Ludwig and Kleist, sadly aware of their character as sophisticated, self-conscious modern poets, regarded wistfully primitive conditions and naïve artists, poets who could produce unreflectingly, cultures not philosophical but artistic.<sup>33</sup> Thwarted and restless souls, they longed constantly for a simple and idyllic life at the bosom of nature. Kleist planned to become a peasant in Switzerland; Ludwig considered more than once becoming a schoolmaster in a country village, and Ludwig's devout wishes, "ein Winkelchen Erde, wo ich . . . mich zu tot dichten könnte," "ein stilles Leben an der Natur und einen Jungen," are very like Kleist's triad, "ein Feld zu bebauen. einen Baum zu pflanzen, und ein Kind zu zeugen."<sup>34</sup>

Ludwig belongs essentially to the "Dionysian" type of poets with which Kleist has frequently been identified.<sup>35</sup> They lack the serenity and objectivity of the "Apollinic" poet, for example the older Goethe. They are subjectively involved in their works, and production for them is agonizing travail.<sup>36</sup> They are possessed by, rather than possessors of, their poetic genius.<sup>37</sup> Their poetry comes to them in visions, in in-spirations; they are more or less passive agents in the hands of a sovereign

<sup>31</sup> *Schriften*, V, 51-52. Correspondences with the phraseology of Kleist's *Marionettentheater* also in Ludwig's letter to Geibel, March 29, 1856, cf. Heydrich, p. 91; and again p. 368. Cf. *Schriften*, VI, 25, 186.

<sup>32</sup> Betty Paoli, *Otto Ludwig*, in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Wien (Verlag des literarischen Vereins), 1908, p. 199.

<sup>33</sup> *Werke*, V, 222, 17-20; *Schriften*, V, 40.

<sup>34</sup> Heydrich, pp. 44, 63. Merker, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, 1, p. XXXIII. Stern, *Otto Ludwig*, etc., p. 133. *Werke*, V, 262, 8-9.

<sup>35</sup> Philipp Witkop, *Heinrich von Kleist*, Leipzig (Haessel), 1922. Fritz Lüder, *Die epischen Werke Otto Ludwigs*, etc., Leipzig (Hoffmann), 1910, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Ludwig's observations on Kleist and himself in this regard: *Schriften* V, 434. Freytag, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 39.

<sup>37</sup> Compare Kleist's "Ich dichte bloss, weil ich es nicht lassen kann" (*Werke*, V, 327, 25-26) with Ludwig's wish for a place "wo ich mich zu tot dichten könnte" (Heydrich, p. 63).

"Dämon."<sup>38</sup> One need only compare the poet of *Guiskard*, as he appeared to Wieland, with the poet revealed by Ludwig's famous confession, *Mein Verfahren beim poetischen Schaffen*,<sup>39</sup> to be struck with the essential identity of their poetic processes. Poetry is for them a divine possession; their characters are hallucinations.<sup>40</sup> I have no doubt that Kleist saw his Penthesilea and Guiskard with as vivid an immediacy as Ludwig his giant Tyrolese or the poetic personages that haunted his bed-side, demanding life which the dying poet could not give them.<sup>41</sup>

Such poets produce at white heat, with eruptive force, when the vision is upon them;<sup>42</sup> but they suffer tortures unknown to the "Apollinic" artist when they relapse into prosaic consciousness. "Die Hölle gab mir meine halben Talente, der Himmel schenkt dem Menschen ein ganzes, oder gar keins," cried Kleist in such a moment of agony.<sup>43</sup> In the sober grey dawn that follows inevitably upon this "Fülle der Gesichte," the reason, the highly developed intelligence of these poets strives to replace, as it were with the synthetic devices of modern chemistry, the divine fire that is gone. Much of what seems to us artificial construction in the works of Kleist and Ludwig is, I believe, the product of this posterior activity of the reason. The visions are there, vividly impressed on the memory, but unconnected, mere "germ-scenes" such as have been observed in the work of both poets.<sup>44</sup> The reason now proceeds to weave a network of causality between these scenes, to excogitate a plot. For the "Apollinic" poet, scene and plot are one and inseparable; for Kleist and Ludwig, the plot is an after-thought, a setting contrived for the scene.

Kleist and Ludwig, then, are endowed with inimical powers; they are divided against themselves, and this dissonant endow-

<sup>38</sup> *Schriften*, VI, 341: "Ein neuer Stoff bemächtigt sich meiner wie eine Krankheit; könnt' ich einen nicht aufs Papier bringen, ich glaube, es kostete mir das Leben."

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 215ff.

<sup>40</sup> Treitschke, *op. cit.*, p. 303: "Vielleicht ist kein deutscher Dichter seit Heinrich von Kleist durch eine solche übermächtige Naturgewalt des Vorstellungsvermögens zugleich beglückt und gepeinigt worden."

<sup>41</sup> Stern, *Otto Ludwig*, etc., p. 382. *Schriften*, VI, 321.

<sup>42</sup> Gundolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>43</sup> *Werke*, V, 300, 30-32.

<sup>44</sup> Julian Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 196. *Sämtl. Werke*, ed. Merker, vol. 6, 1, p. XXV. *Schriften*, VI, 215, 220.

ment constitutes the tragedy of their artistic lives. Wherever they have expressed themselves concerning their work, we find them lamenting the havoc wrought by the invasion of the intellect into the domain of the visionary imagination. The effect of conscious thought on their poetic conception is like that produced by calling a somnambulist by name. Kleist cries out: "Warum ist es [sc. die Kunst] so schwer? Jede erste Bewegung, alles Unwillkürliche, ist schön; und schief und verschroben alles, sobald es sich selbst begreift. O der Verstand! Der unglückselige Verstand!"<sup>45</sup> In like vein Ludwig complains: "Es ging mir wie immer, wenn ich gestört bin; ich fing an, an mir zu nagen, wurde irr an meinen Objekten, meiner ganzen Dichtmethode und schliesslich noch an meinem Talente."<sup>46</sup>

The poetic process which we have observed in Kleist and Ludwig leaves undue scope to the subsequent activity of the reason. In both poets, the intellectual faculty seems to have assumed much of the inexorable extremeness of passion, a condition which Ludwig diagnosed acutely in the case of Kleist.<sup>47</sup> The rationalistic half of their dual natures delighted in dialectic subtleties, in developing thoughts, as well as characters and actions, to their utmost consequences.<sup>48</sup> They were fond of probing into the most intimate recesses of the human soul, and of treating eccentric, not to say pathological cases of human behavior;<sup>49</sup> and it is no mere accident that they and their creations have been subjected to examination by modern pathologists.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Werke*, V, 328, 4-11.

<sup>46</sup> *Schriften*, VI, 375, and 362.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 349.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the account of Ludwig by E. J. Meier, quoted by Stern, *Otto Ludwig*, etc., p. 266, which could be applied without change to Kleist: "In keinem Menschen habe ich wieder so, als in Otto Ludwig, heterogene Eigenschaften vereinigt gesehen, einerseits den schärfsten kritischen Verstand, die grübelnde Reflexion, die nicht ohne Freude am dialektischen Spiel unerbittlich die Konsequenzen eines Gedankens bis aufs äusserste verfolgte, und in der er nicht selten fast grausam seine eignen Schöpfungen zersetzte, anderseits eine wahrhaft kindliche Naivität und die treuherzige Einfalt eines deutschen Gemütes mit ihrer ganzen Traulichkeit und Innigkeit."

<sup>49</sup> Raphaël, *op. cit.*, p. 234, notes Ludwig's "penchant pour l'extraordinaire."

<sup>50</sup> J. Sadger, *Heinrich von Kleist, eine pathographisch-psychologische Studie*, Wiesbaden (Bergmann), 1910; Ernst Jentsch, *Das Pathologische bei Otto Ludwig*, Wiesbaden (Bergmann), 1913; respectively Nos. 70 and 90 of *Grensfagen des Nerven- und Seelenlebens*.

Another consequence of the productive process peculiar to these poets was a deep dissatisfaction with the disparity between the poetic vision and the reproduction of it on paper. Both Kleist and Ludwig felt the mediation of language to be an impediment and an unfortunate necessity. The inadequacy of speech to convey feelings is for them axiomatic.<sup>51</sup> Kleist calls language a "fetter," a "brake on the wheel of the spirit"; Ludwig terms the characters on his page "black, dead messengers,"<sup>52</sup> and voices, in words almost identical with Kleist's, his desire for a more direct method of communication.<sup>53</sup> Kleist's and Ludwig's taciturnity and lack of ease in society, their reputed coldness and reserve, their inarticulateness in moments of greatest passion, were due, not to inner poverty, but to an inner wealth of vision and feeling so overabundant that they despaired of expression in words.<sup>54</sup>

Both Kleist and Ludwig felt themselves attracted, early and late, to music. Being engaged in one of the most objective, they craved for the most subjective of the arts. In music too they were ardent self-teachers; they approached it in a characteristically subjective manner, and not through formal schooling. They had both a practical and a theoretical interest in the

<sup>51</sup> Stern, *Otto Ludwig*, etc., p. 268. *Werke*, V, 194, 32—195, 30: "Gern möchte ich Dir alles mitteilen. . . . Aber es ist nicht möglich, und wenn es auch kein weiteres Hindernis gäbe, als dieses, dass es uns an einem Mittel zur Mitteilung fehlt. Selbst das einzige, das wir besitzen, die Sprache, taugt nicht dazu, sie kann die Seele nicht malen und was sie uns giebt sind nur zerrissene Bruchstücke. . . . Ach, es giebt kein Mittel, sich Andern *ganz* verständlich zu machen, und der Mensch hat von Natur keinen andren Vertrauten, als sich selbst." *Ibid.*, IV, 24, Epigram 18:

"Was ich fühle, wie sprech' ich es aus?—Der Mensch ist doch immer, Selbst auch in dem Kreis lieblicher Freunde, allein."

<sup>52</sup> *Werke*, IV, 78, 22-23; *Schriften*, VI, 407. Even the young Ludwig, in *Campana*: "Alles, was einmal aufgeschrieben, ist tot," etc. (*Sämtl. Werke*, ed. Merker, III, 210).

<sup>53</sup> Stern, *Otto Ludwig*, etc., p. 268: "Wenn man nur, pflegte er zu sagen, alles, was man drinnen hat, so aus dem Kopfe und aus dem Herzen heraus dem andern in seinen Kopf und in sein Herz hineingeben könnte, wie man's drinnen hat!" *Werke*, IV, 148, 26-29: "Wenn ich beim Dichten in meinen Busen fassen, meine Gedanken ergreifen, und mit Händen, ohne weitere Zutat, in den Deinigen legen könnte," etc.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Ludwig's observation concerning Kleist and himself, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 434. Treitschke, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311.

art, played as young men in orchestras, and composed music of their own. But Ludwig, in this respect also, greatly enlarged on Kleist's beginnings. Both were aware of an intimate and profound relationship between music and poetry, in particular dramatic poetry.<sup>55</sup> Ludwig, indeed, in one of his brief but penetrating comments on Kleist,<sup>56</sup> was the first to draw attention to the importance of the musical element in the genius and works of his predecessor, an element which recent writers have pointed out in both poets.<sup>57</sup> They were subject to musical, as well as visual hallucinations, which were dissipated by the access of consciousness and reason.<sup>58</sup> There is evidence that they regarded music as an irrational, emotional art, and that they were led to it again and again by the desire for a more immediate mode of communication than is to be found in language.<sup>59</sup> To them, music appears to have signified that universal, direct and essential speech which Schopenhauer has described.<sup>60</sup> Whatever the ultimate relationship of musical and poetic genius may be found to be, it seems clear that the "Dionysian" poet, who longs for infinite and tragic truth, is drawn toward music, whereas the "Apollinic" poet, who seeks finite and serene beauty, is attracted to plastic art.<sup>61</sup> Thus in respect to their

<sup>55</sup> *Werke*, V, 429, 24-33; *Schriften*, V, 430, 498; IV, 29, 102, 344, 378, 427-428, 432.

<sup>56</sup> *Schriften*, VI, 393-394.

<sup>57</sup> E.g. Isch, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Gundolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26; Hanna Hellmann, *Euphorion*, XXV (1924), 251.

<sup>58</sup> *Werke*, vol. 5, pp. 133, 26-134, 10. Heydrich, pp. 28, 46-47. *Schriften*, vol. 6, pp. 215, 220. Friedrich Nietzsche, in *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*, in *Werke*, Leipzig (Naumann), 1895, vol. I, p. 40, calls attention to a confession of Schiller's which reminds one of Ludwig's: "Bei mir ist die Empfindung anfangs ohne bestimmten und klaren Gegenstand; dieser bildet sich erst später. Eine gewisse musikalische Gemütsstimmung geht vorher, und auf diese folgt bei mir erst die poetische Idee" (letter to Goethe, Jena, March 18, 1796; cf. also letter to Körner, Jena, May 25, 1792). In general, I suspect that a good deal of Ludwig's criticism of Schiller was due to the intuitive perception that he himself had qualities in common with this prominent representative of the "reflective," "sentimental" poets (cf. *Schriften*, V, 96, 175).

<sup>59</sup> *Schriften*, VI, 394: "der unmittelbar schaffende Musikant." Wilhelm Greiner, *Otto Ludwig als Thüringer*, Halle a.S. (Moritz), 1913, p. 10.

<sup>60</sup> Arthur Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, in *Werke*, Leipzig (Brockhaus), 1877, II, 309ff.

<sup>61</sup> Nietzsche, *op. cit.*, I, 19ff.



musical proclivity, also, Heinrich von Kleist and Otto Ludwig approve themselves as representatives of the same type of poetic genius and sharers in its tragedy.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> In the opinion of the present writer, Kleist's works exerted no appreciable influence on Ludwig's. Ludwig himself stated, in a letter of July 3, 1857 (*Schriften*, vol. 6, pp. 393-394), that until shortly before that time he had read little of Kleist. One could note obvious similarities between Kleist's *Marquise* and Ludwig's *Maria*, or between *Michael Kohlhaas* and *Der Erbförster*; and quite a number of interesting parallels may be drawn between *Die Familie Schroffenstein* and *Der Erbförster*. Yet a study of the evolution of the latter drama, as shown in Merker's edition, leaves scant room for the supposition that Kleist's play influenced it. In the absence of evidence, one must conclude that the relations of Kleist and Ludwig were limited to the spiritual correspondences pointed out above.

## XL. THE LATER CAREER OF THE ELIZABETHAN VILLAIN-HERO

The "villain-hero," as he developed in the plays of Marlowe and in those of some later Elizabethans, is a distinct and important type of character. Moreover, he did not make his final exit with the ending of the Elizabethan period, but has reappeared at various times since, especially during the Romantic Revival at the end of the eighteenth century. This "Romantic Movement," as we are accustomed to call it, was in many ways a revival of the earlier Romantic spirit which we call Elizabethanism. Nothing shows the resemblance between the two periods more strikingly than this habit of taking for the dominating figure in the story a man of great power, stained with crime.

The first step in this, as in the Romantic method of novel-writing in general, probably may be credited to Horace Walpole, though his first step was a hesitating one. His tyrant was cruel and calculating, but aside from this he had little individuality. Like the other characters, he was a mere puppet introduced to work out the supernatural elements of the tale. Mrs. Radcliffe, who took Walpole's crude beginnings and shaped out of them a definite type of literature, now *passé*, it is true, but in its own day powerful, was the person really responsible for the revival of the Elizabethan villain. It was she who passed on this character to later romanticists, and for that reason it may be worth while to examine somewhat carefully the treatment which it receives in her stories.

First, let us consider for a moment just what is meant by the "villain-hero." Perhaps the most concise and satisfying definition is that given by Clarence Boyer, in his book, *The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy*:

We may say, then, that a villain is a man who, for a selfish end, wilfully and deliberately violates standards of morality sanctioned by the audience or ordinary reader. When such a character is given the leading rôle, and when his deeds form the centre of dramatic interest, the villain has become protagonist, and we have the type play with the villain as hero.

Every one of Mrs. Radcliffe's stories presents a character who satisfies pretty thoroughly this requirement. In each of them

we find a person "who, for a selfish end, wilfully and deliberately violates the standards of morality sanctioned by the . . . ordinary reader." And in the later books, more than in the earlier, we find it also true that "the villain has become protagonist." Malcolm, the villain in *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*, does, it is true, by his injustice and cruelty bring about all the action of the story, but he himself is not so prominent as some of the other characters. Again, in *A Sicilian Romance* the Marquis is a cruel husband and father, and so furnishes the impulse for Julia's flight, but the main interest lies in the wanderings of the lovers. *The Romance of the Forest* has two villains: La Motte, who sins through weakness and cowardice, and the Marquis of Montalt, who is a representative of the "philosophic villain." Montoni, in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, comes nearer being the protagonist than any of his predecessors. His dark and mysterious personality, in harmony with the gloom of his castle, leaves perhaps the most powerful impression we get from the book. But it is Schedoni, in *The Italian*, who approaches most nearly the Elizabethan idea of the villain as hero. We might say that at times at least he rises to the heights of real tragic conflict, of the sort defined by Mr. Boyer:

When a villain possesses powers that are great, aesthetically good—such as great courage and great intellectual ability—and when these powers come into conflict with moral forces in the universe so as to produce a struggle which leaves the issue in doubt, we have a tragedy which moves us to admiration, terror, and sadness. When these powers also come into conflict with qualities in the nature of the villain which are morally good, we have a struggle which arouses the highest degree of tragic pleasure, because to the other emotions is added pity for the mental suffering of the hero.

Such an inward struggle occurs when Schedoni is about to murder Ellena. Some compunctions stir him and cause him to hesitate, even before he makes the discovery which convinces him that she is his daughter. There is a suggestion of struggle when Schedoni, on the seashore, sustains the fainting Ellena:

The conflict between his design and his conscience was strong, or, perhaps, it was only between his passions.

Indeed, the character of Schedoni illustrates perfectly the type of villainy which Mr. Boyer calls "Machiavellian." In discussing Marlowe's Barabas, Mr. Boyer pronounces him "egotis-

tical, cruel, faithless, remorseless, murderous, and a poisoner." These characteristics, he continues, "are important because they practically set the type for later villains." Again, he remarks that "ridding one's self of accomplices is the very essence of Machiavellism. It was the practice of Caesar Borgia, and is discussed in *The Prince*, Chapter VIII. Barabas adopted the same policy, and it became characteristic of Machiavellian villains."

Now, all these characteristics are found most powerfully expressed in Schedoni. His egotism is evident in his assured bearing with the Marchesa and his contemptuous treatment of Vivaldi. He thinks of them only as they can minister to his own ambition; he is as self-centred as any of Marlowe's heroes. His cruelty cannot be questioned when we consider his advocacy of the innocent Ellena's death. He seems, indeed, the villain who, as Mr. Boyer expresses it, "has no regard whatever for human beings, but sweeps them away as though they were so many flies." He is faithless in his dealings with the Marchesa, and he dies without any real remorse; for his behavior toward his supposed daughter is inspired by natural affection rather than by repentance for evil intentions. Schedoni appears in the rôle of a poisoner, three different times. At his suggestion, apparently, Ellena is furnished with poisoned food. He gives his poisoned dagger to the peasant who has been his guide, hoping that the man may meet Spalatro, and, in defending himself, give him a fatal wound. And in the end he poisons both himself and the revengeful monk Nicola, who has been the cause of his betrayal.

Moreover, Schedoni is triumphantly and unmistakably the leading figure in the book. The German translator who renamed the story *Die Italienerin* certainly was guilty of a stupid blunder. One is reminded of Iago when reading of Schedoni's skilful handling of the Marchesa:

So far was he from attempting to soothe her sufferings, that he contrived to irritate her resentment, and exasperate her pride; effecting this, at the same time, with such consummate art, that he appeared only to be palliating the conduct of Vivaldi, and endeavouring to console his distracted mother.

He

was cautious not to speak too favourably of Vivaldi's conduct, which, on the contrary, he represented as much more insulting than it really was; . . . Yet

this he managed so artfully that he appeared to extenuate Vivaldi's errors, to lament the hastiness of his temper, and to plead for a forgiveness from his irritated mother.

Lewis's *Monk* has been credited with some influence on *The Italian*. But Lewis admitted that his main inspiration was *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, and in Montoni Mrs. Radcliffe had already outlined the essentials of character which she developed further in Schedoni. The same forbidding and mysterious air is ascribed to him.

Emily felt admiration, but not the admiration that leads to esteem; for it was mixed with a degree of fear she knew not exactly wherefore.

The same self-centred ambition is shown in his treatment of Emily and her aunt, and in his speedy assumption of authority upon his marriage.

Montoni now took possession of the château and the command of its inhabitants, with the ease of a man, who had long considered it to be his own.

His personal bravery and contempt of suffering are in line with the usual character of the Elizabethan villain.

His countenance, which was stern, but calm, expressed the dark passion of revenge, but no symptom of pain; bodily pain, indeed, he had always despised, and had yielded only to the strong and terrible energies of the soul.

His cruelty appears in his treatment of his antagonist in the duel.

Montoni now seemed rapacious of vengeance, and with a monster's cruelty, again ordered his defeated enemy to be taken from the castle, in his present state, though there were only the woods, or a solitary neighbouring cottage, to shelter him from the night.

Without exception, Mrs. Radcliffe's villains display the chief characteristics which Mr. Boyer ascribes to the Elizabethan villain-hero. All of them have murdered, and many of the murders were committed by means of poison. All of them are selfishly ambitious, two of them being usurping brothers, a character common in Shakespeare and other Elizabethans. Some of them, indeed, are capable of sufficient remorse for a death-bed confession, but the confession seems to proceed less from genuine repentance than from a sense that the game is up and there is no special advantage in keeping the innocent victim longer from his rights. It may be that Mrs. Radcliffe's criminals show their Machiavellian nature most clearly in this very point:

they act not so much from personal malignity as from an unwavering determination to further their own interests. If self-interest demands the brushing away of human flies, they do not hesitate. But unless some personal revenge comes in, as in the cases of Nicola and Schedoni, they will confess their crimes, when they are no longer useful, as indifferently as they have performed them.

No doubt *The Robbers* contributed something to Mrs. Radcliffe's villain-heroes, especially Montoni and Schedoni, who in a sense are outlaws from society. But it has also been pointed out that the Elizabethan influence upon Schiller was strong. Charles and Francis de Moor are only variations of the earlier villain-hero "who, for a selfish end, wilfully and deliberately violates standards of morality sanctioned by the audience or ordinary reader." And although Mrs. Radcliffe to a certain extent changed and added to the character—at least in the case of Schedoni—the type which she handed down to Byron was, after all, the type which had flourished in that earlier Romantic period, the Elizabethan Renaissance.

It is hardly necessary here to enter upon an elaborate comparison of Mrs. Radcliffe and Byron in their treatment of the "villain-hero," for the resemblance has often been noted. It will be sufficient to remark that both writers make their characters conform closely to the idea of villainy which Mr. Boyer gives in his definition quoted above. With both of them, too, this character has become the protagonist; usually the main interest of the poem or the novel centres in him. Byron, perhaps, emphasizes specially the spirit of revolt against society, of rebellion against the ordinary conventions of life. But his villain-heroes have all the qualities of Mrs. Radcliffe's: they are selfish and unscrupulous; they have great personal strength and are brave even to rashness; they have a fierce and forbidding manner which inspires dread in all around them; and often a dark mystery conceals their early life. There seems little doubt that the character which Mrs. Radcliffe had inherited from the Elizabethan plays, modified by the German, was in large measure responsible for the "Byronic hero" who had such vogue in the early nineteenth century. It may even have influenced somewhat Byron's conception of himself. We are told that Lewis, on reading *The Mysteries of Udolpho*,

naïvely imagined that he saw in the grim Montoni a likeness to himself. Byron seems to have had in him something of the same tendency to think himself more fascinatingly wicked than he was; although in his case, unfortunately, less effort of the imagination was required. The Byronic hero was an expression of the author's personality as he felt it, and he seems to have felt himself more of a moral outlaw, more of a rebel against conventions, than he actually was.

I have not loved the world; nor the world me,—  
But let us part fair foes.

Byron's heroes, as truly as Marlowe's, are in arms against the world. In their egotism, their lust for power, even their love of wandering and adventure, they suggest the spirit of the Renaissance.

Lewis's Monk, of course, is an extreme example of this type of villain. His character is drawn with more psychological skill than any of Mrs. Radcliffe's, but he frankly owned his obligation to her. Scott owed much to both Mrs. Radcliffe and Lewis, though the tone of his mind was too healthy to allow him to follow them very far, and his main interest did not lie, usually, in the portrayal of crime. Marmion is the character which perhaps shows most plainly the influence of the villain-hero type. Shelley, in his early romances, gives us romanticism run mad. *Zastrozzi* reads like a burlesque; it seems impossible that anyone should have written it with any serious artistic purpose. But we know that Shelley in his youth devoured the books of Mrs Radcliffe and her followers, and perhaps it is not strange that the untrammelled imagination of a boy, subjected to such a course of reading, should produce wild results. In his later work, Shelley's heroes show the characteristic noticed in Byron's—the spirit of revolt against the conventions of society.

Indeed, we may say that the villain-hero, after he was handed over by Mrs. Radcliffe to the later Romanticists, was definitely modified by the social theories of the time, and returned more or less to the original conception of Marlowe—the man who takes up arms against the world. The influence of this character persisted in early nineteenth century novels, and was shown by an interest in criminal themes. Through the work of Bulwer Lytton and Dickens this interest in crime is continued. In

American literature direct influence is shown in the novels of Charles Brockden Brown and in the work of Poe and Hawthorne, the last two, of course, carrying the theme into the realm of psychology.

The interest which seemed to have scattered over criminal themes in general was concentrated again in a definite hero type, in the work of the Brontë sisters. Here we have a curious manifestation of the earlier spirit, and a curious difference of result. Charlotte, trying to attain a certain degree of realism and to approach the tone of everyday life, made Rochester unconvincing and created what has rather aptly been called the "gorilla type" of hero. Emily's Heathclife, on the contrary, is a wonderful conception. He, like the earlier villains, shrinks at nothing to attain his ends; he brushes away "human flies" with brutal unconcern. But there is one variation from the earlier type; he is moved, not by worldly ambition but by a great and consuming passion for the woman who cheats him out of what she knows is rightfully his. *Wuthering Heights* is a story of revenge, and so quite in the Elizabethan mood; but the revenge is spiritual rather than earthly.

What I have attempted to say in this brief discussion is that the Elizabethan villain-hero did not cease to exist when the Elizabethan playwrights had finished their work. The so-called "Gothic" novelists, and especially Mrs. Radcliffe as their strongest representative, brought him forward again, and handed him on to later Romanticists like Byron and Shelley. Through these men, once more, he influenced the general course of literature and played his part in the development of the nineteenth century novel. Whether he will have another period of activity is uncertain. The modern psychologist is apt to look for more complexity of motive. But at least, his career so far is an interesting example of a recurring literary tradition.

CLARA F. MCINTYRE



## XLI. SHELLEY AND THE *EMPIRE OF THE NAIRS*

In the year 1793, James Lawrence, an Englishman living on the Continent, contributed to Wieland's *Deutsche Merkur* an essay on what he called the "Nair system of gallantry and inheritance." The system was highly Utopian. Its main ideas were so distinctly different from those of even the radical philosophers and theorists, that the essay must have attracted considerable attention. We know from Wieland's footnotes in the *Merkur* that he was interested.

Lawrence, apparently encouraged by the reception of his essay, developed the ideas of the "system" and gave them concrete application in a "romance," which he finished in 1800. Schiller approved (Lawrence says in the preface of his English edition) and Unger received it, on Schiller's recommendation, into the *Journal der Romane* for 1801, with the title *Das Paradies der Liebe* (afterwards as *Das Reich der Nairen*). Lawrence was in France in 1803, and there published a French translation in book form, *L'Empire des Nairs*. Finally, in 1811, Thomas Hookham of London brought out an English version of essay and romance, entitled the *Empire of the Nairs, or the Rights of Women*.

As a part of the literature of an age which produced Holbach, Condorcet, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Godwin, the essay on the Nair system and the "romance" which accompanies it are very interesting documents, deriving something from both the *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) and *Political Justice* (1793).<sup>1</sup> They embody a utopian scheme more clearly conceived than that of Pantisocracy, which was almost exactly contemporary. Yet, strangely, the English version of Lawrence's work is very nearly inaccessible. References to it are few. The most important may be found in a little known thesis of

<sup>1</sup> The essay appeared in the *Merkur* in June. Godwin's book had been published four months earlier. From it Lawrence may have obtained the idea of free love as an encouragement to companionship and loyalty of the sexes (ii, 497—452). From Mary Wollstonecraft, to whom he alludes several times, he seems to have got little directly, except the idea of educating boys and girls together, so as to make them companions from early youth.

Dr. D. J. Macdonald,<sup>2</sup> who cites parts of *Queen Mab* and *Rosalind and Helen* as evidences of the influence of the book on Shelley; and in a recent article by Professor W. E. Peck,<sup>3</sup> who points out the marriage of a brother and sister, and several other minor incidents in the story, to show its effect upon *Laon and Cythna*. Much of the influence of both essay and romance upon Shelley remains to be shown. In this paper an attempt will be made to give students of Shelley a better idea of the contents of Lawrence's book, and to exhibit more fully its remarkable effects upon the poet's life and work.

It was sometime in 1812 that Shelley applied to Hookham for a copy of Lawrence's poem, *Love, an Allegory*. This poem, which had been printed but once in England, although issued several times on the continent, was out of print. So Hookham asked Lawrence to send Shelley his own copy. The author of the Nair system did as requested, and received a letter from Shelley, dated August 17, 1812—written from Lynmouth, where he was living with Harriet and Elizabeth Hitchener. To thank Lawrence for lending him the poem was Shelley's chief object in writing the letter;<sup>4</sup> but in the course of it he made one of the two references to the *Empire of the Nairs*:

Your *Empire of the Nairs*, which I read this spring, succeeded in making me a perfect convert to its doctrines. I then retained no doubts as to the evils of marriage—Mrs. Wollstonecraft reasons too well for that; but I had been dull enough not to perceive the greatest argument against it, until developed in the Nairs, viz., prostitution both legal and illegal.

I am a young man not yet of age, and have been married a year to a woman younger than myself. Love seems inclined to stay in the prison, and my only reason for putting him in chains, whilst convinced of the unholiness of the act, was a knowledge that, in the present state of society, if love is not thus villain-

<sup>2</sup> Macdonald, *The Radicalism of Shelley and Its Sources*, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XL, (Apr. 1925), 246-9. For other references, see *Shelley Memorials*, 1859, p. 49; *Prose Works*, 1880, III, 345; Medwin (ed. of 1913) p. 96 n.; and Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, 1858, II, 314.

<sup>4</sup> Shelley wrote: "I need not say how much I admire 'Love,' and little as the British public seems to appreciate its merits . . ." Medwin, in his *Memoir of Shelley*, first published in the *Athenaeum*, 1832 (p. 502) quoted Shelley as saying, "I abhor seduction as much as I adore love. . . ." Lawrence, in the *Etonian Out of Bounds*, 1834, tactfully referred to Medwin's garbled version as an "intended original" of the letter, but Forman was probably nearer the truth when he suggested that Medwin trimmed the phrases to suit himself (*Prose Works*, London, 1880, III, 346, n.).

ously treated, she, who is most loved, will be treated worse by a misjudging world. In short, seduction, which term could have no meaning in a rational society, has now a most tremendous one; the fictitious merit attached to chastity has made that a forerunner of the most terrible of ruins, which, in Malabar, would be a pledge of honour and homage. . . .

The letter which contained this passage, Shelley enclosed in one addressed to Hookham, in which he said, "I should esteem it as a favour if you would present the enclosed letter to the Chevalier Lawrence. I have read his *Empire of the Nairs*; nay, have it. Perfectly and decidedly do I subscribe to the truth of the principles which it is designed to establish."

That the "System of the Nairs" had made a deep impression on Shelley's mind, no one acquainted with the foregoing letters and familiar with Lawrence's book can doubt. Whether it changed his opinions or merely confirmed him in them, the *Empire of the Nairs* contained a message for Shelley, which neither the work of Mary Wollstonecraft nor that of Godwin had brought to him.

#### THE NAIR SYSTEM OF GALLANTRY AND INHERITANCE

Lawrence condensed the essay which had appeared in the *Merkur*, and used it as a preface for his novel. In this preface, which was an exposition of the "System of the Nairs," Lawrence said his work was designed to show the possibilities of a nation's reaching the highest civilization without marriage. He went on to exhibit the advantages of the Nair system in ensuring indubitable birth, in favoring population, the rights of women, and the active genius of men.

It is the privilege of the Nair lady to choose her lover and change her lover as often as she pleases. . . . The Nairs recognize that every pleasure ceases when it becomes a duty; and they maintain that there is no more reason for enacting that a man should love a woman tomorrow because he loves her to-day than there would be in compelling a man to dance at the next ball with his partner at the last.

Lawrence conceived of Malabar, the land occupied by the Nairs, as a country where marriage was unknown—marriage, he thought, being ordained for the comfort of man alone, and too much the result of the Mosaic tradition that woman is the

hand-maid of man.<sup>5</sup> The non-existence of marriage in Malabar resulted in the liberty and happiness of both sexes. "For it is easier," said the author, "for every woman to find a lover and every man a mistress than for either to secure a partner for life. There are few old maids or bachelors under the Nair system. And every female lives happily uncontrolled by man, enjoying every freedom which in other countries man alone may enjoy."

The second distinguishing principle of the Nair system was that of inheritance through the female line. When a woman died, her possessions were divided equally among her children. The possessions of her daughters descended in like manner to their offspring; those of her sons fell at their decease to their sisters' children. The name "father" was unknown to the Nair child.

The Empire of the Nairs was a militaristic nation. The business of men was fighting—chiefly against the Moham-medans. When the call to arms came, men could spring into battle unhindered by "children in the path of glory." Thus the armies of the Nairs were ever invincible. Even the Samorin and other princes had no heirs other than their sisters' children, so that, having no family ties, they followed their uncles into battle without hesitation. The one interest of men was warfare, just as the sole ambition of women was motherhood.

Education in this ideal state was taken care of by the women, all of whom were educated to such an extent that they might superintend the training of the children. "There are many things a woman need not study," says Lawrence, "but there is nothing she should be hindered from knowing." Boys and girls in Malabar were educated together in public schools of the sort proposed by Mary Wollstonecraft in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1810. Lawrence noted that such education would be impossible in England at that time (1811) because of the prevailing ideas of chastity.

### THE ROMANCE

The Narrative may be divided into two parts: the first made up of the experiences of De Grey, an Englishman who found

<sup>5</sup> Malabar, the country of the Nairs, was evidently the west coast of British India, often referred to by the author as "Indostan." Its capital was "Imperial Calicut." The practice of polyandry among the Nayars of Malabar is well described in Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*, N. Y., 1922, iii, 13-141.

his way to Malabar, and the second, of incidents that occurred when De Grey took a prince of the Nairs to England. Both parts illustrate at great length the absurdity of English customs and laws (as well as those of many other nations) especially in regard to marriage and inheritance, in contrast with the freer and more natural management of things in Malabar. Although the romance adds little to the utopian scheme set forth in the preface, it does develop in greater detail many of the important points. A few typical incidents will show the character of the story.

De Grey, while travelling with English companions on horseback, became lost, and at length found himself in the land of the Nairs. He met the Countess of Raldaban, also riding, accompanied by her son and youngest daughter. When the daughter was presented to him by the Countess, the gallant De Grey said, "Rather say your youngest sister!" But (says Lawrence) "she understood not the compliment, for 'mother' is the most respected title a woman can bear in Indostan." The Countess invited De Grey to the royal castle. On his way, he learned from his guide that all the people of Malabar were happy and prosperous, and enjoying the fruit of their labor.

Arrived at the proud castle of Virnapor, De Grey was received by the Samorin (Emperor) with the "hospitality of ancient times to his maternal hall." De Grey met the Court ladies; he was charmed by their beauty and disturbed by the simplicity of their dress. He learned that the Samorin was training a nephew to take the sceptre from him. This prince had no sister, therefore there would be a break in the line which had ruled for centuries—the crown always passing from uncle to nephew (the son of a sister).

A trumpet flourish called them to the banquet, for (says Lawrence) "nothing is so dear to the Nairs as the customs of their fore-uncles in the days of chivalry." In the general conversation at the table, the Samorin and the nobles were shocked to learn that in England the King's own children inherited the crown and titles. "Perhaps cocks lay eggs in your country?" they asked. Again, as he told them of English customs, they inquired—"Are ye a Mahometan?" This was a significant question, for the Nairs were represented as always at war with the Mohammedans, because of the latters' enslavement of

women. De Grey begged his hosts not to be disgusted with the English for their treatment of women. "Rather pity us," he said, "as victims of our own prejudices. Our religion, or rather our jurisprudence, cruel as the Mahometan, though less partial in its barbarity, tyrannizes equally over both sexes. The birds of the air and the beasts of the field may change their mates; to man alone, the lord of creation, is denied this liberty."

In the long galleries of the Castle, under the name of each royal mother were the names and number of her children; under the name of every prince, the number of his victories in the field. Many pictures hung on the walls, illustrative of national triumphs over slavery and oppression. In one, for example, a knight of the Nairs battled a host of polygamists, while the trembling sultanas (whom he was attempting to rescue from slavery) prayed for the success of their champion. Another represented the delivery of a whole harem of suffering maidens by the prowess of one Nair knight—bars and bolts were burst, and "Veils, those degrading badges of slavery, rent asunder."

De Grey began to doubt his own proud ancestry, as he tarried in the Empire of the Nairs. He could not but contrast this land with England, where women were treated as slaves, yet during courtship exalted and puffed up with flattery. There, prudery and false modesty were encouraged; in Malabar, you could ask any woman to love you at any time, and be sure of gracious compliance or polite refusal, and no hard feelings in any case. One day De Grey was attempting to explain to the Countess of Raldaban the meaning of "chaperone." "Another English absurdity!" she exclaimed in disgust. "It seems that ye Europeans endeavor by all possible means to render your women simpletons." De Grey began to feel that he was making himself ridiculous among the Nairs, and so allowed the Countess to help him with a course of "social lectures," from which he derived further information about these people.

The Empire of the Nairs was ruled by the family of Seramis. The Emperor was the Samorin; the eldest princess, whether mother, sister, niece, aunt, or cousin, was the Samorina—in memory of Samora, the first great Samorina, who led their foremothers out of bondage. The Empire was divided into provinces, each governed by a prince of high nobility; each province was made up of the manors of counts or barons or the gentry of the

Empire. And from Emperor to the humblest lord, every one at his decease was succeeded by his eldest sister's son. Thus, as no two families could be allied, when a family was extinct, its possessions reverted to its liege-lord, who conferred them on a new one. Hence, no family could become powerful for its political rank; and when an hereditary dignity was conferred upon a man, it was entailed upon the body of his mother, instead of (as in Europe) on his own heirs—which are in fact the heirs of his wife. There were no fore-fathers in Malabar—only fore-mothers and fore-uncles.

Innocence was protected by very severe laws. When boys and girls became of age, they were officially declared mature at an interesting ceremony, in which the Samorina bound each of the girls with a green band (symbol of hope) and girded on the sword of each boy with the words, "Nephew of Heroes, defend with this sword the rights of women." From this time the youth belonged to the state, which might demand his services. It was not customary for men to possess houses. They lived with their female relatives or their mistresses. Of course, the Emperor and officials of state had their palaces, but these were public buildings. Each woman in the Empire received a sum of money out of the public treasury according to the number of her children. "A woman rich in children could never be poor."

Such are some of the significant ideas and incidents in the story of the Nairs, which Shelley perused with enthusiasm.

#### INFLUENCES ON SHELLEY'S WORK AND CONDUCT

By his own statement, Shelley read the *Empire of the Nairs* in the spring of 1812, and at that time he was certainly engaged with *Queen Mab*. Accordingly, we turn first to this poem for signs of direct influences. The following are obvious:

1. *Queen Mab*, V, 189—"Even love is sold. . . ."

In his long note on this sentence, Shelley expresses emphatically the opinion that the very essence of love is liberty, that love withers under constraint—that any law which binds man and woman to cohabitation one moment after they cease to love each other is intolerable tyranny. He declares that the connection of the sexes is sacred as long as it contributes to the comfort of both parties; when it no longer does this, there is nothing

women. De Grey begged his hosts not to be disgusted with the English for their treatment of women. "Rather pity us," he said, "as victims of our own prejudices. Our religion, or rather our jurisprudence, cruel as the Mahometan, though less partial in its barbarity, tyrannizes equally over both sexes. The birds of the air and the beasts of the field may change their mates; to man alone, the lord of creation, is denied this liberty."

In the long galleries of the Castle, under the name of each royal mother were the names and number of her children; under the name of every prince, the number of his victories in the field. Many pictures hung on the walls, illustrative of national triumphs over slavery and oppression. In one, for example, a knight of the Nairs battled a host of polygamists, while the trembling sultanas (whom he was attempting to rescue from slavery) prayed for the success of their champion. Another represented the delivery of a whole harem of suffering maidens by the prowess of one Nair knight—bars and bolts were burst, and "Veils, those degrading badges of slavery, rent asunder."

De Grey began to doubt his own proud ancestry, as he tarried in the Empire of the Nairs. He could not but contrast this land with England, where women were treated as slaves, yet during courtship exalted and puffed up with flattery. There, prudery and false modesty were encouraged; in Malabar, you could ask any woman to love you at any time, and be sure of gracious compliance or polite refusal, and no hard feelings in any case. One day De Grey was attempting to explain to the Countess of Raldaban the meaning of "chaperone." "Another English absurdity!" she exclaimed in disgust. "It seems that ye Europeans endeavor by all possible means to render your women simpletons." De Grey began to feel that he was making himself ridiculous among the Nairs, and so allowed the Countess to help him with a course of "social lectures," from which he derived further information about these people.

The Empire of the Nairs was ruled by the family of Seramis. The Emperor was the Samorin; the eldest princess, whether mother, sister, niece, aunt, or cousin, was the Samorina—in memory of Samora, the first great Samorina, who led their foremothers out of bondage. The Empire was divided into provinces, each governed by a prince of high nobility; each province was made up of the manors of counts or barons or the gentry of the



Empire. And from Emperor to the humblest lord, every one at his decease was succeeded by his eldest sister's son. Thus, as no two families could be allied, when a family was extinct, its possessions reverted to its liege-lord, who conferred them on a new one. Hence, no family could become powerful for its political rank; and when an hereditary dignity was conferred upon a man, it was entailed upon the body of his mother, instead of (as in Europe) on his own heirs—which are in fact the heirs of his wife. There were no fore-fathers in Malabar—only fore-mothers and fore-uncles.

Innocence was protected by very severe laws. When boys and girls became of age, they were officially declared mature at an interesting ceremony, in which the Samorina bound each of the girls with a green band (symbol of hope) and girded on the sword of each boy with the words, "Nephew of Heroes, defend with this sword the rights of women." From this time the youth belonged to the state, which might demand his services. It was not customary for men to possess houses. They lived with their female relatives or their mistresses. Of course, the Emperor and officials of state had their palaces, but these were public buildings. Each woman in the Empire received a sum of money out of the public treasury according to the number of her children. "A woman rich in children could never be poor."

Such are some of the significant ideas and incidents in the story of the Nairs, which Shelley perused with enthusiasm.

#### INFLUENCES ON SHELLEY'S WORK AND CONDUCT

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immoral in separation. Of course these ideas may have had other sources than the *Empire of the Nairs*, but there is a suggestive likeness in Shelley's

To promise forever to love the same woman is not less absurd than to promise to believe the same creed. . . .

and Lawrence's

. . . there is no more reason in enacting that a man should love a woman tomorrow because he may love her today, than there would be in compelling a man to dance at the next ball with his partner at the last. . . .

Again, Shelley's unqualified declaration

That which will result from the abolition of marriage will be natural and right because *choice* and *change* will be exempted from restraint. . . .

must have been to some extent the result of his enthusiastic acceptance of the system of the Nairs, for Lawrence says,

It is the privilege of the Nair lady to *choose* her lover and *change* her lover as often as she pleases. . . .

Finally, the passage in his letter to Lawrence—

. . . I had been dull enough not to perceive the greatest argument against it (marriage) until developed in the Nairs, viz., prostitution both legal and illegal . . .

indicates beyond a doubt that one part of his note was inspired by Lawrence's book.

Prostitution is the legitimate offspring of marriage and its accompanying errors. Women, for no other crime than having followed the dictates of natural appetite, are driven with fury from the comforts and sympathies of society. . . . Meanwhile the evil is twofold. Young men, excluded by the fanatical idea of chastity from the society of modest and accomplished women, associate with . . . vicious and miserable beings, destroying thereby all those exquisite and delicate sensibilities whose existence the cold-hearted worldlings have denied; annihilating all genuine passion, and debasing that to a selfish feeling which is the excess of generosity and devotedness.

Shelley's note is too long to quote in full, but I believe it is not overstating the matter to say that the whole of it was influenced by the *Empire of the Nairs*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Macdonald quotes some of these excerpts from *Queen Mab*, but I have thought it wise to include them together with the others.

2. In the text of *Queen Mab* (IX, 87-92) we read—

No longer prostitution's venom'd bane  
Poisoned the springs of happiness and life;  
Woman and man, in confidence and love,  
Equal and free and pure together trod  
The mountain paths of virtue, which no more  
Were stained with blood from many a pilgrim's feet.

This, also, we may safely regard as inspired by the *Empire of the Nairs*.

3. It is a notable fact that the Knights of the Phoenix, the warriors of Malabar, were constantly at war with the polygamists, the Mohammedan enslavers of women. Many references to the Mahometans, in the *Empire of the Nairs*, emphasize over and over again the idea that the followers of Mohammed were by far the greatest offenders against female liberty or the equality of the sexes. It is not difficult, then, to connect the *Empire of the Nairs* with Shelley's poem of 1817, originally called *Laon and Cythna, or the Revolution of the Golden City*,—a title later changed to the *Revolt of Islam*. In a letter to his publisher, Shelley said: "The scene is supposed to be laid in Constantinople and modern Greece, but without much attempt at minute delineation of Mahometan manners." As a matter of fact, with the knowledge that Shelley read the *Empire of the Nairs* less than five years before, we can easily see that "Islam" may have been in Shelley's mind a general term of reference to all lands where women were oppressed by uncongenial marriage bonds. And more important, it carried the suggestion—derived from the *Nairs*—that Mohammedan countries symbolized especially the tyranny of man over the other sex. Certainly, from Canto II to the end, the contents of the poem have a very suggestive likeness to the contents of Lawrence's "romance." Cythna's liberation of the Golden City cannot but suggest the story of how the first great Samorina founded the Empire of the Nairs; Canto VII, containing Cythna's account of her terrible experiences in the harem of Othman

Where like a Spirit in fleshly chains she lay  
Struggling. . . .

Canto VIII, a long narrative of Cythna's freeing the shipload of beautiful maidens destined for the slavery of the harem;

and much of Canto IX also reinforce the impression that Shelley must have been influenced by reminiscences of the Nair warriors, who battled always against the polygamists for the rights of women.

Only a detailed comparison of the poem with Lawrence's book will adequately demonstrate Shelley's obligation. To indicate to what a great extent the thought of the poem paralleled that of the novel, I can only point out a few lines:

II, 1045—"Can man be free if woman be a slave?"

II, 985—"Cythna mourned with me the servitude  
In which the half of mankind were mewed  
Victims of lust and hate, the slaves of slaves."

VIII, 3315—"Woman!—She is his slave, she has become  
A thing I weep to speak—the child of scorn."

IV, 1585—Cythna's freeing of the "Wild-eyed women from their luxurious dungeons" reminds one of the pictures on the walls of Virnapor Castle, the royal palace of the Nairs.

V, 2229—The Nairs frequently reminded De Grey that by the law of marriage in England man and woman were equally enslaved; Shelley says,  
"Man and woman,  
Their common bondage burst, may freely borrow  
From lawless love a solace for their sorrow."

To be sure, the general theme of the *Revolt* like that of the *Empire of the Nairs*, was somewhat more comprehensive than the freeing of women from the indignities and terrors of polygamy. But the actual substance of each is made up of narrative largely concerned with the tyranny of the harem. In each are incidents to show that the respective authors used the customs of the Mohammedan world to illustrate vividly the abuses women must suffer where the sexes are not free and equal.

Shelley expressed his views of the evils of marriage in other poems, in particular, *Rosalind and Helen* and *Epipschidion*. These later expressions are more general, however, and in most of them little tangible influence of the *Empire of the Nairs* can be seen. Future students of this interesting book may be able to add considerably to our present knowledge of Shelley's indebtedness. It seems wise here to confine ourselves to the most

obvious of the parallels which indicate the influence of the Nair system on the poet's thought.

In conclusion, it ought to be remarked that Shelley's conduct as well as his poetry may have been modified to some slight extent by his reading of Lawrence's work, in the spring of 1812. He was then a boy of barely twenty years. Although, in later life, he fails to mention the *Empire of the Nairs*, there is no reason for doubting the sincerity of his repeated assertion, in 1812, that he had subscribed whole-heartedly to the principles it was designed to establish. I do not need to dwell on the events of his life which followed this declaration. I need only point out his strange conduct toward Elizabeth Hitchener and—a few months later—his virtual desertion of Harriet for a more congenial mate. That such incidents and relationships followed his reading of the *Nairs* seems significant. Shelley had read Mary Wollstonecraft and Godwin; the *Empire of the Nairs* revealed such theories as theirs, put into practice under ideal conditions, and promoting the welfare and happiness of all concerned. From them he received the abstract theory; in the *Nairs* he found theory made concrete and convincing by detailed application to human affairs.

Thus the system of the Nairs appears to be an important source of Shelley's ideas regarding marriage. Lawrence's book gave him at least one new angle of the subject, which he made use of in *Queen Mab*. It possibly furnished him with suggestions regarding Mohammedanism as the symbolic foe of freedom and equality. That such a book was published in England in 1811 and was read by Shelley is important, for it helps us to understand the views and conduct of the youthful poet, during those eventful years of his life, 1812-1814.

WALTER GRAHAM

## XLII. THE INDEBTEDNESS OF *OLIVER TWIST* TO DEFOE'S *HISTORY OF THE DEVIL*

In no other novel of Dickens is there presented so sinister a picture of evil as in *Oliver Twist*. It was Dickens' first and last excursion into that underworld which he describes with such psychological truth and objective unreality. His other novels do, indeed, contain villains and murderers but they become less and less melodramatic and more realistic until we have a Mademoiselle Hortense and Julius Slinkton drawn from life. The prototype of Fagin in *Oliver Twist* may have been Ikey Solomons, a celebrated fence of Dickens' own day. Had Dickens followed the same method in depicting Solomons as he used in drawing Mrs. Manning, the original of Mademoiselle Hortense, the result would have been a realistic presentation of a criminal. But he has invested Fagin, Bill Sikes, the Artful Dodger, and their companions in crime, with a quality of horror which Mr. Pugh says lends them "something of the hectic effect of leering, grinning devils in red torment. Fagin, the arch-devil, though he is limned in the fewest possible words, stands forth lurid and malignant as the figure of Satan in medieval pageantry."<sup>1</sup> It is this satanic quality which particularly distinguishes the villains in *Oliver Twist* from those in Dickens' other works.

It is interesting to determine, if possible, how this sinister effect is produced and what may have influenced its conception. It is not the result of a detailed and realistic picture of cut-throats in scenes of degradation and vice. On the contrary Fagin and his followers pass belief, if viewed objectively. It is the psychological truth of their reaction to their evil deeds, and the effect of crime upon character which produces the result. In the story of Fagin and his accomplices there is developed a psychology of crime which shows the subtle power of evil-doing in undermining character until finally the evil-doer becomes the living embodiment of sin, and takes on the characteristics of that arch-prompter of sin, the Devil. This exposition of sin in its effect upon the individual so closely parallels the philos-

<sup>1</sup> E. Pugh, *Charles Dickens' Originals*, N. Y., 1912, p. 249.

ophy of sin in Defoe's *History of the Devil* that it seems probable that Dickens may have been influenced by Defoe's work.

The first instalment of *Oliver Twist* appeared in Bentley's Magazine in February 1837, simultaneously with the last half of *Pickwick*, and Dickens was not "even by a week," Mr. Foster says, "in advance of the printer with either."<sup>2</sup> Owing to a dispute between the author and Mr. Bentley the publication of *Oliver Twist* was discontinued in the summer of 1837. It was resumed in the fall of the same year, and not completed until March 1839, six months after the first edition in book form had appeared. We not only have Mr. Forster's statement that Dickens was not even by a week in advance of the printer in the composition of "Oliver," but as late as July 15, 1838, Dickens wrote to Mr. Serjeant Talfourd: "It is indispensably necessary that "Oliver Twist" should be published in three volumes in September next. I have only just begun the last one, and having the constant drawback of my monthly work shall be sadly harassed to get it finished in time, especially as I have several very important scenes (important to the story I mean) yet to write."<sup>3</sup>

While *Oliver Twist* was appearing serially in Bentley's Magazine, and a year before its publication in book form, Dickens read the *History of the Devil*. In a letter written November 3, 1837, he says: "What a capital thing it is! I bought it for a couple of shillings yesterday morning and have been quite absorbed in it ever since."<sup>4</sup> In the same letter he speaks of the difficulty he is having, while on vacation, in keeping his "hands off Fagin and the rest of them in the evening."

Defoe's philosophy of sin as expressed in the *History of the Devil* concerns itself with the manner in which the Devil manifests himself through human agency, and the effect upon mankind of his methods. He represents the Devil as seldom assuming visible form, but as working through men, in the manner of an evil spirit to secure his own ends. "He finds it for his purpose not to appear in person, except very rarely, and then in disguise, but to act all the rest in the dark, under the

<sup>2</sup> Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*, Phila., 1872, I, 121-22.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of Charles Dickens*, N. Y., n.d. I, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*, I, 139.

vizor of art and craft, making use of persons and methods concealed.”<sup>6</sup> Like Milton’s Satan, he expresses himself in action. His angels and instruments are abroad in every town and city; thousands of the satanic host fill the air, and in every hamlet his emissaries are doing business, making use of scoundrels, beggars and vagabonds. “Thieving and robbing, trick and cheat are part of the craft of his agency, and of the employments which it is his business to encourage.”<sup>6</sup> The manifestation and effect of the Devil’s work is to transform men so that they become in truth devils. This transformation is accomplished by degrees when men become slaves to passion and covetousness. Elsewhere he “acts with them immediately and personally by a magnificent transformation, making them mere devils to themselves, upon all needful occasions, and devils to one another too, whenever he . . . has need of their service.”<sup>7</sup> When revenge and passion lead men to commit murder, lay plots and snares for the lives of their enemies and thirst for blood, it is because the Devil has put their souls into a violent ferment and they are “precipitated into mischief and at last into ruin.”<sup>8</sup> Men sell themselves to the Devil and every crime committed puts them further in his power, until, having been detected in capital crime, they are thrown into prison, tried, convicted and executed, and Satan with all his skill, is powerless to unlock their fetters, much less the prison door.

Fagin and his band of thieves offer such material, as, according to Defoe, the Devil delights to work through for the fulfillment of his designs. In “the old shrivelled Jew” is revealed a character truly satanic. He is “a curiosity of ugliness” whose villainous-looking and repulsive face at times assumed “an expression of villany perfectly demoniacal.” He is avaricious, crafty, cunning, wily and wears a look of “devilish anticipation.” He is frequently spoken of as “the old gentleman” and “the merry old gentleman,” a well-known euphemism for the Devil. Nancy calls him “Devil . . . and worse than Devil”;<sup>9</sup> and he appears in the same guise to Sikes who admonishes his

<sup>6</sup> Defoe, *History of the Devil*, Phila., 1853, p. 253.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292.

<sup>9</sup> *Oliver Twist*, N. Y., 1902, p. 431.



dog: "Don't you know the devil when he's got a great coat on?"<sup>10</sup> As he sits gloating over his treasure chest of ill-gotten gold, he is the living symbol of avarice and covetousness. As Defoe says of the Devil: "Thieving and robbing, trick and cheat are part of the craft of his agency,"<sup>11</sup> and all of his evil deeds are actuated by the love of gold. "Avarice leads him to rob, plunder and destroy for money, and to commit sometimes the worst of violences to obtain the wicked reward."<sup>12</sup> He describes his bargain with Monk, which bound him to lead Oliver into a life of crime, as "the man against the child for a bag of gold."<sup>13</sup> He falls into violent rages, like those ferments of the "spirits of the soul"<sup>14</sup> described by Defoe. As he contemplates his revenge for Nancy's treachery, his face is "so distorted and pale, and eyes so red and bloodshot, that he looked less like a man than like some hideous phantom, moist from the grave, and worried by an evil spirit."<sup>15</sup> By his connivance at Nancy's murder he fulfills his bargain with the Devil, who has led him by degrees from crime to crime, until having committed a capital offense, he is taken to Newgate, tried, convicted and executed.

Besides the satanic conception of Fagin, *Oliver Twist* also contains incidents which recall passages in the *History of the Devil*. The most striking of these have to do with apparitions. Defoe says: "Ghosts and apparitions sometimes come and show themselves on particular accounts; and some of these particulars respect doing justice, repairing wrongs, preventing mischief; sometimes in matters very considerable, and on things so necessary to public benefit, that we are tempted to believe they proceed from some vigilant spirit, who wishes us well."<sup>16</sup> These apparitions assume human shape and appear on particular occasions.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168. Chapter 19 in which this reference occurs, appeared in Bentley's Magazine in December, 1837, a month after Dickens had read the *History of the Devil*. This chapter marks the beginning of the sinister development of Fagin's character.

<sup>11</sup> Defoe, *History of the Devil*, p. 268.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292.

<sup>13</sup> *Oliver Twist*, p. 177.

<sup>14</sup> Defoe, *History of the Devil*, p. 292.

<sup>15</sup> *Oliver Twist*, p. 437.

<sup>16</sup> Defoe, *History of the Devil*, p. 249.

After the brutal murder of Nancy, Sikes fled from London to the country where he could get no rest day or night for the vision which pursued him. "Every object before him, substance or shadow, still or moving, took the semblance of some fearful thing; but these fears were nothing compared to the sense that haunted him of that morning's ghastly figure following at his heels. He could trace its shadow in the gloom, supply the smallest item of the outline, and note how still and solemn it seemed to stalk along. He could hear its garments rustling in the leaves, and every breath of wind came laden with that last low cry." When Sikes tried to sleep new torture awaited him: "For now a vision came before him, as constant and more terrible than that from which he had escaped. Those widely staring eyes, so lustreless and so glassy, that he had better borne to see them than think upon them, appeared in the midst of darkness; light in themselves but giving light to nothing."<sup>17</sup>

The apparition was finally to cause Sikes' death as he stood on the roof of his lodging, with the rope about his shoulders, in a desperate attempt to save himself from the mob beneath. "The eyes again!"<sup>18</sup> he cried, as he staggered, lost his balance, and fell from the roof, hung by the rope which was to have saved him. In this incident of the rope Dickens may also have recalled one related by Defoe, in which a man who had hanged himself in an attic is not cut down until nearly dead because his rescuers were misled by an apparition.<sup>19</sup>

Defoe speaks of certain apparitions "which . . . came to detect a murderer in Gloucestershire, and others, who appeared to prevent the ruining an orphan, for want of finding a deed that was not lost."<sup>20</sup> In *Oliver Twist* may be found a reminiscence of this incident. The will left by Oliver's father, in which he deeded Oliver half his property in case "that in his minority he should never have stained his name with any public act of dishonour, meanness, cowardice or wrong"<sup>21</sup> was burned by Monk's mother. Monk, Oliver's half-brother, in order that Oliver might not inherit the legacy, bribed Fagin to make a

<sup>17</sup> *Oliver Twist*, p. 451-52.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 479.

<sup>19</sup> Defoe, *History of the Devil*, p. 224-25.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>21</sup> *Oliver Twist*, p. 485.

criminal of him. Through Nancy's revelation of the plot, Oliver is rescued, and Monk made to confess. The letter which accompanied the will and other proofs of it were kept, and their hiding place revealed by Fagin just before his execution.

It would seem probable that Dickens, having written the opening chapters of *Oliver Twist* in which he had introduced Fagin and his band of thieves, observed the kinship between them and the emissaries of the Devil pictured by Defoe, and henceforth was influenced in the development of these characters by the *History of the Devil*. Such recent reading of Defoe would account for the satanic quality—unique in Dickens' writing—which invests Fagin and some of the other characters in *Oliver Twist*.

MARIE HAMILTON LAW

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### XLIII. ANOTHER SOURCE FOR *THE CLOISTER AND THE HEARTH*

Charles Reade's masterpiece, *The Cloister and the Hearth*, gives an admirable picture of life in the Fifteenth Century. The reader wanders along deserted roads and through deep forests; he sees the inside of cottages, monasteries, inns, caves, and palaces; he makes the acquaintance of peasants and nobles, churchmen and artists, hermits and robbers. The life so opulently pictured is not limited to one country, but flows through Holland, Germany, Burgundy, and Italy.

In the preparation of so extensive a novel, Reade carried on laborious researches, steeping himself in the lore of the time that he might render the local color perfectly. The borrowings must indeed have been numberless, and very many of them, such as those from Erasmus and Coryat, have been traced by Mr. Wheeler in the notes to his able edition of Reade's novel.<sup>1</sup>

In one of Reade's letters, however, we get a hint of a source not detected by this careful editor: "I have got a book over from Paris," declares the novelist, "two large volumes—on the Hotels and Taverns of the Middle Ages. I find much good matter in it for *A Good Fight*."<sup>2</sup> *A Good Fight*, it must be observed, was the early form of *The Cloister and the Hearth* which appeared serially in 1859 in *Once a Week* and which Reade cut short by a hasty, improvised dénouement on account of a quarrel with the editor. Unwilling to let the book stand in this mutilated form, however, the author, after more research, published it at full length under the title by which we know it and with the conclusion which he had originally intended. In another letter, too, Reade mentions these French volumes: "The book I have had over from France is long, but full of curious knowledge. I don't despair of making *A Good Fight* a remarkable story yet, but, of course, I cannot feel sure."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, ed. C. B. Wheeler, Oxford Univ. Press, 1915. My page references are always to this edition.

<sup>2</sup> C. L. Reade and Compton Reade, *Charles Reade* (London, 1887), II, 89.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 91.

Though in his Introduction Mr. Wheeler<sup>4</sup> deplores the fact that neither the title nor the author of this French work are given, there can be very few books indeed that will answer this description—a large, two-volume work on medieval hotels and probably written in French. The *Catalogue Général de la Librairie Française* for the years 1840 to 1875, indeed, has only one book answering to the description. This is the *Histoire des Hôtelleries, Cabarets, Hôtels Garnis, Restaurants et Cafés, et des Anciennes Communautés et Confréries d'Hôteliers, de Marchands de Vins, de Restaurateurs, de Limonadiers, etc., etc.* by Francisque Michel and Édouard Fournier, Paris, 1851. This work has two volumes, which, though of only ordinary thickness, have large pages, six and a half by ten and a half inches. Its cumbrous title and double authorship, moreover, would make Reade especially unlikely to mention them in a letter. Furthermore, it was published only a short time before Reade began writing and, hence, would be particularly desirable to consult, being a new authority. The only trouble, in fact, is that Reade speaks of a book on the hotels of the middle ages, whereas the work in question discusses those of all periods. This, however, is not a serious objection. As a prospective writer on the Fifteenth Century, Reade would be interested in two parts of the book, those on the middle ages and on the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, respectively. Since these sections comprise rather more than half of the work, it would be easy to speak loosely of the whole book as treating the middle ages.

Thus, so far as external indications are concerned, we should be inclined to take Michel and Fournier's book as the one which Reade mentions. The internal similarities which we shall touch upon in the course of our discussion will confirm this identification beyond question.

The *Histoire des Hôtelleries* is, as Reade observes, "full of curious knowledge." Indeed, it often inclines to be gossipy. The general conditions of the hotels of each age are described, and these accounts are diversified by copious quotations from old authors, both in prose and verse. The whole is enlivened by numerous queer tales of adventure.

<sup>4</sup> P. vii.

In discussing the inns of Spain, the *Histoire des Hôtelleries* touches upon the adventures of Quevedo's Pablo and, translating Quevedo's words, describes the mistress of an inn where he went as "blonde et blanche, éveillée, clignotante, un peu rieuse, un peu coquette. Elle zézayait quelque peu, elle avait peur des souris et se piquait d'avoir de jolies mains; aussi, pour les faire voir, elle mouchait très souvent les chandelles et découpait à table. A l'église, elle avait toujours les mains jointes; dans les rues elle avait sans cesse quelque chose à désigner; chez elle, c'était à tout moment une épingle à remettre à sa chevelure; elle jouait de préférence aux dames; elle faisait sans cesse semblant de bâiller, afin de montrer ses dents et de se faire croix sur la bouche. Enfin, toute la maison n'était occupée que de ses mains, et tout le monde, même ses parents, en était ennuyé."<sup>6</sup> Michel and Fournier then add, speaking for themselves: "Une auberge tenue par une pareille mijaurée devait être peu fréquentée."

This passage is indubitably the source of one of the inn episodes in *The Clistier and the Hearth*, where the statements of Quevedo are expanded into narrative.<sup>6</sup> The landlady is vain of her hands and exhibits them on all possible occasions. She carves the goose; she handles her hairpins; she gambles with the soldier Denys; she points out the sights of the town; she clasps her hands devoutly during grace at table. Furthermore, she pretends to be horribly frightened by a mouse, and while Gerard, the hero of the book, is relating a story, she angers him by numerous yawns, which she feigns in order to display one of the omnipresent hands by raising it to her mouth. Everybody is sick of her foolish pranks, and the inn has ceased to be prosperous. Thus, the borrowing from Quevedo is proved beyond doubt, and this borrowing must have been made, not from the Spanish, but through the passage in this French book, for Reade speaks of the landlady repeatedly as a *mijaurée*, and this word is used only by Michel and Fournier and not by Quevedo.

In this same episode, too, Reade has inserted some bits of information which come from other places in the *Histoire des*

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, II, 139. The Spanish original is to be found in Francisco Gomez de Quevedo Y Villegas, *Obras* (Madrid, 1852), I, 516. (*Historia de la Vida del Buscon Llamado Don Pablos*, Book II, chap. 5.)

<sup>7</sup> P. 260 ff.



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XVII<sup>e</sup> SIECLE.



TROUPE DE BOHEMIENS EN VOYAGE.

See Gravelle, *Vol. 1, p. 11, 12.*

French State Archive.

*Hôtelleries*, namely, the desire of inn hostesses to be great ladies, their consequent insistence on wearing the patrician *chaperon* of velvet on their heads, and perhaps their habit of staring vacantly at the courteous bows of guests.<sup>7</sup>

At another point in the *Histoire des Hôtels* we read the account of a traveler, Courtois d'Arras, who meets two girls at an inn. After eating and drinking in his company, they invite him to gamble with them and finally steal all of his money and make off with it. This tale probably suggested a similar experience, recounted, however, more naturally and with more spirit, in *The Cloister and the Hearth*. Denys, Gerard's soldier friend, meets two girls and invites them to a repast at an inn. They next gamble with him and, finding cheating too slow a method of emptying his well-filled purse, at length steal the rest of its contents.<sup>8</sup>

The *Histoire des Hôtels* contains many pictures of low life, and two of these Reade has used as the basis of two descriptions in *The Cloister and the Hearth*. The first picture is a big plate opposite page 144 of the second volume of the French book and represents a "Troupe de Bohémiens en Voyage." Reade's description of the company of Bohemians met by Gerard on his wanderings is merely a verbal account of this picture, as is obvious from a comparison of the first plate in this article with the following description:

With that came along so motley a crew as never your eyes beheld, dear Margaret. Marched at their head one with a banner on a steel-pointed lance, and girded with a great long sword, and in velvet doublet and leathern jerkin, the which stuffs ne'er saw I wedded afore on mortal flesh, and a gay feather in his lordly cap, and a couple of dead fowls at his back, the which, an the spark had come by honestly, I am much mistook. Him followed two wives and babes on two lean horses, whose flanks still rattled like parchment drum, being beaten by kettles and caldrons. Next an armed man a-riding of a horse, which drew a cart full of females and children: and in it, sitting backwards, a lusty, lazy knave, lance in hand, with his luxurious feet raised on a holy-water pail, that lay along, and therein a cat, new kittened, sat glowing o'er her brood, and sparks for eyes. And the cart-horse cavalier had on his shoulders a round bundle, and thereon did perch a cock and crowed with zeal, poor ruffler, proud of his brave feathers as the rest, and haply with more reason, being his own. And on an ass another wife and new-born child; and one poor quean a-foot scarce dragged herself along, so near her time was she, yet held two little ones by the

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. des Hôtels*, 75-76. The last point is in some satirical verses.

<sup>8</sup> *Hist. des Hôtels*, I, 207. *Cloister and Hearth*, pp. 243, 247-8, 251.

hand, and helplessly helped them on the road. And the little folk were just a farce; some rode sticks, with horses' heads, between their legs, which pranced and caracoled, and soon wearied the riders so sore, they stood stock still and wept, which cavaliers were presently taken into cart and cuffed. And one, more grave, lost in a man's hat and feather, walked in Egyptian darkness, handed by a girl; another had the great saucepan in his back and a tremendous three-footed clay pot sat on his head and shoulders, swallowing him so as he too went darkling led by his sweetheart three foot high.<sup>9</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Gerard comes upon this same company encamped. The source of this description is the plate entitled "Le Camp des Bohémiens," which is found opposite page 162 in the second volume of the French book. In this account, to be sure, Reade has introduced two additional figures who have already appeared in his narrative, but a comparison of the second plate in the article with the account will show how much indebted he is to the picture:

And rising after meat and meditation, and travelling forward, we found them camped between two great trees on a common by the wayside; and they had lighted a great fire, and on it was their caldron; and, one of the trees slanting o'er the fire, a kid hung down by a chain from the tree-fork to the fire, and in the fork was wedged an urchin turning still the chain to keep the meat from burning, and a gay spark with a feather in his cap cut up a sheep; and another had spitted a leg of it on a wooden stake; and a woman ended chanticler's pride with wringing of his neck. And under the other tree four rufflers played at cards and quarrelled, and no word sans oath; and of these lewd gamblers one had cockles in his hat and was my reverend pilgrim. And a female, young and comely, and dressed like a butterfly, sat and mended a heap of dirty rags....[At this point, Reade introduces another man, whom, together with the woman and the "reverend pilgrim," Gerard had met travelling apart from the main band.] . . . . Natheless, we soon espied a wife set with her back against the tree, and her hair down, and her face white, and by her side a wench held up to her eye a new-born babe, with words of cheer, and the rough fellow, her husband, did bring her hot wine in a cup, and bade her take courage. And just o'er the place she sat, they had pinned from bough to bough of those neighboring trees two shawls, and blankets two, together, to keep the drizzle off her.<sup>10</sup>

No doubt Reade used in *The Cloister and the Hearth* many random bits of information drawn from the *Histoire des Hôtelleries*, but of course it is often difficult to be sure about such borrowings since he might just as well have come upon the same facts elsewhere. In a particular hostelry, Gerard is served a bottle of wine in which the glass is fraudulently thick toward

<sup>9</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, pp. 386 ff. Both French plates are from prints by Callot.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 387 ff.

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VIII<sup>ME</sup> SIÈCLE.



LE CAMP DES BOHÉMIENS.



the bottom. In the French book, similarly, we have an account of vessels for wine with bottoms made falsely so as to contain less than they appeared to.<sup>11</sup> Gerard remonstrates with the innkeeper on the deception, and the latter delivers a long harangue on the difficulties of the profession. He declares that soldiers receiving two sous a day eat two sous' worth and drink besides, a point touched on in the French book.<sup>12</sup> Again, innkeepers, he asserts, are blamed for keeping open during church service in spite of the fact that the law makes them take in travelers at this time, a state of affairs which may be learned from the *Histoire des Hôtelleries*.<sup>13</sup> The weddings of artisans, moreover, are attended by more people than inns can accommodate, and hence are held in the halls of the gentry, rented for the occasion, a practice which is also recounted in the French volumes.<sup>14</sup>

One inn in *The Cloister and the Hearth* is known as *Les Trois Poissons*, which, according to Michel and Fournier, was a favorite name with French hosteleries.<sup>15</sup> Less sure is the borrowing of the hotel name, *The Three Moors*, from *Les Trois Maures*.<sup>16</sup> Mention is likewise made in both books of the custom of writing guests' accounts on the smoky ceiling of inns<sup>17</sup> and of putting up the armorial bearings of distinguished visitors.<sup>18</sup>

Almost surely, Reade takes from the French book the statement that Paris was attacked by wolves in 1420 and again in 1438; in general, they ate any dead bodies they found in the streets and in cemeteries, and on the latter occasion they devoured fourteen persons in one month between Montmartre and the Porte Saint-Antoine.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the name of the merchant to whom Gerard acts as secretary, Fugger, may have been derived from the mention of this rich family by Michel and Fournier.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, p. 248; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, II, 69-70.

<sup>12</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, p. 249; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, I, 245.

<sup>13</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, pp. 250 f.; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, II, 74.

<sup>14</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, p. 249; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, I, 340-41.

<sup>15</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, p. 192; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, II, 44.

<sup>16</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, p. 399; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, I, 338.

<sup>17</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, p. 196; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, II, 123.

<sup>18</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, pp. 126, 394; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, II, 97.

<sup>19</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, p. 259; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, II, 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, pp. 399, 408; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, I, 249.

Again, some of the details embodied in the account of Gerard and his beggar master may be taken from the *Histoire des Hôtelleries*. The name Bon-bec given Gerard by the beggar may perhaps come from plates in the French book.<sup>21</sup> Another plate of a young man wheeling a decrepit beggar in a wheel barrow may be the source of his master's idea of tying himself in a knot and being wheeled by Gerard through a town to excite pity.<sup>22</sup> Finally the beggar's great flattery may possibly come from the same book.<sup>23</sup>

Three other episodes in *The Cloister and the Hearth* demand our attention, all of them episodes for which ideas are borrowed from the *Histoire des Hôtelleries*. In one of these, Gerard, now a friar, goes to an inn to reclaim a nun who has run away from her convent and is there leading a life of infamy.<sup>24</sup> Mr. Wheeler, in the notes to this passage in the Oxford edition of the novel, expresses the belief that this episode is taken from Erasmus' colloquy *The Young Man and Harlot*. Though there are points in common between these two, there is a closer resemblance between the scene in *The Cloister and the Hearth* and the excerpts from a medieval play by Hrosvitha entitled *Abraham*, which are contained in the *Histoire des Hôtelleries*.<sup>25</sup> The only point which Reade's episode has in common with the Erasmus colloquy and not with the *Abraham* is the visitor's expressing to the girl a wish to have a place so secret that even God cannot see them. On the other hand, there are several points in the passage in *The Cloister and the Hearth* which are found in *Abraham* but not in the Erasmus colloquy. The girl is named Marie in the French translation of *Abraham* and Mary in the novel, and both are escaped nuns, whereas there is no indication that the girl in Erasmus has ever been in such a walk of life. The protagonist is a churchman in play and novel, but apparently not so in the colloquy. Furthermore, in both *Abraham* and *The Cloister and the Hearth*, but not in Erasmus,

<sup>21</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, pp. 376 ff.; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, the plates opposite I, 312 and II, 368.

<sup>22</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, p. 378; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, the plate opposite II, 84.

<sup>23</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, pp. 375, 376; *Hist. des Hôtelleries*, II, 142.

<sup>24</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, pp. 565 ff.

<sup>25</sup> I, 200 ff. The original Latin text may be found in *Hrosvithae Opera*, ed. K. Strecker, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 169 ff.



he assumes the disguise of a layman and first consults the landlord of the inn as to the possibility of an interview with the girl. Thereafter, in the course of a conversation with her, the visitor removes his disguise and in the argument reminds her that, in order to save her, he has been compelled to do actions unsuitable for a churchman, such as entering an inn. Finally, in both play and novel, after the girl has decided to return to her old life, she desires to take her jewels with her to sell for the benefit of the poor, but is persuaded by the churchman to abandon them. Thus, it is evident that in this episode Reade drew most of his points from *Abraham* and added only one from the Erasmus colloquy.

It must be noted, moreover, that in this episode Reade works up his material most skilfully. He brings in the girl sooner than does the play and introduces a quick and telling exchange of speeches between Gerard and the landlord; whereas, in *Abraham* the latter remains for some time without much effect, Gerard and the girl are left alone in the novel, and he starts her at once on the way to repentance by desiring a place where God cannot see them, the effective borrowing from Erasmus. He then shows her a golden chain from the convent, and she, thinking he has purloined it, recoils in horror. He takes this propitious moment to doff his disguise and appear as a friar. The chain, be it noted in passing, is a most successful dramatic touch here and elsewhere, and is Reade's own invention. In the remainder of the scene, instead of talking theology at considerable length as in *Abraham*, the cleric appeals more to the girl's feelings. Finally, in taking her out of the inn, he is waylaid by the landlord and keeps the latter from forcibly retaining the girl only by threatening him with the curse of hell fire. The whole episode, then, is an excellent demonstration of how an author gathers together his materials from different sources and, by adding from his own invention and molding the whole, secures a scene that is dramatically most effective.

Finally, of what are perhaps the two most vivid episodes in *The Cloister and the Hearth*, one probably owes its central thought to the *Histoire des Hôtelleries*, and the other surely does.

The central idea of the first is found in a quotation in the French book from an account of the life of the bandit Fetzter, written by himself. He relates that he was imprisoned in an old mill situated on the ramparts of a town. He and his companion wishing to escape made their way to the very top of the structure.

Il me vint à l'idée que les vieilles voiles du moulin nous seraient utiles si nous pouvions nous en emparer sans être aperçus; nous en tirâmes en effet deux à nous. Avec la première, nous pourrions, me dis-je, nous laisser glisser jusqu'à la galerie qui entoure la tour à la hauteur de la meule, et avec la seconde, sauter jusqu'à terre. Aussitôt fait que dit: la voile fut fixée tant bien que mal au balcon où nous étions, et saisissant étroitement la toile dans mes bras, je me mis à descendre. Le vent, par malheur, soufflait comme le diable, et une bourrasque qui éclata me froissa si violemment contre cette maudite muraille, que tous mes os en craquèrent. Aveuglé par les plis de la voile, étourdi par les contusions, je ne savais plus où j'étais ni ce que je faisais. Avais-je atteint la galerie? L'avais-je dépassée? Les forces me manquèrent, mes doigts s'engourdirent et lâchèrent prise: je tombai.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, having reached the ground, they escaped in spite of the alarm given by a sentinel.

In the episode of *The Cloister and the Hearth*, which is probably inspired by this passage,<sup>27</sup> Gerard strays from the merchants with whom he is traveling to Italy and, losing his way, takes refuge in an old mill. On awaking, he sees himself surrounded by a crowd of ruffians, who have bolted the door. He is shown to a sleeping room in the top of the mill where, instead of choosing the couch, he sleeps against the door to prevent anyone's entering. Soon the bed falls out of sight through a trap door. Knowing that when they do not find his crushed body below, they will come up for him, he looks out the window and sees the sails of the mill slowly revolving. Weaving a rope of straw,<sup>28</sup> he lets himself down a short distance, catches a turning sail and descends to the ground. Since he cannot run on account of hurting his leg and hears the assassins running up to his room, he sets the mill on fire, by means of hay and barrels of smuggled spirits, with the result that he escapes.

<sup>26</sup> *Hist. des Hôtels*, II, 175. Michel and Fournier aptly remark of Fetzter, "On ferait le plus beau roman avec l'histoire de sa vie."

<sup>27</sup> P. 402 ff.

<sup>28</sup> This may be suggested by the escape from prison of another bandit by weaving a rope of straw. The account is found within two pages of the Fetzter anecdote, i.e., *Hist. des Hôtels*, II, 177.

The mode of escape of the bandit Fetzer, as narrated in the French passage, is that he took two old sails, not now on the arms of the mill, and, after fastening them to the structure, climbed down, as if upon a rope. The passage, however, may easily be misinterpreted, at least on the first reading, in that one may think of the sails as still on the arms of the mill and may thus imagine Fetzner as making his way downward by riding on them as they revolved. I must confess that I made this error myself and, on the first reading, three out of four friends to whom I showed the text reacted similarly. It is not unreasonable, then, to suppose that Reade, on perusing the passage for the first time, made the same mistake, or at least had this mode of descent suggest itself to his imaginative mind. If this is so—and it appears to be the easiest way of explaining this rather unusual adventure—we have the germ of Gerard's mill experience and the most original touch in the whole affair. As in the previous case, however, Reade has molded this motif so as to get the greatest effect. He has added the proper suspense in the evil-looking ruffians and the bed dropping away suddenly, and, likewise, adequate motivation in Gerard's being sent to the top of the mill so that he will be killed by the fall, in his failing to sleep on the bed so as to block the door, and in his hurt foot causing him to set fire to the structure. Consequently, the tensivity of the whole episode is greatly heightened, and the reader is more inclined to accept it as a natural occurrence.

The source of the other vivid passage in *The Cloister and the Hearth* is surely the following account quoted in French translation from the table talk of Luther:

Conrad de Ross, secrétaire de Maximilien, homme d'un courage héroïque, étant en voyage, s'arrêta chez un hôte qui était un voleur; il y reçut bon accueil, et il vit une jeune fille qui pleurait; il la questionna en secret, et elle lui dit qu'elle était forcée de résider parmi les brigands, et que l'hôte, dans la nuit, donnerait un signal qui ferait venir des paysans des environs, instruits qu'en pareil cas il y avait des voyageurs à égorger et à dépouiller. Conrad se tint sur ses gardes, et passa la nuit tout armé; quand les paysans vinrent, il les attaqua avec l'aide de ses serviteurs, il en tua plusieurs, et il emmena l'hôte bien garrotté.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Hist. des Hôtels*, I, 344-45. The original of this, in Latin and German, is found in *Luthers Tischreden* (6 vols., Weimar, 1912-21), I, 379.

This is clearly the central idea of the scene where Gerard and Denys defend themselves against a band of assassins in an hostelry of Burgundy.<sup>20</sup> Being requested to pay in advance, Denys throws down a gold coin on the table. During supper, the serving maid Manon looks at Denys repeatedly and finally says that she will meet him after the meal. On going there, he finds her weeping, and at first she says nothing but that her sweetheart is dead. However, she soon declares that she will speak out clearly though she is killed for doing so, since, as it later is shown, Denys looks like the dead sweetheart. She then informs him that the landlord impelled by the sight of his gold, has gone for a band of assassins who will kill both him and Gerard in their beds. Denys now starts to go to Gerard's room to warn him to flee, but just then the assassins arrive and, though Denys joins his friend upstairs, the two men are trapped there. In the treatment of the theme thus far, Reade has been careful to add proper motivation in the gold piece, Denys' resemblance to Manon's lover, and the arrival of the assassins before the friends have a chance to flee. During the rest of it, he uses suspense in most masterly wise. Manon has gone for help. Meanwhile, the friends converse in terrified whispers while the ruffians downstairs wait for them to go to sleep. An additional suspense is provided by one of the rascals being a stentorian-voiced giant who is known as the Abbot and wields a huge battle-axe in combat. However, the most noteworthy and original feature in the whole episode, in spite of a touch of the melodramatic, is that, when the friends kill the first man who is sent upstairs by his comrades to murder them, they tie him in a chair and Gerard applies phosphorus to his face, writing on his forehead the words *La Mort*. This occasions a dramatic situation when the other robbers see the ghastly figure, adds another medieval note in their belief that the corpse is possessed by the devil, and leads up to the interesting accusation of Gerard as a sorcerer. After killing several of the assassins, including the Abbot, the two men are saved by the soldiers brought by Manon, and the landlord is taken prisoner as an accomplice.

A study of the *Histoire des Hôtelleries*, then, has clearly proved that Reade borrowed facts about the Fifteenth Century

<sup>20</sup> *Cloister and Hearth*, pp. 210 ff.

from its text and pictures and also derived from its pages various suggestions as to episodes. Moreover, our study has likewise thrown light on Reade's methods of composition. It has shown that he used these borrowings most skilfully. The facts he wove into his pictures of dying medievalism, and the suggestions he built up with all his power of combination, invention, motivation, and suspense into some of the most dramatic and powerful scenes in the novel.

ALBERT MORTON TURNER

#### XLIV. A NEWLY DISCOVERED AMERICAN SONNET SEQUENCE

The American sonnet before the Civil War is not a rich field. Few of our literary men had written in this difficult and conventional form. Some, like James Gates Percival and William G. Simms, wrote poems of fourteen lines in such eccentric variations as to defy classification. A few, like Jones Very or Park Benjamin, hid an occasional fine sonnet among numerous negligible ones. Some, like David Humphreys and Washington Allston, achieved mere mixed echoes of English originals. Among the major poets before the War, Bryant wrote five and Lowell twenty-seven sonnets. Longfellow, whose great period of sonnet writing was yet to come, had written but nine sonnets in 1861. Compared with these poets, George Henry Boker stands alone, both for the quality and quantity of his work. By his contemporaries he was regarded as the greatest American sonnet writer. *The Book of the Sonnet*,<sup>1</sup> a collection of American and English Sonnets, edited by Leigh Hunt and S. Adams Lee, is dedicated to Boker. Both in the text and introduction he is given more space than any other American. The editors' phrase, "such sonnets as those of Wordsworth in English and George Henry Boker in American literature" indicates the height of his contemporary reputation. *The Philadelphia Press*, December 22, 1881, tells the story of Boker's confusion, when as a young man, he attended a dinner addressed by Daniel Webster, who, in the midst of his discourse, acknowledged Boker's presence and recited his beautiful "Lear and Cordelia" from start to finish, to illustrate a point.

Yet all of this recognition was based upon his sonnets published up to the time of the *Plays and Poems* of 1856, a collected edition containing eighty-seven sonnets. The present writer was therefore interested to find, during an examination of Boker's manuscripts,<sup>2</sup> an unpublished sequence of three hundred

<sup>1</sup> Boston, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to the late Mrs. George Boker, daughter-in-law of the poet, who graciously permitted him to use the manuscripts. Since her recent death they have been transferred to the Princeton University Library.

and fourteen sonnets, the only extended sequence by an American poet. Since it was composed in a period of Boker's life during which only a half-dozen sonnets were published by him (1857-1887), it presents much new critical and biographical material; and best of all it is interesting because of the sonnets themselves.

So little has been written about Boker that he requires some introduction to the present-day reader.<sup>8</sup> The poet was born in Philadelphia, October 6, 1823. As a member of an old and wealthy family he entered into the conservative and aristocratic traditions which Philadelphia at that time preserved. In spite of the prejudices of his class, he became a poet. Yet much of the time and energy which he might have given to literature was absorbed by the demands of the social life which claimed his support, and also by the duties of an active public career. The Civil War, although it was responsible for the production of *Poems of the War* (1864) in the final analysis lessened Boker's literary production. His patriotic spirit led him to take an active part in the founding of the Union League of Philadelphia in 1863. From that time until 1871, he served as secretary of the organization, and during the war he gave all his time to the many patriotic projects and services organized by the League. In 1871 he accepted the post of United States Minister to Turkey, offered by President Grant in recognition of his work for the Union; and the next seven years were given to the ardent service of the United States in Turkey and Russia. But from 1846 until 1856, he had given the best of his time and thought to literature, and he never entirely relinquished his efforts. He labored for years, as these sonnets clearly show, under great disappointment and the sense of insufficient recognition. He was not in harmony with the spirit of his times. When the tide of popular interest was turning toward the realistic in drama and toward new forms of poetry, he turned for his material to romantic sources, and for his poetic forms to the Renaissance. It is little wonder, at a time when the realistic novel was establishing itself, and Dion Boucicault's realism of the streets

<sup>8</sup> For a sketch of Boker's life, see "George Henry Boker—Playwright and Patriot" by Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Scribners*, LXXIII, No. 6, and *A History of American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War*, by the same author, Harpers, 1923.

was popular on the stage, that the romantic tragedies of Boker or his Renaissance lyrical cadences seemed old-fashioned. These disappointments, and the demands of public duties, caused him in middle life to turn his most active attention away from literature.

Yet Boker's actual literary output is not meagre, even though the most of it was the work of some ten years. He is most widely known as the author of *Francesca da Rimini* (1855) which marks the height of romantic tragedy in America. It was first acted by E. L. Davenport; from 1882 until 1891, it was one of Lawrence Barrett's most successful plays; and as recently as 1901 it was revived successfully by Mr. Otis Skinner. In all, Boker published seven volumes of poetry, and six of his ten plays were successfully acted. His *Poems of the War* were extremely influential in the struggle to solidify opinion and to inspire patriotism in the flagging Union troops. His two unpublished plays on the story of Nydia and Glaucus in Bulwer's *Last Days of Pompeii* are of the very best of American dramatic blank verse, and it is to be regretted that Lawrence Barrett, for whom they were written, did not use them.

The sonnet sequence which forms the subject of the present article includes all of Boker's sonnets, except a few published fugitively, from the year after his collected edition (1856) until 1887. In quality they are so good that no American, except Longfellow, can be said to rival Boker in this delicate art. That Boker intended to publish the sequence is shown by the note on the first page of the manuscript: "Make this the first sonnet in the Book." The sequence records a love affair, real or imaginary, which, like most of Boker's private life, is shrouded in a mystery increased by conflicting rumors. The chief gap in the sequence occurs during the years from 1872 to 1876 inclusive, when the pressure of his diplomatic work, as his unpublished letters to his friend Bayard Taylor clearly show, kept Boker from writing. From 1877 to 1887 there are but thirty-one sonnets; and these lack the homogeneity of the earlier sequence. The large majority, two hundred and eighty-three sonnets, were written from 1857 to 1871.

<sup>4</sup> The Bayard Taylor MSS. are in the Cornell University Library.



Boker, like Longfellow, was a master of the Italian form; he never used any other. Like his dramas, his sonnets were nourished in the study of Renaissance literature, in which he was interested all of his life. The sequence he inherited from the Renaissance; but further than that he caught the airy lyrical sweetness of his masters, and made as daring use of the conceit and rich figure of speech as they had done. It is interesting to note the Elizabethan detachment of these poems. They seem entirely apart from the life which was stirring about the poet. In the strenuous days from 1861 to 1865, when his life was crammed with duties growing out of the war and his post at the Union League, he kept this life out of his sonnets to a surprising degree. Only three of them use war material, and they are the three published in *Poems of the War*. Only one other from the sequence has been published at all.

It is only fair to say that these sonnets are uneven in quality. Yet the manuscript is in so unfinished a state that one cannot tell what the poet's final judgment would have been, or how many he would have published. Certainly the best of them are very fine indeed. Sonnet 95 illustrates his perfection of form, and some of his typical faults:

Death on his mission sought my Lady's side;  
 She turned her eyes, and caught him in their glance;  
 Something he felt beneath his grey ribs dance,  
 Unknown before, that curbed his chilly pride.  
 But when she spoke, unmarked the sands did glide  
 Through his dark glass, while on her utterance  
 He hung supine, in a forgetful trance,  
 And the red drops upon his scythe-blade dried.  
 He stood unarmed; she smiled to see his plight;  
 But Death, poor Death, could only grin and groan,  
 Seeking for favor in my Darling's sight.  
 Then with a laugh she struck the goblin prone,  
 And he crawled backward to his native night,  
 Pierced with a wound more fatal than his own.

In spite of the perfection of the form, one feels that this misses greatness because of the occasional triteness that afflicted Boker's diction. It certainly illustrates his daring use of the conceit, and declares its Renaissance ancestry at almost every phrase. Yet there is almost always a vigorous poetic

imagination behind the work. His sonnets have something to say, and reveal a strong sense of the poetic situation. Sonnet 159 illustrates this point so clearly that I quote it:

I raise this mantling beaker to my lip,  
 Filled with the dews and perfumes of the Rhine;  
 The clustering bubbles proudly swell and shine,  
 As on the tiny waves they rise and dip.  
 Holding this precious crystal, ere I sip,  
 With thirsty haste its freight of lucid wine,  
 What name is worthy of the draught divine?  
 With what libation shall the goblet drip?  
 Breathing thy name, I hurl the glass, with all  
 Its fiery essence whirled in glittering rain,  
 Against the farthest corner of the wall.  
 O, shattered vessel nothing shall profane  
 Henceforth thy dedication, nor recall  
 To meaner use thy sacred wreck again.

Anyone who has read through the early American sonnets must be refreshed at such purity of form, achieving its perfection without shackling the thought. More than any other American sonnet writer, Boker kept clear the traditional uses of octave and sestet. Almost always the octave closes with a full stop and a completed thought which is then applied in some way in the sestet. The two sonnets just quoted are only typical in that respect. In general, Boker was more successful with the octave than with the sestet, and some of his internal climaxes at the eighth line are extremely effective. His use of the conceit is Elizabethan in its profuseness. The metaphor often runs throughout the whole fourteen lines, and is sometimes too extreme for modern taste. But I think good authority for his most forced conceit is to be found in the best of his Renaissance masters. The following octave of sonnet 29 is as typical of his figurative language as sonnet 95 quoted previously.

As Cleopatra's pearl dissolved in wine  
 Made her rich draught the boast of olden days,—  
 The shame and wonder of our meaner ways,  
 Who grudge the chalice to the very shrine;  
 So when thy love in this poor heart of mine  
 Dissolves its wealth, within my nature plays  
 A richer spirit, and my drooping bays  
 Sprout like the prophet's rod, and somewhat shine.

If Boker occasionally slips into triteness of diction, he is conversely capable of rich and effective language.

Has not use fretted passion's palm away  
 In some weak spot? Some tender and most rare  
 Leaf of the morning withered in the air  
 Of this hot day?

he asks in wonder that their passion lasts. Again he aptly expresses his case as a somewhat fleshly lover:

"the thoughts that upward start,  
 Stoop to thy feet, and miss the way to heaven."

Human nature being as it is, the reader is led to speculate in regard to the "lady of the sonnets," although the settlement of this question is not necessary to an appreciation of the sonnets as literature. The evidence is conflicting, and the writer does not pretend to a final judgment: nevertheless a statement of such evidence as there is may not be out of place. Boker was happily married. His unpublished letters to Bayard Taylor,<sup>4</sup> during a close friendship of thirty years, are full of the most tender allusions to his wife. Yet he was a figure to whom much contemporary gossip attached itself. This, in his letters to Taylor, he always spoke scornfully of, as the lot of a man of his position, with many personal enemies. In a letter dated August 22, 1865 he makes his only reference to the sonnet sequence. It illuminates his position somewhat:

"Since 'Countess Laura' I have done nothing save to blow off an occasional sonnet for my own private amusement. Do you know that I have written more sonnets, chiefly of the amatory kind, than any one poet in the language, except Wordsworth, and I shall outnumber him if I keep on . . . I judiciously, and out of regard to my reputation, keep all these to myself; designing them to form a portion of my "remains" to be edited by you with bawdy notes and illustrations to match."

These sonnets may be entirely ideal, as much Renaissance poetry was; they may address a real woman, or more than one. Among the sonnets are twelve "birthday sonnets," which furnish a puzzling clue. In the first block of sonnets, the majority, between 1857 and 1871, there are two, written in 1861 and 1862. Although they are undated, the evidence of the surrounding dates discloses the fact that the person ad-

<sup>4</sup> Bayard Taylor MSS., Cornell University Library.

dressed was born between October 30 and November 2. But in the year of the reopening of the sequence, 1877, after Boker's return from the St. Petersburg mission, the birthday sonnet is dated June 28. The third date is February 26, the date of the nine<sup>6</sup> birthday sonnets written in the years from 1881 to 1887. It might be argued from this evidence that three women were addressed; and yet there is no reason to believe that much of the sequence was not ideal or imaginary. Entire license for the ideal love sequence he could have obtained from his Renaissance models, and the spirit of his letter to Bayard Taylor, already quoted, does not point to a very serious or real love affair as his inspiration. However, the situations are strongly imagined, if ideal, and every appearance of reality attaches to some of them. Reference is made to dangers and separations. "God's knell" peals out to them, "Part, part! your love can have no common home." His mistress is reminded of "the sweet trouble of thy love for me" and her "bare exposure on the martyr's stand." An added reality is given by the sequence of ideas and reference which often follows unbroken for twenty sonnets, linking them together in a very close way. The whole question is vexing, but not germane to an appreciation of the sonnets themselves.

Nature, philosophy, and his art all find their places as Boker's subjects, but his prevailing theme is love. His moods in love run the gamut of expression from exalted dignity to abjectness. Sometimes his mood breeds a philosophic idea, sometimes it allies itself with an appreciation of nature, sometimes it becomes physical, even sensualized.

His sonnets of passion are extremely effective. Occasionally he slips into a gross mood, which is unpleasant, but generally he treats his subject with a frank abandon that raises it above the merely sensual. The following will illustrate:

Ah! could I grow in some remote degree  
 Nearer the whiteness of my darling's love;  
 By likening her, my darker self reprove  
 Beneath the eyes of her calm purity;  
 Drop from my soul the earth that sullies me,  
 And struggling upward, if but slowly, move  
 A little nearer to those lights above,  
 Whose guiding rays I cannot chose but see!

<sup>6</sup> Two of the anniversaries are celebrated by two sonnets each.

Even as I muse, the vision of those eyes  
 Awakes the fiery current in my veins  
 With longings wild, mixed thrills of joys and pains;  
 Remembered kisses, burning with the dyes  
 That flushed her cheeks, the struggles, sobs and sighs,  
 Ere her chaste will lay vanquished in my chains.

Perhaps the best of all his sonnets in this vein is number 16:

Farewell once more,—and yet again farewell!  
 I cannot quit thee. On thy lips I press  
 A parting kiss. I cease from my caress;  
 Slowly I loose thy waist; the troubled swell  
 Of thy fair bosom with the sighs that tell  
 Thy own emotion falls from me. I bless  
 Thy downcast head; upon each lustrous tress  
 Rest my poor hands, as if some sacred spell  
 Were in my benediction. Then I try  
 A sudden parting. Ah! how whirls my brain!  
 How pang crowds pang; how pain leaps over pain!  
 My purpose falters; o'er my senses fly  
 Oblivious clouds; and then—I know not why—  
 Lo! I am hanging on thy lips again!

This sonnet also interestingly illustrates a general characteristic of Boker's sonnets: the general conception is usually much more powerful than the details by which it is revealed. One feels in such a sonnet as this the vigorous conception of a genius which the execution does not quite equal.

Other moods of love, upon which lack of space forbids dilution, occupy him also. Sometimes it is a tender and quiet satisfaction, sometimes the sorrow of separation, sometimes a comparison of their case with that of lovers of old. One rather extraordinary sequence of seventeen sonnets, beginning with number 217, is an extended description of a lady. Although uneven, the best of this is his most delicate and charming verse. And not all of love ran smoothly; there are occasional troubles. A protracted misunderstanding which continued during several months in 1867 gave rise to a long series of melancholy poems. The best, number 230, deserves quotation:

This is a sorry ending to a thing  
 We once called love, in our fatuity,  
 Boasting that nothing worthier could be  
 Beyond the limit of its charmed ring!  
 Was it for this I set myself to sing,  
 Not as a poet, as a devotee;

Making a marvel of what others see  
 As common stuff, through my imagining?  
 Today I saw thee, blushing at thy name,  
 Stealing from shadow unto shadow, spread  
 Like mercy's pall around thy lustrous head;  
 And all thy praise was blurred with one great blame,  
 And all thy beauty was a snare to dread,  
 And all of love that lasted was its shame.

Boker's treatment of love themes is most characteristic when he mixes them with an appreciation of nature or a philosophical concept, or both. His philosophy is prevailingly melancholy; love ends in tragedy, or it faces but death at last. Sonnet number 309 illustrates this point, and proves that the poet's power did not leave him in his later years:

Love sat at ease upon Time's bony knee;  
 Pulled his grey beard; paddled his finger tips  
 Among his wrinkles; smote his bloodless lip;  
 With rosy palms forbade his eyes to see;  
 O'erturned his fatal hour-glass; wantonly  
 Dulled his scythe-edge against that dart which rips  
 The heart of adamant, cast gibes and quips  
 Straight in his teeth,—out-mocking mockery.  
 What said the phantom? Naught; he only smiled  
 To be thus toyed with; held his wasting breath,  
 Lest he might do some damage to the child:  
 Till Love, grown weary of that pastime, saith:  
 "This is too tame; my heart with joy is wild;  
 Come, Father, come! let us go play with Death!"

Of this mood, which sees death's pall hovering above the joy of love, number 34 is typical:

My length in earth would not contain me all,  
 All my ambitions, all my loves and hates—  
 Those high resolves that grappled with the fates  
 And aimed to lord it o'er this dusty ball.  
 For, ah! my Love, the stern, imperious call  
 That sundered us, a little antedates—  
 A little only—the great change that waits  
 Upon the tolling bell and sable pall.

Boker's philosophical melancholy does not always connect itself with love. In spite of his unassailable social and financial position he was a man of many troubles. He was disappointed as an artist; and his failure to win popular recognition cast a

gloom over all his life. Besides this, for ten years of his life he was troubled by a lawsuit which involved his father's honor, and his sensitive nature shrank beneath the unfair smirching of the character of this father, whom he deeply revered. The war also was a continual emotional burden; torn between an ardent patriotism and a pity for the misery on both sides, he suffered greatly. All of these things tinged his poetry with a melancholy to which he gives some beautiful expression in the sonnets.

Although not preeminently a poet of nature, Boker had caught the exuberant joy of the Elizabethan in scenes of natural beauty, and he occasionally portrays them with a charming delicacy which is enhanced by his excellent technique. Out of the number of sonnets which resort to nature for material, space permits the quotation of only the octave of number 182. It is characteristic:

Spring blows her fruitful breath, and swiftly curls  
 Her vaporous blessings over hill and lea  
 With naked arms the fair magnolia tree  
 Her silver cups in Bacchic frenzy whirls.  
 White violets glimmer in the grass like pearls;  
 Primroses nod; and on the roaring sea  
 Of the strong wind, the willow whips and twirls  
 Its leafing slivers to the robins' glee.

Finally, it is interesting to find in these sonnets many passages which touch upon the poet's art and Boker's relationship to it. His immense yearning to express himself and his deep sorrow at his comparative failures to gain an audience are feelingly told; his devotion to poetry as a thing above worldly success or failure, a love for its own sake, is clearly expressed. By 1868 he sees his dream of fame as folly, in number 237:

When I consider what a time has flown,  
 Shaping this planet to the thing we see,  
 And what unnumbered ages yet shall be  
 Graved in the annals strata of the stone;  
 When I consider what a point I own  
 Within the ocean of eternity,  
 And how its billows overwhelming me,  
 Shall hide me wholly, and remain alone;—  
 I ask what folly has beguiled the mind,  
 That looks on nature, with a dream of fame  
 Which shall outlive one shudder of her frame?

What refuge, think you, will our memories find  
In cyclic changes wrought through flood and flame,  
Before the fragments shall be recombined?

Occasionally he reveals his literary inspiration by direct references to his classic models. "I almost took sad Shakespeare's thought for mine"; "To-night I walked with the grim Florentine"; such lines reveal his inspiration as clearly as the one in which he wishes his lips "o'er-ran with Petrarch's sweetness." He takes his art seriously; it is his real life: "Only through my art can I speak plainly." Again and again he deplores his natural deficiencies, his inability to utter all he would. A contemplation of the skylark's divine rapture is his despair:

Oh feathered rival, if thy song could rise  
From my deep passion, what a strain would float  
Among the jealous singers of the skies!

I regret that it has not been possible to present more ample selections from this long sequence of good sonnets. It is better work than any other American had achieved before its conclusion, in spite of the fact that it probably does not represent the poet's final judgment. And although, like most of Boker's best work, it was born out of time, it has intrinsic merits which our literature is not yet rich enough to disregard.

EDWARD S. BRADLEY



## XLV. ENGLISH IAMBIC METE.

### I. SYLLABLE STRESS

In classifying the feet of English verse and their variations we may remove some of the difficulties, and some of the divergencies in the conclusions, by a scientific defining of the terms stressed and unstressed syllables. For simplicity we may confine the discussion at present to iambic feet.

A syllable is not a sharp, momentary utterance of sound. Professor Scripture<sup>1</sup> showed us that it represents a gradual rise and fall in intensity, without exactly determinable beginning, ending or center of intensity. Nor is it practicable to say precisely how much intensity a syllable must have before it becomes a stressed syllable. The major stresses, commonly called merely stresses, possess the greater intensity of vibration. But the unstressed syllables exhibit the same type of vibration less vigorously used. It follows that any unstressed syllable can be easily intensified into a stressed, if the sense permit, in which case we have the English pyrrhic. And syllables stressed heavily in prose can be reduced in intensity so as to behave like minor stresses or unstressed syllables, in which case we have the English spondee.

Hence Professor Bright's secondary stresses in poetry must be generalized. Any unstressed syllable may come to life and carry a stress, not because it once bore a secondary stress, but because its vibratory quality is exactly like that of a major stress. Its centroid, to use Scripture's word for center of stress, can be regarded as a potential marking point of a line of verse.<sup>2</sup> We might say, therefore, that all syllables of language, consisting as they do of vibrations, are in a measure stressed. Most of the stresses, though, are subordinated. These might be called submerged stresses.

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Scripture, *Elements of Experimental Phonetics*, 1902, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the word *and*, normally light, can assume a major stress:  
To-morrow *and* to-morrow *and* to-morrow.

Even *a*, usually pronounced like the schwa-vowel, can bear a stress in poetry, though the justifiable cases are rare. Certainly Wordsworth's stressed *a*'s are far too numerous for good art, and do not always make good sense.

This explains not only pyrrhics and spondees, but another phenomenon. Occasionally these submerged stresses, rising to the intensity of secondary stresses, without becoming major stresses, intervene between regularly marked stresses of the rhythm, in which case we have the patterns of drum rhythms:

Tum, tum, tum-tum-tum

or of fox trot and jazz rhythms. An example in verse is Mark Twain's

Punch conductor, punch *with* care  
Punch in the presence of the *passenger*.

To note the difference between these beats of secondary intensity and ordinary unstressed sounds, take the railway rhythm:

Clankety clank, clank, clank,  
Clankety clank, clank, clank

where there are four stresses to the line, with two unstressed—not secondarily stressed—syllables following the first stress. The feet of the line may therefore be varied by intrusive, intermediary, secondary stresses.

To sum up then, the lines of division between stressed syllables, unstressed syllables, and secondary stresses are not defined, and the poet can push syllables from one of these categories into another for his own purposes, almost at will, provided he obeys certain laws to which we come next in order.

## II. VERSE STRESS

In spite of the apparent freedom in iambic verse, in the interchange of what in prose would be stressed, semi-stressed or unstressed syllables, the majority of the feet are so constructed that word accent of normal sort and musical accent coincide.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise the language would be mutilated, and would cease to sound like English. Just what proportion constitutes this majority of feet we may now inquire. We may take some specimen lines from *Macbeth*. Normal prose accents are written —, unaccented syllables x, verse accents '. This

<sup>3</sup> This principle is the *pons asinorum* of many would-be poets. It is surprising to note how often immature verse, which scans correctly according to printed theory and yet refuses to sing, is faulty, because of its violation of this and kindred laws.

verse accent will usually fall in with a prose accent, and be written  $\underline{\cdot}$ . The spondee will take the form  $\underline{\cdot} \underline{\cdot}$ ; the pyrrhic,  $\times \times$ . Let us write the sense accent  $\ast$ . Sense accent, or sentence accent, naturally coincides most frequently with some word accent, and therefore in the majority of cases coincides with verse accent, and takes the form  $\ast \underline{\cdot}$ .

$\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$     $\underline{\cdot}$     $\underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$   
 Now o'er the one half-world  
 $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$   
 Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse  
 $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\underline{\cdot}$   
 The curtain'd sleep; witchcraft celebrates  
 $\underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$   
 Pale Hecate's offerings; and wither'd murther,  
 $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$   
 Alarum'd by his sentinel, the wolf,  
 $\underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$   
 Whose howl's his watch, thus with his stealthy pace,  
 $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$   
 With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design  
 $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\underline{\cdot}$   
 Moves like a ghost.—Thou sure and firm-set earth,  
 $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$   
 Hear not my steps, which way they walk, for fear  
 $\times$     $\underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$   
 Thy very stones prate of my whereabouts,  
 $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$     $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$   
 And take the present horror from the time,  
 $\times$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\underline{\cdot}$     $\ast \underline{\cdot}$     $\times$   
 Which now suits with it.

Out of the 55 verse accents needed in these lines, 45 coincide with the word accent and sense accent, i.e., have the form  $\ast \underline{\cdot}$ . 3 coincide with the word accent, but not with sense accent,  $\underline{\cdot}$ . 1 coincides with sense accent, but not with word accent,<sup>4</sup>  $\ast \times$  (the *with* in the last line). 6 do not coincide with either word accent or sense accent, and have the form  $\times$ . There are therefore 3 degrees of stress represented, respectively  $\ast \underline{\cdot}$ ,  $\underline{\cdot}$ , and  $\times$ , which occur in the proportions 45, 3, 6. The  $\ast \times$  is an unusual form, probably only a little less emphatic than  $\ast \underline{\cdot}$ .

<sup>4</sup> For some interesting but slightly indefinite statistics concerning weak stresses in *Macbeth* see David Laurence Chambers, *The Meter of Macbeth*, Princeton Univ. Press, 1903, p. 25 et seq.

For comparison let us take eleven lines, totalling the same number of accents, from *Paradise Lost*.<sup>a</sup>

$\overset{x}{\text{Of}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{Man}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{'s}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{first}} \overset{x}{\text{disobedience}}, \text{ and the } \overset{x}{\text{fruit}}$   
 $\overset{x}{\text{Of}} \text{ that } \overset{\cdot}{\text{forbidden}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{tree}}, \text{ whose } \overset{\cdot}{\text{mortal}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{taste}}$   
 $\text{Brought } \overset{\cdot}{\text{death}} \text{ into the } \overset{x}{\text{world}}, \text{ and all our } \overset{\cdot}{\text{woe}},$   
 $\text{With } \overset{x}{\text{loss}} \text{ of } \overset{\cdot}{\text{Eden}}, \text{ till one } \overset{x}{\text{greater}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{Man}}$   
 $\text{Restore } \overset{x}{\text{us}}, \text{ and } \overset{x}{\text{regain}} \text{ the } \overset{\cdot}{\text{blissful}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{seat}},$   
 $\text{Sing, heavenly } \overset{\cdot}{\text{muse}}, \text{ that on the } \overset{x}{\text{secret}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{top}}$   
 $\text{Of } \overset{x}{\text{Oreb}}, \text{ or of } \overset{x}{\text{Sinai}}, \text{ didst } \overset{\cdot}{\text{inspire}}$   
 $\text{That } \overset{\cdot}{\text{shepherd}}, \text{ who } \overset{\cdot}{\text{first}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{taught}} \text{ the } \overset{x}{\text{chosen}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{seed}},$   
 $\text{In the } \overset{x}{\text{beginning}}, \text{ how the } \overset{x}{\text{heavens}} \text{ and } \overset{x}{\text{earth}}$   
 $\text{Rose out of } \overset{\cdot}{\text{chaos}}: \text{ or, if } \overset{x}{\text{Sion}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{hill}}$   
 $\text{Delight } \overset{x}{\text{thee}} \text{ more, and } \overset{x}{\text{Siloa}} \text{'s } \overset{\cdot}{\text{brook}} \text{ that } \overset{\cdot}{\text{flow'd}}$

Again we have practically the same results:  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ }}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ }}$  and  $\overset{x}{\text{ }}$  in the proportion 44, 3, 8.  $\overset{x}{\text{ }}$ , which appears once in the citation from *Macbeth*, is missing, but the form  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ }}$ , which did not appear at all in the other passage, occurs three times. Twice, curiously enough, the word that takes the form  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ }}$  is the word *first*.

Let us now add a specimen from the nineteenth century, the opening eleven lines of Tennyson's *Lancelot and Elaine*.

$\overset{x}{\text{Elaine}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{the}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{fair}}, \overset{x}{\text{Elaine}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{the}} \overset{x}{\text{lovable}},$   
 $\overset{x}{\text{Elaine}}, \text{ the } \overset{\cdot}{\text{lily}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{maid}} \text{ of } \overset{x}{\text{Astolat}},$   
 $\text{High in her } \overset{\cdot}{\text{chamber}} \text{ up a } \overset{x}{\text{tower}} \text{ to the } \overset{\cdot}{\text{east}}$   
 $\text{Guarded the } \overset{x}{\text{sacred}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{shield}} \text{ of } \overset{x}{\text{Lancelot}};$   
 $\text{Which } \overset{\cdot}{\text{first}} \text{ she } \overset{\cdot}{\text{placed}} \text{ where } \overset{\cdot}{\text{morning}} \text{'s } \overset{x}{\text{earliest}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{ray}}$

<sup>a</sup> Note Ellis's reading of the lines, cited more recently by Mayor, *Chapters on English Meter*, p. 55.

$\bar{\text{M}}\text{ight } \text{ }^{\circ}/\text{ strike it, and awake her with the gleam;}$   
 $\bar{\text{T}}\text{hen } \text{ }^{\circ}/\text{ fearing rust or soilure fashion'd for it}$   
 $\text{A case of silk, and braided thereupon}$   
 $\text{All the devices blazon'd on the shield}$   
 $\text{In their own tinct, and added of her wit.}$   
 $\text{A border fantasy, of branch and flower.}$

The result is again practically the same:  $\text{ }^{\circ}/$ ,  $\text{ }^{\circ}$ ,  $\text{ }^{\circ}/$ , in the proportion 44, 2, 9, with  $\text{ }^{\circ}$  appearing as a single variant,  $\text{ }^{\circ}/$  again failing to appear at all.

Iambic meter, then, represents a coincidence in four cases out of five (44 and 45 cases out of 55) of word stress, verse stress, and sense stress, with  $\text{ }^{\circ}/$  (with from 6 to 9 occurrences out of 55) as the commonest form for changing normal prose accentuation to make verse (the accent of the pyrrhic) and  $\text{ }^{\circ}$  (with 2 and 3 occurrences out of 55) as a minor variation from the predominant type.  $\text{ }^{\circ}/$  appears once in the 3 passages,  $\text{ }^{\circ}$  more frequently, 4 times in the 3 passages.  $\text{ }^{\circ}/$ , the only other form possible by arithmetical combination, does not occur at all, although theoretically its occurrence would not seem improbable by reason of any law of language. The  $\text{ }^{\circ}/$  carrying the heaviest stress naturally is the common form. That  $\text{ }^{\circ}/$  is more frequent than  $\text{ }^{\circ}$ , which last is plainly a heavier form, and is more suited for stress, is explained by the fact that most of the  $\text{ }^{\circ}$ 's also carry sense stress and appear as  $\text{ }^{\circ}/$ 's.

To sum up then, verse sings on natural prose stresses in about 4 cases out of 5, raising a minor stress,—or a syllable with potential stress unused in prose reading,—to the intensity of a major stress in order to supply the fifth singing accent.<sup>6</sup> We may also note an uniformity as great in the number of syllables that would be stressed in prose, but that are reduced to an unstressed state for verse. Most of these are parts of 2 syllable spondees, —  $\text{ }^{\circ}$ , though a few are parts of 3 syllable feet,  $\text{x } \text{ }^{\circ}$  —  $\text{ }^{\circ}$  or

<sup>6</sup> It is likely, but difficult to prove, that most English pyrrhics draw the accent, rather than intensify the utterance, thereby producing a sort of musical stress, without mutilating the natural sound of the language.

— x 1. The numbers are: *Macbeth*, 9; *Paradise Lost*, 9; *Lancelot and Elaine*, 7.

### III. INTERVAL BETWEEN STRESSES

In measuring intervals between stresses, difficulties arise from the nature of the stress, which is not a momentary sound, but a gradual rise and fall in the intensity of sound. Says Scripture:<sup>7</sup>

A single line [of verse] is not made up of smaller units that can be marked off from each other. . . . No such divisions occur in the actually spoken sounds or no dividing points can be assigned in the tracing [i.e. in the laboratory tracing]. In fact there does not seem to be any system of feet that can be assigned to it or any form of such rhythm under which it can be classified.

But he says:<sup>8</sup>

The time of a foot is approximately constant. When a two syllable foot occurs in the midst of three syllable feet, it takes approximately the time of the others; and contrariwise.

The simplest English poetical line seems to consist of a quantity of speech-sound distributed so as to produce an effect equivalent to that of a certain number of points of emphasis at definite intervals.

The location of a point of emphasis is determined by the strength of the neighboring sounds. It is like the centroid of a system of forces or the center of gravity of a body in being the point at which we can consider all the forces to be concentrated and yet have the same effect. The point of emphasis may lie even in some weak sound or in a surd consonant if distribution of the neighboring sounds produces an effect equivalent to a strong sound occurring at that point.

Scripture then quotes from *Cock Robin* the line

With my bow and arrow

and concludes that the first point of emphasis "lies somewhere in the group of sounds 'mybow,' probably in 'b' between 'y' and 'o'."

This centroid theory of the foot becomes a bit metaphysical when he speaks of "the point at which we can consider all the forces to be concentrated." The mind cannot apprehend a point of sound, which is merely a mathematical fiction. All stresses, in fact all sounds, are prolonged over a measurable length of time, the minimum of which is determinable in the psychological laboratory. Whether this period of stress includes

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 554.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 553 4.

one syllable or two would seem to be immaterial, as long as the effect on the mind, or the mental hearing of the reader or listener is the same. The interesting deductions therefore from Scripture's experiments, so far as they explain meter, are (1) that the foot length remains the same, but (2) paradoxically, there are no distinguishable feet, under which circumstances the foot-length must be taken to indicate merely the time interval between centroids, the centroid in turn being a mathematical expression for the center of intensity of the prolonged stress.

This explanation of foot-length at once eliminates some differences of opinion as to trisyllabic substitution, the introduction of trochees into iambic lines, and similar problems. Let us take first trisyllabic substitution and the number of permissible unaccented syllables in an iambic foot. We find commonly recognized the types  $x \text{ } \text{—}$ ,  $xx \text{ } \text{—}$  and  $\wedge \text{ } \text{—}$ , where  $\wedge$  is a pause. All of these must according to Scripture be of the same length. If the words of the verse move quickly we may theoretically have a form  $xxx \text{ } \text{—}$ , occupying the same time interval, substituted in the iambic line. But the apparent occurrences of such are rare and doubtful. It seems almost impossible to work up to the speed necessary for the peonic iambic type in one foot, and then drop back to ordinary iambic speed in the next. The poet is therefore restricted to the first three types, with as variants the pyrrhic and spondee,  $xx$  and  $\text{— } \text{—}$ .

Let us consider next the inverted foot, so-called, in an iambic line. This foot is supposed to form a trochee. Dactyls in iambic lines, if they exist at all, are negligible in number. The inversion of a foot usually occurs in the first foot of a line, or follows a mid-line pause, which, since the first foot of a line always follows a pause between lines<sup>9</sup> implies that inversion usually follows a pause. We may therefore scan the "inverted" foot thus, marking the pause  $\wedge$ :

<sup>9</sup> The question whether verse should be read with a pause at the line-end comes in here. It may be arguing in a circle to say that lines end in pauses, since the first part of a following line may be inverted, and to say a foot may be inverted because it follows a line-end pause. But the supposition that a line ends in a pause explains inverted foot and the existence of the line itself, both of which are inexplicable if there be no line-end pause.

$\begin{array}{cccccccc} x & ' & x & ' & x & ' \wedge ' & x & x & ' & x \\ \text{To be, or not to be, that is the question.} \\ \wedge & ' & x & x & ' & x & x & x & ' & x & x \\ \text{Whether 'tis nobler in the mind, to suffer} \end{array}$

Sometimes in the middle of a line there is a so-called inverted foot when neither line-end nor sense pause precedes it. Yet this is no argument against the existence of a purely musical pause. Take the line already quoted from *Macbeth*:

$\begin{array}{cccccccc} x & ' & x & ' & \wedge & ' & x & x & ' & x & ' \\ \text{Thy very stones prate of my whereabouts} \end{array}$

Try reading the line without a pause between *stones* and *prate*, and see how impossible it is to do it without mere cacophany. If there is a pause, the nature of the pause is immaterial. The fact is that all English, even everyday prose, instinctively puts pauses between heavy accents regardless of the sense. E.g., *blackberry*, where a pause comes in the middle of a word.<sup>10</sup>

By a similar course of reasoning we may explain the feminine ending. It occurs either before a line-end pause, or before a mid-line pause in the sense. If pauses and unaccented syllables (either one or two) are metrically interchangeable, then a part of the pause can be replaced by *x* or *xx*. We may have then, before any such pause, the form  $x \text{---}' \wedge$ , the masculine ending, or  $x \text{---}' x \wedge$ , more rarely  $x \text{---}' x x \wedge$ , the feminine ending. For example:

$\begin{array}{cccccccc} x & ' & x & x & ' & x & x & ' & x & x \\ \text{To-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow} \\ \wedge & ' & x & x & ' & x & ' & x & ' & x & ' \\ \text{Creeps in this petty pace from day to day} \end{array}$

Discussion of this point involves the problem of whether the line-end pause is longer than the mid-line pause.<sup>11</sup> Suffice it to say that whatever the nature of the line, verse in which run-on lines are frequent—which means most English verse except

<sup>10</sup> See comment of Chambers (*op. cit.*, p. 37 *et seq.*) on Conrad's conclusion concerning trochees in *Macbeth*, at the beginning of a line, after a mid-line pause, and where there is supposedly no pause. Conrad's article is in *Jahrbuch XXXI*.

<sup>11</sup> Chambers (*op. cit.*, p. 47), referring to mid-line feminine endings in *Macbeth*, speaks of "the analogy between the terminal pause and the internal pause of the line, especially when Shakespeare was composing, not by the single verse, but in rhythmical paragraphs." He uses this fact, however, to prove these syllables not a part of any following feet.



that of the late seventeenth and earlier eighteenth century—plainly treats the line-end pause as though it were not conspicuously different in length from other pauses. It is also impossible to say whether the three types of ending before a pause,  $x \angle \wedge$ ,  $x \angle x \wedge$ , and  $x \angle xx \wedge$ , are of the same length, since the sense pause and line-end pause check the flow of the rhythm completely for a short space, and the length of them in these cases is not definitely measurable.

#### IV. PERCENTAGE OF VARIATIONS IN FEET

Next comes the question, how many feet of the variant forms  $\wedge \angle$  and  $xx \angle$ , are permissible. If the line has an iambic movement with uniform time intervals between stresses, plainly a majority of the feet must be iambic, of type  $x \angle$ . But what is the size of that majority? Conrad<sup>12</sup> gives some statistics for trochees in iambic lines, based on 1000 lines from each of four plays of Shakespeare. These lines are equivalent to 5000 feet. Conrad's trochees, followed by iambs,  $\angle xx \angle$ , we shall interpret as of form  $\wedge \angle xx \angle$ , which means that the number of his trochees will give us the statistics for the form  $\wedge \angle$ , and also for  $xx \angle$ . His monosyllabic feet are counted as  $\wedge \angle$ . His examples of  $xx \angle$  and  $\wedge \angle$ , other than those made up of so-called trochees, are so few as to be practically negligible. Hence, the percentages deduced from his statistics are practically the same for  $xx \angle$  and for  $\wedge \angle$ . His statistics translated from terms of trochees, monosyllabic feet and trisyllabic feet, into terms of  $xx \angle$  and  $\wedge \angle$ , appear as follows. Out of the total 5000 feet the percentage of  $xx \angle$  is:

|                           |      |
|---------------------------|------|
| <i>Comedy of Errors</i>   | .052 |
| <i>Merchant of Venice</i> | .043 |
| <i>Henry V</i>            | .053 |
| <i>Macbeth</i>            | .064 |

I find corresponding percentages for the passages of the 3 poems cited before as follows:

|                            |      |
|----------------------------|------|
| <i>Macbeth</i>             | .127 |
| <i>Paradise Lost</i>       | .055 |
| <i>Lancelot and Elaine</i> | .073 |

<sup>12</sup> Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

For type  $\wedge \perp$  Conrad's figures reduce to the percentages:

|                           |      |
|---------------------------|------|
| <i>Comedy of Errors</i>   | .052 |
| <i>Merchant of Venice</i> | .043 |
| <i>Henry V</i>            | .052 |
| <i>Macbeth</i>            | .063 |

I find in percentages:

|                            |      |
|----------------------------|------|
| <i>Macbeth</i>             | .145 |
| <i>Paradise Lost</i>       | .055 |
| <i>Lancelot and Elaine</i> | .055 |

To ascertain then what percentage of pure iambs of type  $\times \perp$  is necessary in order that a line may preserve its iambic swing, I shall take my figures, since they represent the requisite number of feet of type  $\times \perp$  as smaller, and in this case the smaller number may be considered the more conservative. We are interested in the minimum possible number of feet of type  $\times \perp$  rather than the maximum, so long as we cannot be exact. The percentage of pure iambs of type  $\times \perp$  is according to my figures:

|                            |      |
|----------------------------|------|
| <i>Macbeth</i>             | .727 |
| <i>Paradise Lost</i>       | .891 |
| <i>Lancelot and Elaine</i> | .873 |

In all these figures representing percentage, the fourth decimal place has been discarded if less than .0005, or counted as .001 if greater. It seems then that iambic verse to preserve its iambic type and speed uniformly, should have about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of its feet of type form  $\times \perp$ . Other feet appear then as variants.

Furthermore these variants cannot appear many of them in series. A passage which shows how easy it is to break up the iambic swing of the lines by a series of variant feet, occurs in *Macbeth*.<sup>13</sup> The lines undoubtedly should preserve the iambic rhythm as follows:

$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccc} \text{' } & \times & \times & \text{' } & \times & \text{' } & \wedge & \text{' } & \times & \times & \text{' } & \times \\ \text{Ring the alarum-bell! Murther and treason!} \\ \text{' } & \times & \times & \text{' } & \times & \text{' } & \wedge & \text{' } & \times & \times & \text{' } & \\ \text{Banquo and Donalbaine! Malcome! Awake!} \\ \text{' } & \times & \times & \text{' } & \times & \text{' } & \wedge & \text{' } & \text{—} & \times & \text{' } & \\ \text{Shake off this downy sleep, death's counterfeit.} \end{array}$

<sup>13</sup> II, 111, 79.

These lines almost invariably force themselves into the swinging form of dactyls:

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{'} & x & x & \text{'} & x & - & \text{'} & x & x & \text{'} & x \\ \text{'} & x & x & \text{'} & x & - & \text{'} & x & x & \text{'} & \\ \text{'} & x & x & \text{'} & x & - & \text{'} & - & x & \text{'} & \end{array}$

To find how many variants from  $x\text{---}$  may appear in series, or at short intervals, we may turn again to some figures of Conrad.<sup>14</sup> He gives statistics for trochees (which we scan  $\wedge\text{---}xx\text{---}$ ) that occur 2 to a line and 3 to a line. He does not count the other type of anapest or of monosyllabic foot, in this connection. But these, as has been said, are negligible in number. Hence we may take his number of trochees as equivalent to the number of type  $xx\text{---}$  and  $\wedge\text{---}$  that appear twice or three times in a line. The number of lines showing these types divided by the total of 1000 lines gives a percentage of lines in which the types appear twice or three times. I take his figures for 2 and 3 to mean 2 and 3 trochees, not 2 and 3 lines.

|                           | 2 in a line | 3 in a line |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Comedy of Errors</i>   | .006        | 0           |
| <i>Merchant of Venice</i> | .008        | 0           |
| <i>Henry V</i>            | .012        | 0           |
| <i>Macbeth</i>            | .015        | .005        |

It is plain therefore that a series of  $xx\text{---}$  or  $\wedge\text{---}$  is a negligible factor, since the lines with even as many as 2 are insignificant in number, .015 at the highest in *Macbeth*. In my citations there appears in *Macbeth* one line with both  $\wedge\text{---}$  and  $xx\text{---}$  twice (there are 2 "inverted" feet); in the selection from *Paradise Lost* there are no such lines; in that from *Lancelot and Elaine* there is one line with  $xx\text{---}$  twice; there are none with  $\wedge\text{---}$  twice. In none of the passages is there a line with 3 appearances of either type of foot. A series of feet then varying from type  $x\text{---}$  is practically a negligible thing, since to find even two variations in a line is rare. The swing of the music is uniformly  $x\text{---}$ , with an occasional variant of form  $xx\text{---}$  or  $\wedge\text{---}$ . And such occasional variants plainly have the same musical interval as the regular feet, as was shown by Scripture in the case of  $xx\text{---}$ , and as may be inferred in the case of  $\wedge\text{---}$ , exception possibly being made when

<sup>14</sup> Chambers, *loc. cit.*

the  $\wedge$  represents a strong sense pause. This last inference is justified on the ground that if all other feet fall into the general swing, there is no reason for believing that  $\wedge \perp$  behaves differently, except under the one condition noted.

## V. SUMMARY

The conclusion deducible from the facts here recorded seems almost too simple. But it may be recalled that language to become poetry needs poetic content, and poetic imagery and vocabulary. The steps here recorded have reference only to rhythm, mostly to iambic rhythm. Moreover, the facts concerning iambic rhythm are not in detail simple, and the explanations of the details must be taken into consideration before we can venture upon the otherwise unjustified conclusion.

The conclusion is three-fold: I, That English iambic verse is rhythmically nothing but English prose so readjusted that, on an average, four ordinary prose accents, with the addition of a fifth accent made for the occasion by the heightening of an ordinarily less heavily stressed syllable; supply the singing accents; II, That these singing accents come at regular intervals of time, except where a strong sense pause intervenes, and are separated by unaccented syllables—as many as can be used without unmusical speeding up of the line,—or by pauses; III, That the interval between accents in 3 out of 4 cases contains a single unaccented syllable, variations from that form, when they occur, being scattered, and infrequently used in series.

JAMES ROUTH

## XLVI. THE METER OF THE POPULAR BALLAD

In the history of English metrics the verse of the popular ballad occupies a strategic position. From it one may look backward toward Anglo-Saxon verse, and forward toward many developments of modern times. This investigation has been conceived in the belief that solution of some problems of ballad metrics not only will be of value in connection with the ballads, but also will open a new line of approach for the study of other verse, both more ancient and more modern. The principles here worked out will be found applicable, I believe, to popular verse in general; it is impossible, however, to cover the whole field, and the present investigation has accordingly been confined to the material in Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, as the best-known, most readily available, and on the whole most authoritative collection. At the same time no effort has been made to scrutinize very carefully the canon. The battle of the ballads is not our battle. Trojan and Tyrian are alike to the metrist. Be a poem Christmas carol, song, border ballad, minstrel ballad, or ballad *par excellence*, there is no necessary peculiarity of its meter, and the evidence here presented will go to show that as a whole Child's material is indeed reducible to a single metrical norm. The few exceptional cases will be pointed out in their places, but in general examples can be drawn indiscriminately from any of the different types.

The lack of a thorough-going study of ballad metrics is due, I believe, not so much to failure to recognize its importance, as to realization of the peculiar difficulties and even apparent impossibility of arriving at any scholarly conclusion upon the subject. Since they affect directly the method of investigation, these difficulties must be briefly capitulated. (1) There is little possibility of establishing any chronological development of ballad metrics because, except in rare instances, ballads have no date. The earliest text of *Hind Horn*, for example, is of the nineteenth century, but no one doubts that the ballad originated at a much earlier period. (2) Ballads have no certain text. Since oral transmission is a *sine qua non* of ballad existence, there is always the chance that the memory of the last transmitter

played him false sufficiently to distort the metrical form. To this must frequently be added errors and conscious revision on the part of transcribers. (3) Ballads are primarily songs. As such their metrical structure is involved with the melody, and sometimes can hardly be said to exist without it.

These difficulties in the way of scientific analysis require certain adaptations of method. Through lack of historical evidence conclusions as to the relation of different ballad forms must rest primarily upon a descriptive, not a genetic, basis. Confusions, moreover, resulting from textual and musical variation necessitate a method of analysis, quantitative rather than qualitative, gross rather than minute. No single exception can be permitted either to prove or to disprove a general tendency; in the ballads we are dealing with primitive not sophisticated art, and it is accordingly impossible to expect or to demand a metrical structure linguistically perfect. In doubtful cases, therefore, the present study bases conclusions upon numerical results obtained by actual count. By consistently applying methods of counting the subjective factor is reduced to a minimum, and the strength of the metrical tendency is mathematically expressed.

Of these three primary difficulties the relation of meter and music is, however, the only serious one. No one engaged in study of ballad form can fail to realize that his problems are often merely the result of hair-splitting attempts to translate into metrical terms a quite obvious musical situation. It might be affirmed in fact that, properly speaking, ballads have no meter, and that a study of their structure means only the analysis of the tune to which they are indissolubly linked. If this be so, there is nothing for it but to turn over the whole field to the musician. But is not this too extreme a position? Ballads are song, but they are also verse, in most cases quite obviously. We cannot, therefore, surrender the field to the musician, who is, indeed, much more interested in advances upon other provinces. Ballad metrics forms in fact a no-man's land between the two fields; it is a subject of a kind which scholarship is often reluctant to enter. But if we are ever to know anything of ballad structure, it will not be by a begging of the question which passes over to another field what is on its very face largely a metrical subject.

A study of ballad metrics thus steers a difficult course between the Charybdis of too much, and the Scylla of too little, deference to ballad music. The present study, however, being metrical rather than musical, bases its conclusions primarily upon metrical (that is, linguistic) evidence. The airs, when available, have been studied, but music has been actually used only for three comparatively restricted purposes: (1) as analogy, to demonstrate the metrical structure more strikingly; (2) as corroborative evidence for points already established primarily upon a linguistic basis; (3) as evidence of relation to other forms of forms too complicated to maintain a consistent linguistic structure.

The actual study of ballad verse can best begin with its commonest, and, we may also say, its simplest form—the so-called septenary, or “ballad meter” *par excellence*. The crux of the whole subject, however, is presented by the fact that the apparent septenary of the ballads does not ordinarily represent that form as conceived by modern metrists, and written by most modern poets. This later septenary is a line of seven units (call them feet, stresses, or what you will) usually opening with an unstressed syllable and progressing to a masculine rhyme through an alternation of one (or two) unstressed and one stressed syllable. The fourteen syllable type of this line may be shown:<sup>1</sup>

— — — — — || — — — — —

The fundamental fact, however, in the structure of the ballad is, that the seven stresses of its line tend to be alternately strong and weak:

— — — — — || — — — — —

In other words the ballad line consists not of seven simple, but of four complex units. The structure, therefore, can best be termed *dipodic*, and the units *dipods*. In the type of verse

<sup>1</sup> For typographical convenience the septenary is frequently broken at the cæsura, and printed as two lines. Child usually followed this practice. The manner of printing, of course, makes no real difference, and I know of no metrist who has failed to recognize the full line as the real unit. In quotation I have not attempted any consistency in this matter, but in metrical notation have always represented the line as a whole.

under consideration the complete dipod consists of two half-feet, each characteristically of two syllables. Beginning at the primary stress, the metrical unit therefore is composed of four syllables which may be represented:

| - - -

The rhyme usually cuts off the line at the fourth syllable of primary stress.

The first problem is to demonstrate the truth of this hypothesis that the ordinary ballad line is composed of four dipods, and not of seven simple feet. As before stated, the method of investigation, being quantitative rather than qualitative, cannot be expected to arrive at any absolute conclusion; the structure of the ballads, owing to their primitive nature and their frequent dependence upon musical support, must always display general tendencies instead of universal rules. A method for the testing of dipodic structure in verse has already been proposed,<sup>2</sup> and it will not be necessary here to repeat the somewhat lengthy discussion of the question. The method employed is based upon the fact that in the long run the accented syllables of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs comprise the stronger stresses, while secondarily accented syllables, together with prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, and copulas, are of distinctly weak stress. Accordingly, if our dipod is a reality, the first position (primary stress) should be filled by a much larger proportion of syllables of the first group than of the second, while the situation should be reversed for the third position (secondary stress). The figure called here the Dipodic Index<sup>3</sup> represents merely the

<sup>2</sup> See "A Method toward the Study of Dipodic Verse," by the present writer, *P.M.L.A.*, XXXIX, 979-89.

<sup>3</sup> Briefly, the Dipodic Index (*D*) is obtained by the formula:

$$D = A \div B$$

*A* is the figure obtained by subtracting the percentage of syllables of weak stress in the primary position from the percentage of the same class of syllables in the secondary position. *B* is a corresponding figure, i.e., the result of subtracting the percentage of heavily stressed syllables in the secondary position from the percentage of the same class of syllables in the primary position. A negative value is thus possible, but need not be considered as having any other value than zero. This index gives a rough-and-ready mathematical expression of the strength of the dipodic tendency. If anything, it is conservative, underestimating rather than exaggerating. To be really appreciated the dipodic movement of the verse must be felt in reading.



simplification and summation of all these factors. Its value is of course comparative, but in general I should say that an index figure of above 35 shows what can be recognized by the ear as dipodic movement, while a value approaching even 20 represents a syllabic arrangement too marked to be the work of chance.

The dipodic indices of the following ballads<sup>4</sup> may be offered as examples:

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Tam Lin (A) <sup>5</sup> .....          | 64 |
| Sir Patrick Spens (A).....              | 60 |
| Brown Adam (A).....                     | 47 |
| Little Gest of Robin Hood.....          | 43 |
| Lass of Roch Royal (A).....             | 41 |
| Knight and Shepherd's Daughter (D)..... | 39 |
| Wife of Usher's Well (A).....           | 36 |
| Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight (H)..... | 33 |
| Fair Annie (E).....                     | 30 |
| Fair Annie (A).....                     | 27 |
| Battle of Philipshaugh.....             | 21 |
| Young Johnstone (A).....                | 18 |
| Battle of Harlaw.....                   | 16 |

In contrast we may list the indices of some septenary poems composed in literary fashion without musical association, or conscious effort for dipodic effect<sup>6</sup>:

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to select what could be a really representative list of ballads. In the above I have tried to offer a wide range of type, and the result may accordingly seem to be a rather haphazard collection. It is, however, the full product of my counting (see below for *James Harris*, and *The King's Disguise*); no ballad has been suppressed because its evidence tended to disprove the thesis. Moreover, if the reader misses from the list certain characteristic ballads, he must remember that for the present only one type of meter is being considered (the "septenary" without frequent trisyllabic substitution); *Lord Lovel*, *Lord Randal*, and *Hind Horn*, as examples, represent types of ballad structure which will be considered later.

<sup>5</sup> For the longer ballads the first twenty-five lines have been counted. In such lines as:

Sir Patrick Spence is the best sailor  
the last stress has been counted as falling upon the unaccented syllable of the last word. This of course aids in raising the dipodic index, but I believe that is at least in spirit the proper interpretation (see below). In *Fair Annie* (A) the suspected stanzas (8, 9, 10) have been omitted from the counting.

<sup>6</sup> Dipodic structure appears also in literary verse, as the result of conscious desire for that effect (see e.g. much of the work of Kipling and Masfield). The poems counted show, however, that it is not a part of the ordinary septenarius technique in modern English verse.

|                                      |     |
|--------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Ormidum</i> .....                 | —9  |
| Chapman's <i>Iliad</i> .....         | —23 |
| Universal Prayer (Pope).....         | —14 |
| Ancient Mariner (Coleridge).....     | —10 |
| Village Blacksmith (Longfellow)..... | 5   |

In view of the striking contrast of the two groups of poems, I believe that, even if further evidence were lacking, we should be justified in stating the dipodic structure to be a pervasive tendency in the best type of "septenary" ballad.

Corroborative evidence, however, is not wanting, of which the most readily presented is that of the traditional ballad tunes. The musical unit corresponding most aptly to this type of dipodic foot is the common bar of four-four time:



The analogy is close; the four notes, and a division into halves marked by primary and secondary accent correspond to the four syllables of the dipod similarly arranged. Keeping in mind this analogy, we find the dipodic structure of the ballads corroborated by the fact that they are on the whole most frequently linked with four-four time. If their rhythm had not been dipodic, the musical transcriber would have found two bars of two-four time equally as useful as the single bar shown above. When two-four is used, however, the notes are also halved, so that the resulting measure:



is also analogous to dipodic structure. Tunes in two-two and six-eight times show similar adaptations, and even the not uncommon use of three-four (or three-two) time leads generally to the same conclusion. In this last case the measure is usually composed of four notes of some such arrangement as:



or



Here are still four syllables sung to the measure and four measures to the line, so that the essential characteristics of the ballad meter are preserved. Thus, if the tunes are of any value for evidence, we must grant that this evidence argues strongly in favor of the dipodic structure of ballad verse.<sup>7</sup>

More support for the point in question may be gained from the fact that in this verse secondarily stressed syllables are sometimes omitted (metrical pause). Syllables of primary stress, however, are not so omitted. We have, for examples:

Lord Thomas and Fair Annet

Sate a' day on a hill (*Lord Thomas and Fair Annet-A*).

But now I have it reapen,

And some laid on my wain (*The Carnel and the Crane*).

Chiel Wyat and Lord Ingram

Was baith born in one hall (*Lord Ingram and Chiel Wyat-A*).

Is that my father Philip,

Or is't my brother John? (*Sweet William's Ghost*).

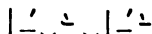
Here the structure is that of the ballad "septenarius" except for the omission of the second syllable of secondary stress:



This is a common situation observable in a large number of ballads.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes a secondarily stressed syllable is omitted

<sup>7</sup> As sources of airs I have used mainly the appendices to the Child collection and to Motherwell's *Minstrelsy*, together with Campbell and Sharp's *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*. As examples of the way in which the ballads are transcribed into the less common times, with maintenance of the dipodic analogy, see: (1) two-four time: Child 281, 299D, Motherwell XXII; (2) three-four: Child 99A, 169C, Motherwell VIII, XI, XIX; (3) six-eight: Child 163, Motherwell XXIV, Campbell 2A; (4) two-two: Campbell 20C, 15A; (5) three-two and two-two mingled: Campbell 2D, 3A; (6) six-four: Campbell 11C. Even in five-four time four notes can be kept to the measure and four measures to the line (see Campbell, 16C). Different tunes to the same ballad are frequently in different times (see Child 169, and Campbell *passim*).

<sup>8</sup> For examples see *Bonny Lizzie Baillie*, *Judas*, *Captain Wedderburn's Courtship*, *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet*, *Walter Lesly*, *et al.* A better interpretation of this situation, especially in connection with music would perhaps be



i.e. a secondary stress falls upon the second syllable of the second dipod. This

even when not in conjunction with the ordinary caesura, as in *Edward* (A):

What bluid's that on thy coat lap,  
Son Davie, son Davie?

U|—U—U|—U^U|—U^U|—U

In general the evidence of this omission of syllables goes to show that the structure of the verse rests fundamentally upon the four primarily stressed syllables; these cannot well be omitted, whereas omission of secondarily stressed syllables can be compensated by a pause which does not break up the verse. We thus find here again a basic principle of dipodic verse—the maintenance of distinction between the primarily and secondarily stressed syllables.

As another corroboration we may take one of the very frequent metrical situations in this type of ballad—the apparent inversion of stress just before the caesura. In the 22 lines of *Patrick Spens* (A) this is the case three times; in the 84 lines of *Tam Lin* (A) there are 20 examples, e.g.<sup>9</sup>:

Sir Patrick Spence is the best sailor  
That sails upon the se.

But the night is Hallowe'en, lady,  
The morn is Hallowday.

Roxburgh he was my grandfather.  
Took me with him to bide.

The most obvious explanation here would be that under the influence of the music the accent was fairly evenly distributed between the two syllables with that upon the second slightly predominating. If this be the case, it harmonizes with the dipodic theory, for the doubtfully distributed stresses upon the final word would render both subordinate to the naturally

practice is on the whole more typical of the song and the nursery rhyme than of the ballad, e.g.,

Sing a song of sixpence . . .  
Taffy came to my house.

By either interpretation the evidence for dipodic structure is equally strong, so that there is no need to decide here which is preferable.

<sup>9</sup> This usage is so general as scarcely to demand references. For other good examples, however, see *Fair Annie*, and *The Lass of Rock Royal*.

stressed syllable preceding. Some additional support for this explanation may be drawn from the fact that occasionally the ballads will even rhyme upon such ordinarily unaccented syllables.<sup>10</sup> If it seems incredible, however, that such a ballad as *Tam Lin* should violate one of the most deeply seated characteristics of English pronunciation in nearly one-fourth of its lines, one may accept another explanation. This also, however, rests firmly upon a dipodic basis. The situation in question may represent a dipodic foot with omission of the first unstressed syllable ( $\text{— } \text{— } \text{—}$ )<sup>11</sup>—a very common type of foot (see below). The relation between the two stressed syllables would naturally be as represented, since the first being preceded by weakly stressed syllables would receive almost by rhythmical necessity a very strong stress. This stress relation is also rendered likely by the character of the words composing it; these are usually either (1) an adjective and a dissyllabic noun, or (2) a noun or an adjective, and a dissyllabic vocative. In the former case the adjective is, I should say, somewhat more likely to be the important component: thus in the following stanza the contrast of “first” and “second” throws the strongest stress upon these adjectives:

An she gid by the first table,  
 An leugh amo them a’;  
 But ere she reachd the second table  
 She let the tears down fa (*Fair Annie-E*).

In a similar manner the numerous epithets of *father*, *lady* and *Janet* of *Tam Lin* are repeated unemphatically, and stand subordinate to the words which they follow. Thus either hypothesis in explanation of the so-called “reversal of accent” counts in favor of dipodic structure.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. *Lamkin* (A) 8, 9, 10, 11.

<sup>11</sup> The foot might rather be said to be  $\text{— } \text{— } \text{— } \text{—}$ . The intervention of the *cæsura* with its extra-metrical pause, however, breaks the metrical time sufficiently to produce the effect of a trisyllabic dipod with an *anacrusis* at the opening of the second half-line.

<sup>12</sup> This situation is a rather complex one. Professor R. W. Gordon of the University of California, who is closely in touch with modern usage in singing and reciting ballads, believes that both methods are used. He reads, for instance, “the bést sailór,” but “a braid létter.” Since both make good rhythm and are in harmony with the dipodic structure, a positive decision is not necessary for present purposes. Except perhaps in a few words which have conventionally a

One of the most striking pieces of corroborative evidence in the present connection is to be found in the characteristic ballad manner of word repetition:

They hadna been a month, a month  
In Norraway but three (*Sir Patrick Spens*-G).

O, bonny, bonny sang the bird  
Sat on the coil of hay (*Sweet William's Ghost*-F).

She had na pu'd a nut, a nut,  
A nut but barely ane (*Hind Elin*-B).

'An askin, an askin, dear father,  
An askin I'll ask thee' (*Lord Thomas and Fair Annet*-I).

O huly, huly rose she up,  
And huly she put on,  
And huly, huly she put on  
The silks of crimson (*The Lass of Roch Royal*-A).

The significant fact is that the first stressed syllable in each such series falls in the position of primary stress; this is an almost invariable rule.<sup>13</sup> Obviously a phenomenon repeated so frequently and always in the same way cannot be the result of chance. It is plain, moreover, that when words are thus repeated the first only is of real importance, while the second follows merely as an echo or refrain, of metrical but scarcely of logical value. The third of the series, however, tends to collect the value of both the preceding, and takes a new start with redoubled emphasis. Finally, then, we have this invariable

---

shifting accent, as, *lady* (*ladye*), and *country* (*countrie*), I should personally prefer the second interpretation. Usage of this sort is not uncommon in modern poetry, e.g. in Hilaire Belloc's *South Country*:

The men who live in west England . . . .  
The great hills of the south country.

Masefield's *West Wind* shows the usage with a vocative:

So will you not come home, brother, and rest your tired feet?  
These later occurrences may be reminiscent of the ballads, but they show nevertheless, that the rhythm appeals to the modern poetic ear.

<sup>13</sup> For some of the very rare exceptions see *Child Maurice*, e.g., in the A version:

'Here is a glove, a glove,' he says  
'Lined with the silver grey.'

arrangement of repeated words as an interesting confirmation of the dipodic structure.<sup>14</sup>

A special case of the septenary ballad occurs when trisyllabic substitution is frequently used. In the texts so far considered the lines have rarely more than fourteen syllables; in *Sir Patrick Spens* (A) only 7% of the half-feet are trisyllabic, and in *Tam Lin* (A) only 6%. In other ballads the proportion is much higher: thus, *Lord Lovel* (A) 34% and *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet* (D) 47%. The dipodic indices of such ballads may, nevertheless, remain high:

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Lord Lovel (A) . . . . .                 | 17 |
| Lord Thomas and Fair Annet (D) . . . . . | 45 |

The actual relation between the two types of septenary ballad may be shown best by musical analogy. The non-trisyllabic usually corresponds, as we have seen, to music of four-four (i.e., twice two) time; the trisyllabic, on the other hand, carries with it the idea of three as well as two, showing thus that it is the result of building verse against a background of six-eight (i.e., twice three) time. The two- and three-syllable feet thus represent the notations respectively of



Half-measures of two and three elements mingle much more readily in songs of six-eight than of four-four time. Both are, however, march time, and so offer no fundamental difference for popular music. It is thus easy to find the same ballad with a tune now of the one type, now of the other.<sup>15</sup> From the more strictly metrical point of view, appeal to the ear in reading without music, the two types of ballad show much greater

<sup>14</sup> An interesting detail of similar import is to be seen in the use of trisyllabic proper names which occur frequently repeated in certain ballads. Thus *Carterhaugh* would naturally call for a primary accent upon the first and a secondary accent upon the third syllable, and in the nine versions of *Tam Lin* published by Child this word (or some analogue) occurs fifty-three times, *always* so placed as to have its natural accentuation correspond with the dipodic structure of the verse. The usage for *Patrick Spens* (1 - 2), and *Gregory* (in *The Lass of Rock Royal*) is nearly as consistent, while *Rock Royal* itself is used twenty-five times, and like *Carterhaugh* carries *always* the same accentuation.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Campbell No. 2, 7.

difference. Such a loose usage of trisyllabic feet demands that the proportion of strongly stressed syllables must decrease from one in four, and approach one in five or six. This, however, is a difficult matter in English with its large number of monosyllabic nouns, adjectives, and verbs. At the same time, to an even greater degree, the dipodic effect upon the ear is lost by the necessity of minor variations of stress produced within the dipods. Dipodic rhythm is necessarily complicated, and any additional complication renders it so confusing to the ear that even the primary effect tends to be lost.<sup>16</sup> Although the secondary metrical differences are thus frequently important, nevertheless underlying identity between these two types of ballad meter is sufficiently established by musical analogy, by the test of the dipodic index, and by the general nature of the septenary line occurring in both. They are thus fundamentally the same metrical form; the trisyllabic variety can be considered simply as a special case of the more common type.

While it has thus been possible to establish the dipodic nature of certain ballads, the question remains as to whether this is true of all the Child selections of the septenary type. The answer must be in the negative. We have as instances of low dipodic index:

|                              |      |
|------------------------------|------|
| James Harris (A) . . . . .   | 6    |
| The King's Disguise. . . . . | — 28 |

Examples of this group are, however, relatively rare. Comparison of these ballads, moreover, with those of highest dipodic index will leave little real doubt as to which represents the truer ballad style. *Tam Lin*, and *Sir Patrick Spens* are members of the ballad aristocracy, while *James Harris (A)*, and *The King's*

<sup>16</sup> This can be illustrated. On the one hand we have:

'Come riddle my riddle, dear mother,' he said,  
'And riddle us both as one.'

(*Lord Thomas and Fair Annet-D*).

Here the line is largely trisyllabic, but the nature of the unaccented syllables is so unemphatic that the dipodic swing can still be felt. The situation is different, however, in

What made the bells of the high chapel ring,

The ladys make all their moan. (*Lord Lovel-A*).

Here such important words as a noun and a verb are used in the trisyllabic substitutions, the necessity of logical stress as a result destroys the simplicity of the dipodic structure.



*Disguise* both show the style of the broadside. The principal reason for the occurrence of these comparatively few non-dipodic texts may be deduced, I believe, without great difficulty. To regard them as the more recent form and the dipodic as the older would be easy, but fallacious. For one reason, we do not know ballad dates definitely enough to make possible any sound conclusions, and at the same time some ballads which would seem to be of late composition (such as *Philipshaugh*) are rather strongly dipodic. A relationship which may be more surely argued is that the dipodic type represents the more primitive ballad, and the other a metrical form farther from its origin. Thus while the typical versions of dipodic ballads have usually been transcribed directly from the words of the singers themselves, *The King's Disguise* is the product of the printing-press perhaps as late as the eighteenth century, and seemed to Ritson "to have been written by some miserable retainer to the press." Similarly *James Harris* (A) is from a broadside text so sophisticated as to entitle itself *A Warning to Married Women*. The explanation of the failure of these less primitive ballads to be dipodic is almost certainly to be found in their relation to music. The more primitive were sung; the others probably were not. The connection between dipodic verse and music is always very close; in fact for anything but song-verse dipodic rhythm is probably a recent artistic innovation. The reason for this is that, except for a skilful conscious artist, such complicated structure is too difficult to be maintained without the constant aid of a musical air. Since the ballads are primarily songs, we may assume that some kind of a tune developed along with the text. The tune itself was ordinarily the accompaniment of marching, dancing, or some kind of bodily movement, and accordingly, to mark the components of such movement, the music was in four-four, or six-eight, that is, dipodic time. The words, developing along with the tune, managed to represent a more or less rough approximation of this fourfold rhythm. On the other hand, when ballads were composed without the aid of the tune such dipodic movement was too subtle to be preserved. One may conclude, therefore, that the dipodic ballad represents verse sung originally to four-four or six-eight time, and maintaining in its text this dipodic rhythm; the non-dipodic ballad, on the other hand, shows the

divorcement of the ballad text from the air, and the consequent absence of dipodic structure.<sup>17</sup>

Next to the "septenary" type the most used ballad form is an apparent stanza of four four-stress lines with rhyme *abcb*; this is very common, occurring in more than fifty ballads. A few examples will illustrate the type:

Then farewell hart, and farewell hand  
And farewell all good companye!  
That woman shall neuer beare a sonne  
Shall know soe much of your priuitye (*Northumberland betrayed by Douglas*).

When Johnē wakend out of his dream,  
I wate a dreiry man was he:  
'Is thou gane now, Dickie, than?  
The shame gae in thy company! (*Dick o the Cow*).

At first glance this seems totally unrelated to the type of verse just considered; observation of a few facts will, however, enable anyone to deduce the really close and simply relation. In the first place, the line unit, as in the septenary, must be measured between rhymes; this yields what is apparently a pair of eight-foot lines. In the second place it will be observed that in the examples the rhyme is upon syllables of weak stress. This yields the clue to the solution—the "four-foot quatrain" is really a dipodic couplet differing from the septenary only in that its line is not cut off by rhyme at the primary stress, but is extended to the secondary stress of the last foot, thus being lengthened by two syllables. The "septenary" represents the line:

—|— — —|— — —|| —|— — —|— —

the other:

—|— — —|— — —|| —|— — —|— — —

Since the theoretical relation between the two lines is so close, it is to be hoped that the writer (as well as the reader) can be spared the necessity of again taking up the dipodic question

<sup>17</sup> This same distinction may be seen in different versions of the same ballad. Although the broadside version of *James Harris* has no appreciable dipodic tendency, a popular version (F) reaches the quite marked dipodic index of 21. This might be developed into a corroborative test to aid in distinguishing the truly popular ballad from broadsides and imitations.

<sup>18</sup> Note that the *cæsura* remains in the same position.

from the beginning. If the theory as regards rhyme can be proved independently, the rest of the relation of the two forms can be considered to follow.

Fortunately the problem of rhyme yields readily a direct method of approach. The following tables show the nature of the syllables which carry the rhyme in the two types of ballad, as well as in two literary poems. The general principle of counting is the same as that used for determining the dipodic index.

| "Quatrain" type:                 | Rhymes on—  |              |           |
|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|
|                                  | Strong syl. | Neutral syl. | Weak syl. |
| Bonnie Lass of Angelsey (A)..... | 0%          | 22%          | 78%       |
| Young Beichan (A).....           | 41          | 28           | 30        |
| The Bold Pedlar.....             | 33          | 44           | 23        |
| Lord of Lorn (A).....            | 45          | 32           | 23        |
| Johnnie Armstrong (A).....       | 44          | 38           | 18        |
| Bothwell Brig.....               | 34          | 34           | 32        |
| Northumberland betrayed etc..... | 21          | 38           | 41        |
| Kemp Owen (A).....               | 39          | 22           | 39        |
| Average.....                     | 36          | 33           | 41        |

| "Septenary" type:                 |     |     |    |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|----|
| Sir Patrick Spens (A).....        | 86% | 14% | 0% |
| Tam Lin (A).....                  | 66  | 31  | 3  |
| The Wife of Usher's Well (A)..... | 75  | 21  | 4  |
| James Harris (A).....             | 62  | 38  | 0  |
| Average.....                      | 72  | 26  | 2  |

| Literary verse:                  |     |     |    |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----|----|
| The Universal Prayer (Pope)..... | 57% | 43% | 0% |
| Mandalay (Kipling).....          | 74  | 18  | 8  |

The results of counting as expressed in the foregoing tables show striking contrast between the nature of the rhyming syllables in the two types of ballad. The evidence of the literary poems shows also that secondary stress rhyme is in itself unusual and not part of the ordinary nature of English verse. A comparison in greater detail will be instructive at least in the case of the two extremes of ballad type. *Sir Patrick Spens* (A), a fine "septenary" ballad, has twenty-two rhymes; of these, one is on an adjective, two on adverbs, three on verbs, and sixteen on the accented syllables of nouns. *The Bonnie Lass of Angelsey* (A), on the other hand, has only one rhyme upon an important verb, and none at all on the primarily accented syllable of

adjectives, adverbs, or nouns; of its fourteen rhymes two are on pronouns, three on copulas, and eight on secondarily accented syllables of trisyllabic words. The contrast of the two poems in this respect is in fact practically complete. The situation is less marked in other examples, but this is only to be expected in view of the general nature of ballad metrics. There need be no hesitation, however, in declaring that in the one type appears a marked tendency toward rhyming on weak syllables, while in the other there is no such tendency.<sup>19</sup>

As before, corroborating evidence can be drawn from the ballad tunes. Both types fit readily into the same musical structures. The only difference is in the fourth bar (that which connects the two half-lines), and in the corresponding case of the last bar. In the septenarius type the fourth bar is usually:



that is, a period of rest is admitted between the two lines. In ballads of secondary stress rhyme, however, the music runs through:



The fourteen syllables of the one line and the sixteen of the other thus fit into the same period of musical time. Both are thus basically the same, and in their structure strictly defined are metrically identical, that is, both are four-foot dipodic lines.<sup>20</sup>

In the types of ballad so far considered the dipod consists characteristically of four syllables; in the remaining texts we must take account of other linguistic arrangements metrically equivalent. The number of syllables may be decreased from four to three or two, or, on the other hand, increased to six, or even more. This increase in the number of syllables involves a comparatively complex process; accordingly, it will be better

<sup>19</sup> This same tendency may also appear in texts of frequent trisyllabic substitution, e.g. *Alison Gross*.

<sup>20</sup> For this "carry-through" type of ballad set to times other than four-four, see e.g. *Motherwell II, IX*.

to consider first those dipods in which the number of syllables is reduced.

Before attempting to observe their actual occurrence in verse, the nature of the two- and three-syllable dipods can best be demonstrated by musical analogy. Metrically the process consists in "pinching out" either or both unstressed syllables; musically this is represented by the substitution of one half-note for two quarters. The feet thus formed can be represented in metrical and in the commonest corresponding musical notation as follows:



Each of these musical units is, of course, the equivalent of any measure in four-four time. In a similar manner all the dipods, whether of four, three or two syllables, are equivalent and may be mingled readily in the same line.

A mixed type of verse offers the best approach to the study of the trisyllabic dipod. Starting with ballads in which the four-syllable feet greatly predominate, we may trace a progression which ends finally in a few texts composed entirely of the trisyllabic type. As a beginning we may quote the first three stanzas of *Lamkin* (A), noticing the remarkable situation there displayed:

It's Lamkin was a mason good as ever built wi stane  
He built Lord Wearie's castle, but payment got he nane.

'O pay me, Lord Wearie, come pay me my fee:'  
'I canna pay you, Lamkin, for I maun gang oer the sea.'

'O pay me now, Lord Wearie, come, pay me out o hand:'  
'I canna pay you, Lamkin, unless I sell my land.'

In these lines the first and third stanzas are quite passably of the four-syllable dipodic type, even to the omission of secondarily stressed syllables before the cæsura. On the other hand, the first line of the second couplet is trisyllabic although it

rhymes with a line of the other type. In addition, as if to show that the trisyllabic line was not a negligence, the first line of the third couplet is nearly an echo, though it inserts just the proper syllables to make the structure surely dipodic. Farther on the mingling of three- and four-syllable feet becomes even more complex. As far as couplet No. 13 the movement is generally dipodic; then we have suddenly:

Then Lamkin he rocked, and the fause nourice sang,  
Till frae ilkae bore o the cradle the red blood out sprang,

where all except the first half of the second line appears trisyllabic, and where this one half-line is not only dipodic but even goes so far as to admit a trisyllabic substitution within the dipodic foot. From couplets No. 13 to No. 17 this seemingly mixed movement continues;<sup>21</sup> at couplet No. 18 the dipodic structure reappears, and continues to No. 23; thence to the end three-syllable feet appear frequently.

If this anomalous mingling of meters occurred only in one version of a single ballad we might be justified in throwing its evidence out of court upon the general grounds of the untrustworthiness of ballad texts for minute metrical analysis. The same situation, however, appears not only in the other texts of *Lamkin*, but also in a number of other ballads. The first couplet of the B-text, for example is in wording closely analogous to the couplet already quoted; except that in this case the "mixed" structure appears:

Balankin was as gude a mason as eer picked a stane;  
He built up Prime Castle, but payment gat nane.

Since this seemingly incongruous structure appears as a characteristic practice in the texts of at least ten ballads, it cannot be dismissed, but must be explained. No one, I think, will explain the structure of the meter as an actual combination of four-syllable dipodic with simple trisyllabic rhythm. One trial at reading *Lamkin* as an attempt at mingling these two rhythms is sufficient to demonstrate its impossibility.<sup>22</sup> The

<sup>21</sup> This depends somewhat upon whether we consider *bairn* as of one or two syllables. With the Scottish trilled *r* it is usually more nearly the latter.

<sup>22</sup> The attempt to read *Lamkin* and similar texts as lines of four simple feet would necessitate often four and sometimes five syllables in one foot. Only a dipodic foot can stand such expansion.

meter then must be either all trisyllabic or all dipodic. With the dipodic feet so greatly in preponderance, however, the overwhelming difficulties in the way of making the tail wag the dog will, I believe, render the attempt obviously impractical. Accordingly, by this *reductio ad absurdum*, we arrive at the conclusion that the verse of *Lamkin* must be dipodic throughout.

It is not necessary, however, to rest this conclusion on such negative evidence alone. *Lamkin* and its related ballads actually read well as dipodic verse; in fact, to me at least, there is no meter in them at all by any other method of reading. The advantages of dipodic rendering can often be seen in the inspection of the text itself; such feet as

and the fause nourice sang

and

the red blood out sprang

can certainly be read as trisyllabic verse, i.e.:

( ) - - - - -

With equal certainty, however, the meaning is more fully brought out if a dipodic interpretation is used to allow a more natural stress upon *nourice* and *blood*:

( ) - - - - -

The objection may be raised that this structure produces difficulties by frequently demanding a secondary stress where it does not occur naturally. If we quote for instance the whole line reproduced above only in part, we see that a secondary stress is called for upon the second syllable of *Lamkin*, or else upon the unemphatic pronoun *he*:

Then Lamkin he rocked, and the fause nourice sang.

To this the only reply must be that ballad metrics is not an exact science. If in couplets No. 8 to No. 11 the accent upon *Lamkin* must undoubtedly be entirely reversed (as shown by the rhyme) no one can be greatly shocked when the same word suffers a comparatively slight modification a few lines farther on.

In *Lamkin* (A), as we have seen, the four-syllable type of dipodic foot greatly predominated. It is possible, however, to establish a progression leading finally to a few ballads in which

all the feet are trisyllabic. In *Lamkin* (B) the two types of foot are fairly well balanced; the same is true of *The Bonny Earl of Murray* (A), and (allowing for some dipodic feet of two syllables) of the B-version of the same ballad, and of both texts of *Willie Makintosh*. Passing, however, to *The Death of Queen Jane* (B), we find the situation of *Lamkin* (A) approximately reversed; less than one foot in four is of the four-syllable type. Nevertheless the dipodic structure is still certain, since on any other basis it would be impossible to handle metrically such a couplet as:

At this bonie babie's christning there was meikle joy and mirth,  
But bonnie Queen Jeanie lies cold in the earth.

Progressing farther in the same direction, we may notice a group in which four-syllable feet are rare, perhaps as in *Bonnie Annie* (A) represented by only two or three indubitable examples (see couplet No. 9). Finally, we come to a group of about fifteen texts (representing six different ballads) in which there is no absolutely certain case of a foot of four syllables. Since the evidence of the tunes is inconclusive, these texts might, if they stood alone, be considered ordinary trisyllabic verse. They do not, however, stand alone. With one exception all have closely related versions in which undoubted four-syllable feet occur, sometimes with considerable frequency. Accordingly, it would seem justifiable to consider these last texts merely as the terminus toward which the dipodic verse of the transition ballads has been working.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the argument from transitional texts the actual linguistic structure of these "trisyllabic" ballads may be

<sup>23</sup> The tabulation below shows the surprising way in which the different ballad texts display the transition from the four-syllable to the three-syllable dipod: (1) No three-syllable—*Lamkin*-P. (2) Three-syllable rare—*Lord Randal*-K, J, L, M, O; *Baron of Braickley*-D; *Lord Saltoun and Auchanachie*-B; *Lamkin*-A et al.; *Cherry-Tree Carol*-D. (3) Three-syllable and four-syllable approximately balanced—*Cherry-Tree*-C; *Lamkin*-B et al.; *Lord Delamere*-A, C, D. (4) Three-syllable predominating—*Lamkin*-C, G; *Death of Queen Jane*-B; *Delamere*-B; *Glenlogie*-I. (5) Three-syllable except for a few instances—*Lord Randal*-A, C, D, F, I; *Bonnie Annie*-A; *Lamkin*-R, T; *Queen Jane*-A, C; *Braickley*-A, B, C; *Charlie Macpherson*-B; *Glenlogie*-A, B, C, D, E, G, H; *Saltoun*-A. (6) Three-syllable exclusively, or at least no absolutely certain case of a four-syllable foot—*Randal*-B, E, G, H; *Bonnie Annie*-B, *Queen Jane*-D, E, F, G; *James Campbell* all versions; *Macpherson*-A; *Glenlogie*-F.



regarded as confirming their dipodic structure. For example, in *Bonnie James Campbell*, which alone has no four-syllable foot in any version, it is *possible* to read as ordinary trisyllabic verse such lines as:

Hame came horse, hame came sadle, but neer hame cam he,

and

And doun cam his sweet sisters, greeting sae sair.

On the other hand, the dipodic structure brings out a much fuller meaning to the text, and a much better movement to the verse:

— ∪ | — — ∪ | — ∪ ^ ∪ | — — ∪ | —

and

∪ | — — ∪ | — — ∪ | — ∪ — | — \*

That a dipodic rendering thus turns geese to swans, must certainly be considered strong evidence of its reality.

The result of this investigation is to justify the general conclusion that the apparently "anapestic" ballads are connected by unbroken transition with the dipodic verse of four syllables to the foot. The trisyllabic ballads (with only one exception) show versions with feet of four syllables. Nowhere, therefore, can a line be drawn, and the only conclusion must be that the two types are fundamentally the same in structure, that is, that both represent a line of four dipodic feet, varying only in syllabic arrangement.

After study of the three-syllable dipod that of two syllables offers little difficulty, and may be quickly dismissed. The essential nature of the three-syllable type we found to be the pinching-out of one unstressed syllable so that two important syllables were placed together; the two-syllable dipod merely carries this process one step further by dropping both the unstressed syllables. As a result, three important syllables stand consecutively. Obviously, continuous verse cannot be written in this manner; even English has a certain number of necessarily light syllables. Such a chanting effect can of course be imposed upon verse by the aid of music. That this is not the case in any ballads, however, is good evidence that the music

\* Another possible reading of this line would be:

∪ | — ∪ — | — ∪ ^ ^ | — ∪ — | —

does not entirely dominate their metrical structure. We must consider, therefore, the two-syllable dipod as an only occasional variant to that found in verse prevailing of three- and four-syllable feet. We need do no more than point out some examples, and comment briefly upon them.

The two-syllable dipod occurs occasionally in a considerable number of ballad texts; its close relationship to the trisyllabic type is shown by the fact that it appears almost always in conjunction with the latter. It can be best observed probably in *Willie Mackintosh* (B), *The Bonny Earl of Murray* (B), and *Our Goodman* (A). When most effectively used it is not dependent upon musical support, but represents actual linguistic structure:

Head me, hang me  
That sall never fear me;  
I'll burn Auchindown  
Before the life leaves me (*Willie Mackintosh*).

| -- | -- | -- | -- | --

| -- | -- | -- | -- | --

Her corn grows ripe, her meadows grow green,  
But in bonny Dinnibristle I darena be seen.  
(*The Bonny Earl of Murray*-B).

Poor blind body,  
And blinder mat ye be! (*Our Goodman*-A).

He neither shall be christened in white wine nor red,  
But with fair spring water, with which we were christened.  
(*The Cherry-Tree Carol*-B).

In texts of this type one should note particularly the often intimate mingling of dipods of two, three, and four syllables. This is a degree of metrical intricacy not attained in literary verse until the present generation. As with all usages in ballad metrics, the technique of the dissyllabic foot is at times not linguistically established, but depends frankly upon musical support, or, what is essentially the same, upon an already established metrical rhythm in the mind of the reader. In the following examples secondary metrical stress is demanded upon syllables naturally unstressed:

He's ben and ben, and ben to his bed (*The Bonny Earl of Murray*-B).

Lamkin rocked, and fausse nourice sang (*Lamkin*-M).

In view of the nature of ballad metrics this situation is only to be expected; in fact its absence would be more peculiar than its occurrence.

In general the dissyllabic dipod is not very widespread or characteristic in ballad metrics.<sup>25</sup> It affects, however, the metrical interpretation of a dozen or more texts, and at the same time an establishment of its usage is necessary for the study by analogy of the more complex forms of the dipodic foot.<sup>26</sup>

Having confined our discussion of the dipod in ballad verse thus far to feet consisting of four syllables or less, we must now proceed to the more complicated subject of feet with five, six, or even more syllables. A large number of ballad texts demand the existence of feet of this latter type; otherwise it is impossible to read them metrically.

Since metrical notation has not reached a sufficiently high degree of complexity, we must depend upon musical analogy for the first demonstration of the more complicated dipods.

<sup>25</sup> Note should be made of the use of the dissyllabic (as well as trisyllabic) dipod in refrains. Since these are often meaningless, they can hardly be said to have metrical significance. By analogy, however, they are important in giving a firmer basis for the practice. Examples are:

Eh vow bonnie (*Babylon-A*)

Hey nien nanny (*Sir Lionel-B*)

Fa la lilly (*King Edelbrode*, fragment)

<sup>26</sup> Such lines as:

He's ben and ben and ben to his bed

naturally suggest the inquiry as to whether ballads ever occur in "octosyllabic" lines. This might easily be the case by development from the analogy of such lines as the above, or by development of a prevailingly dissyllabic dipodic structure with the subsequent decay of the dipodic basis as the text worked away from the music. Some of the trisyllabic texts (e.g. those of *Lord Randal*) really display some such result, but, in spite of the fact that I should welcome it for its analogies, I do not believe that we have any ballads which are octosyllabic even by the broadest interpretation. Apparent octosyllabic texts really have refrains which fill out the line. In some cases these have not been preserved in all the versions, but it is usually true (see e.g. *Hind Horn*) that the texts which lack refrains are those which have been recorded from recitation. Ballads transcribed from actual singing generally show that the octosyllabic line is in reality expanded by the refrain. Only two ballads have octosyllabic texts without refrains in any version. Of these *Willie's Lady* exists only in one version going back to two sources neither of which apparently was transcribed from singing; *The Suffolk Miracle* on the other hand is a broadside text, and cannot be considered as evidence of true ballad technique.

Note has already been made upon the analogy of the four-syllable dipod with the musical measure:



For greater simplicity it is more convenient to consider only half of this foot, which would yield the musical analogy of two quarter notes in four-four time:



The musical equivalents are, of course, many, but of those which consist of three or four notes the simplest are the following:



These three musical expressions correspond to the three ordinary ways of forming the polysyllabic dipodic *half-foot*. The whole dipod may be composed, generally speaking, of any combination of these half-feet with one another or with the simpler dipodic forms. The situation will become the clearer with further explanation.

The simplest case of the polysyllabic dipod may in a certain sense be said to occur with any trisyllabic substitution. Thus in even the best dipodic ballad text there is now and then a dipodic foot of five syllables:

And she has broded her yellow hair

A little aboon her bree (*Tam Lin-A*).



O say na sae, my master deir,

For I feir a deadlie storme (*Sir Patric Spens-A*).

Cases of this sort, however, come within the general limitations of the metrical theory of trisyllabic substitution; at the same time the two unstressed syllables are equally unemphatic and so generally present no new stress relation. Accordingly they may ordinarily be disregarded. The difference between trisyllabic substitution and the real trisyllabic half-foot can be seen by comparison of examples. Although the number of

syllables in each of the two following lines is the same, the metrical movements are distinctly different:

'Come riddle my riddle, dear mother' he said,  
'And riddle us both as one' (*Lord Thomas and Fair Annet* (D)).

I heard a cow low, a bonnie cow low,  
An a cow low down in yon glen (*The Queen of Elfland's Nourice*).

As Child, in one of his few metrical observations, remarks of the latter ballad, it "forces you to chant and will not be read." This chanting effect is due to the fact that the line has not only more than fourteen syllables, but also more than the ordinary number of stresses, that is, the extra syllables are frequently important. On the other hand, the extra syllables of the first quotation are entirely unemphatic (unaccented syllables of dissyllabic words and pronouns). It is therefore possible to represent the structure of the first line by the ordinary four-foot scheme:

—|— — — —|— — — —|— — — —|—

Although a closely similar scheme might satisfy a theoretical "scansion" for the second line also, this would class articles, and nouns equally as unstressed syllables, and would fail utterly to represent the chanting effect. Obviously in this kind of ballad meter some factor as yet unconsidered is at work.

For the simplest working of this new factor we must turn to such a text as *The Gay Goshawk* (B). Here occurs frequently the half-line:

Here is a gift, and a very rare gift

in which the two words *very rare* approach the trisyllabic type of half-foot represented by the musical structure:



In the same ballad also we find inserted in the regular dipodic ballad structure a full four-syllable half-foot:

Out then spak a pretty little bird . . . .  
And thrice he has kissed her cherry, cherry cheek . . . .  
With one side of the bonny beaten gold . . . .  
With one side of the beaten gold,  
And another of the silver clear.

There are even lines in which two such half-feet occur:

Where will I get a boy, and a pretty little boy.

It is clear that, musically at least, these situations represent the substitution of four eighth for two quarter notes, or at least something closely analogous to it. Thus the transliteration of the first quoted line might be:



Numerous other ballads show feet of the same structure.<sup>37</sup>

This type of half-foot has, however, metrical as well as musical basis. It does not depend upon the tune, but, at least when its occurrence is not too frequent, can be felt in the linguistic structure of the text. This can be perceived by observing that the four-syllable half-feet consist usually of stereotyped constructions which yield particularly to rapid pronunciation. (1) The commonest is a repeated adjective with short vowel such as the "cherry, cherry cheek" already quoted. "Bonnie" is very frequently so used, as in *The Broom of Cowdenknowes*, and in the recurring line of *Geordie*:

O where will I get a bonny, bonny boy.

In the G-text of this latter ballad occurs also the interesting case:

When she cam to the canny Cannygate.

Here desire to emphasize the proper metrical structure has led to the use of a meaningless adjective (as applied to a gate), and has changed *Canongate* to *Cannygate*. (2) Another common construction is the combination of two adjectives generally of short vowels and of conventionalized usage. Frequently alliteration is called in to aid, as in the *bonny beaten gold* already quoted. Of these combinations *pretty little* is practically stereotyped. (3) In other cases the four-syllable half-foot departs from these conventionalized arrangements, and depends merely

<sup>37</sup> Other such ballads are: *Sir Patrick Spens* (E), *The Broomfield Hill* (D), *The Two Brothers* (B), *Sir Hugh* (M, N), *The Duke of Athole's Nurse* (C, D, F), *The Earl of Aboyne* (D, et al.), *The Rantin Laddie* (A, D), *The Farmer's Curs't Wife*. See also below.

upon any group of words which flows easily from the tongue. On account of this care in selection of syllables, their extra number within moderate limits does not tend to break down the primary structure of the verse.

In a limited number of ballad texts, however, the polysyllabic type of dipod predominates: in these cases certain secondary factors operate to disrupt the original metrical form, and thus to produce what is practically a new structure. One case of this sort has been observed in *The Queen of Elfland's Nourice*, and others can be illustrated:

Over night they carded for our English mens coates;  
 They fished before their nets were spunn;  
 A white for sixpence, a red for two groates;  
 Now wisdome wold haue stayed till they had been woone.  
 (*Mussellburgh Field*)

It fell upon a time, when the proud king of France  
 Went a hunting for five months and more,  
 That his dochter fell in love with Thomas of Winesberrie  
 From Scotland newly come oer (*Willie o Winsbury-H*).

'And are ye come at last? and do I hold ye fast?  
 And is my Johny true?'  
 'I hae nae time to tell, but sae lang's I like mysell  
 Sae lang will I love you' (*The Grey Cock*).

The lady looked over her own castle-wa,  
 And oh, but she looked weary!  
 And there she espied the gleyed Argyle,  
 Come to plunder the bonny house of Airly.  
 (*The Bonnie House of Airlie-B*).

While musically such lines can be held within the ordinary bonds of four measures of four-four time, from a metrical point of view the occurrence of so many polysyllabic dipods really breaks down the original structure so that three- or four-syllable half-feet really become dipods in their own right. For example, the first line quoted above might be transliterated into music thus:



This would represent legitimate musical usage, although for practical purposes in singing eight measures of four-four time

could have been used equally as well as four. On the other hand, to attempt to represent the line as only four metrical feet leads to absurdity. It would suppose a linguistic structure:

3 4 | ' 3 2 4 3 4 | ' 4 3 2 4 | ' 4 3 4 2 3 | '

where the numbers represent the relative degree of stress necessary to maintain this arrangement. This presumes *four* consistently used gradations of stress—a complexity of which the language has never yet shown itself capable. What actually occurs is, of course, that the first and second degrees of stress (as represented above) fall together so that the metrical structure becomes:

— | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

We are now in a position to scan also the line already quoted from *The Queen of Elfland's Nourice* (see p. 957). In this case there are no four-syllable half-feet, but the original dipod is equally well broken by those of three syllables. The chanting effect is in reality the result of numerous strongly stressed words forming trisyllabic or dissyllabic dipods in the place of the original structure:

— | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

The frequent occurrence of polysyllabic dipods has thus two concomitant effects—seven, or better (allowing for rest at the end of the line) eight, dipods take the place of four, and at the same time the actual structure of the feet returns to the simpler forms. The piling-up of syllables in the foot has proceeded until too high a degree of complexity has been reached; linguistic necessity then reasserts itself, and the expanded feet break into their component halves.

The only other ballad form which can be said to represent a change in the structure of the foot is that represented by the complex stanza<sup>29</sup> of *The Twa Sisters*, the closely related stanza

<sup>28</sup> Another possible reading is:

| — — | — — | — — | — — | — — | — — | — — | — — | — — | — — |

This does not appeal to my own ear, but I have heard others use it. Note that it omits syllables of primary stress—not an ordinary ballad practice.

<sup>29</sup> This development of internal rhyme with the resulting formation of a stanza here displayed is analogous to the same practice in the other more complex forms of ballad meter. Whenever the line becomes very long, it tends to reinforce its structure by additional rhymes. See e.g. *Broomfield Hill* (D), *Musselburgh Field*, *The Broom of Cowdenknowes*, *The Grey Cock*, et al.



of *The Cruel Mother* (F), and probably that of *The Maid and the Palmer*. This is so highly complicated that no one could attempt to relate its structure to that of the other ballads by purely metrical means. Music, however, shows the relationship. In this case the tune (as given by Child) is taken from the Abbotsford manuscript and, like other tunes from the same source, is rather inaccurate. The time is three-four; if this is changed to six-four, however, the whole complicated stanza falls into the normal ballad form of a four-foot couplet.<sup>30</sup> In other words, the two quarter notes of the usual half-measure of ballad music become when most fully expanded:



This is, of course, too high a degree of complexity to have reality in linguistic structure, and therefore does not actually represent any metrical conception. It is interesting, nevertheless, in showing that at least a theoretical relation may be established all the way from the simplest to the most complex ballad form.

The present study is too general to permit of considering minor variation. There are many single ballads which with their different texts would furnish material for pages of discussion; this would tend, however, to become for the most part mere description, not very valuable from a strictly metrical point of view. More applicable to the present subject would be the study of the metrical significance of ballad refrains, and of the various methods of stanza formation. In general, however, matters of refrain and stanza will be found to offer no real difficulty, if the fundamental principles of ballad metrics are grasped.

These fundamental principles it has been the purpose of this study to demonstrate, and we are now, I believe, in a position

<sup>30</sup> The airs for this ballad in Motherwell, and Campbell and Sharp are of no aid in this connection. They represent simpler versions of the text.



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<sup>40</sup> The airs for this ballad in Motherwell, and Campbell and Sharp are of no aid in this connection. They represent simpler versions of the text.

to present the conclusions as to the general nature of English popular meter as represented by the Child collection:

1) The meter of the ballads is fundamentally a four-foot dipodic line. In the less popular texts the dipodic structure may be lost.

2) The rhyme is usually upon a primary stress, but in a considerable number of cases the line is apparently lengthened by the occurrence of secondary stress rhyme.

3) The number of syllables in the foot is most often four. This may be decreased to three or two, and under certain circumstances increased to five or six without loss of the original dipodic structure.

4) When the number of syllables to the foot is frequently more than four and when more than the usual number of stresses is logically demanded, the linguistic complexity becomes too great, and the original dipodic structure is disrupted with the accompanying development of a secondary dipodism.

5) In its simpler forms ballad verse is founded upon linguistic principles, but in its more complex developments is dependent largely upon musical support.

As a final word this inherent unity of ballad metrical form should be stressed. There is indeed no real possibility on the basis of metrical structure of separating the ballads into various types. This may be useful in some cases, but usually the supposed types will be found to shade into one another so gradually that no line can be drawn between them. The different ballad forms are not separate species, but only varieties of the same metrical norm—the line of four dipodic feet.

GEORGE R. STEWART, JR.

## XLVII. THE PERIPHRASTIC FUTURE WITH *SHALL* AND *WILL* IN MODERN ENGLISH

One cannot read through the mass of discussions of the problem of *shall* and *will* published during the past century<sup>1</sup> nor even those written since 1900<sup>2</sup> without being impressed by the wide diversity of the points of view and the definite conflict of the opinions and conclusions thus brought together. Even among those articles that can be grouped as expressing the conventional rules<sup>3</sup> there is considerable variety and contradiction, not in the general rule for independent declarative statements (that a *shall* with the first person corresponds with a *will* with the second and third) but in the other rules concerning questions, reported discourse, and subordinate clauses. That there is a considerable body of literary usage which conflicts with the conventional rules is indicated by the many pages in these articles devoted to pointing out instances in which "the best of our authors" have violated the rules.<sup>4</sup>

Opposed to those articles giving the conventional rules is not only this fairly large amount of usage, the number of instances pointed out as "blunders," but also the views ex-

<sup>1</sup> See the Bibliographical Note on pp. 983 below.

<sup>2</sup> Important contributions to the *shall* and *will* problem appear in the following:

Sweet, *New English Grammar*, II, Syntax (1898), 92-96.

Krüger, *Syntax der Englischen Sprache*, IV, Zeitwort, (2nd ed. Dresden and Leipzig, 1914) 1425-1500.

*The New English Dictionary*, (article *shall*).

C. B. Bradley, "Shall and Will—An Historical Study," *Trans. of Am. Phil. Assn.*, 42 (1911), 5-31.

G. O. Curme, "Has English a Future Tense?" *J.E.G. Ph.* XII(1913), 515-539.

Ph. Aronstein, "Shall und Will zum Ausdruck der Idealität im Englischen," *Anglia*, XLI, (1917), 10-93; 301-392.

<sup>3</sup> Compare for example the rules for *shall* and *will* as given in Blount and Northrup, *English Grammar*, Woolley, *Handbook of Composition*, Fowler and Fowler, *The King's English*.

<sup>4</sup> R. G. White, *Every Day English*: " . . . I proposed to give in this chapter a long series of plain unmistakable examples of its misuse by English writers of which I have numerous memorandums scattered upon the fly-leaves of my

pressed in the more scientific contributions listed above (see note 2). These, attempting to base their generalizations and statements upon actual studies of the usage, attack not only those subordinate rules upon which the conservatives themselves are at variance but some would overturn even the first general rule for *shall* and *will* upon which the former all agree.<sup>8</sup> Among these more scientific studies there is also to be found

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books. But my readers I am sure will be quite content that I should spare my labor, and give only the following from Cowley, Richard Burthogge, Samuel Shaw (the Puritan divine), Steele, Addison, Swift, Samuel Palmer, Shenstone, Burke, Landor, Robert Blakey, and Sydney Smith . . . ."

Fowler and Fowler, *The King's English* (pp. 141-153) contains examples of "blunders" taken from the following: *Daily Telegraph*, *London Times*, Richardson, Jowett, F. M. Crawford, *Westminster Gazette*, Burke, S. Ferrier, Wilde, Stevenson, Crockett, Conan Doyle, *Spectator*, H. Sweet, Gladstone.

See also Molloy, *Shall and Will*, 85-105; and S. P. E. Tract VI, *Shall and Will, Should and Would in the Newspapers of Today*. In the latter, five pages of examples are introduced with the statement, "It is therefore the object of this paper to exhibit groups of sentences *all from newspapers of the better sort* in which one or other principle of idiom has been outraged."

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, the following statement by Curme (*J.E.G. Ph.*, XII, (1913), 530, 531).

"It will become clear upon reflection that the statement of the English grammarians that *shall*, not *will* expresses futurity in the first person will not hold. Here, as elsewhere, *shall* does not approach this idea as closely as *will*. *Shall* represents the speaker as planning in present time for a future act, while *will* breaks the connection with the present and in lively tone directs our attention to the future. We have here two futures, each with a distinct and useful meaning, the result of a long historical development."

It may be interesting to note here the following instances of Curme's own use of these auxiliaries. Whether they would (by the ordinary reader) be interpreted in accord with his statements of the meaning of these two words is perhaps an open question. The *we will* agrees, but does the *we shall* of the first example following convey the idea of present plan or does it indicate the inevitable result?

"It is a delicate piece of work we have before us, where we must think and feel, but it's worth all the pain and effort. *We shall* get an insight into an earnest struggle of over seven hundred years, where the English people with its characteristic dogged persistence has striven for a finer and more accurate expression of its thoughts and feelings that have reference to future time" (*Ibid.*, 516).

"If we take up a copy of the King James version of the Bible (1611 A.D.) *we will find* an exceedingly large number of cases where in all parts of the English speaking territory we today use *will* instead of the older *shall*" (*Ibid.*, 521).

much variety and conflict.<sup>6</sup> In all this mass of material there

<sup>6</sup> Some of the outstanding conflicts in the statements concerning *shall* and *will* as they appear in the leading discussions of the present generation are:

A. Sweet, *The New Eng. Dict.*, and Aronstein accept the usual conventional rule for independent declarative statements of a *shall* with the first person corresponding to a *will* with the second and third. Bradley, on the other hand, insists that, outside of London, Oxford, and Boston, and those few people who have schooled themselves consciously to say *I shall*, "*will* is now the accepted auxiliary for simple prediction in all persons"; Krüger finds that many native southern Englishmen use *will* for *shall*; and Curme, in more definite fashion asserts that "the statement of the English grammarians that *shall* not *will* expresses futurity in the first person does not hold."

B. Sweet and Krüger emphasize the difference between the meaning of the strongly stressed and that of the unstressed auxiliary. *The New Eng. Dict.*, Bradley, and Aronstein are silent in respect to the special stressing of the auxiliary, although the *New Eng. Dict.* does recognize in a limited way the meaning of determination or resolve which Sweet asserts attaches to the strongly stressed form. Curme speaks of the strongly emphasized *shall* or *will* but insists that this emphasis does not change the fundamental ideas carried "in every instance" by these two words.

C. Sweet and Aronstein agree that *we two*, *we all*, etc. take *will* not *shall* for simple prediction; Krüger flatly asserts that these combinations take *shall* not *will*.

D. The *New Eng. Dict.* accepts the conventional rule for the use of *shall* in "categorical questions with the second person." Bradley, although accepting the fact that *shall you?* is used sometimes, declares that this use is not directed by any "sentiment" for "that auxiliary which is naturally to be expected in the answer" but solely because it has "not yet been wholly supplanted by *will you?*" Aronstein adds to the usual statement of the usage in questions with the second person that *will* is used in "rhetorical questions" where no answer is expected.

E. The *New Eng. Dict.* gives as the usage in indirectly reported speech "either the retention of the auxiliary used by the speaker or the substitution of that which is appropriate to the point of view of the person reporting." Bradley represents usage in this situation as shifting the auxiliaries to fit the grammatical persons "as they stand in the report" with the exception of an original *I shall* which is "always reported by *shall*."

F. Sweet calls the past development of the use of these two words "unmeaning fluctuation" which in Southern England has settled down into a "fixed system of complicated rules" but which in other dialects has tended to completely banish *shall*. To Bradley this development is not "unmeaning fluctuation" but "the age long attempt of English speech to achieve a colorless statement of futurity," in which he sees the hopeless obscuring "of a singularly sound and valuable distinction" to make "an unworkable scheme for simple prediction." Curme views the development as "an earnest struggle of over seven hundred years" in which the English people "has striven for a finer and more accurate expression of its thoughts and feelings that have reference to future

is hardly a general statement for which a direct contradiction cannot be found coming from a source that merits careful consideration. Thus after more than a century of discussion of the problem of *shall* and *will* there are no thoroughly accepted views of what the actual usage of these two words is, of the meaning and trend of the development of that usage, and of the causes which gave rise to it. Instead, the student is confronted with a multitude of articles presenting a many sided conflict of opinion.

time." The result, in his opinion, has been a successful forming of "two futures with finely differentiated meanings." This result has not been attained in England where "a defective arrested development" still uses *I shall* in the first person to express simple futurity, nor in the Irish and the Scotch dialects where the valuable distinctive meanings of *shall* have been lost, but it has been attained in American usage where *shall* is retained whenever its indefinite meaning is appropriate but is elsewhere replaced by *will* for the sake of greater accuracy of expression and a finer differentiation of meaning. Aronstein repudiates the idea that the change shown in American usage is a *finer* differentiation of clear cut meanings and contends that it is rather a *cruder simplification* of those meanings.

G. Sweet finds an explanation for the supposed present use of *shall* and *will* in the "desire to keep the original meaning of these verbs as much as possible in the background." Krüger follows Grimm's suggestion of "courtesy" to account for the usual shift of forms in direct statements. But this "courtesy" came into conflict with ambiguity in some situations and there, as in questions with the second person, clearness of idea won out. Bradley finds the modern use to arise from a "disqualifying of *shall*" for the work of simple prediction. Three causes contributed to this "disqualifying of *shall*": (a) the rise of a new meaning in *shall* of personal compulsion which caused a reluctance to use it in connections where it might be understood as a threat; (b) the affected formalism of the eighteenth century in dealing with the second person; (c) the reduction of *will* in the spoken language to the enclitic form 'll. Aronstein finds that the two futures of the seventeenth century (an objective future with *will* and a subjective future with *shall*, having finely differentiated meanings especially in the second and third persons) have been partially wrecked in the present speech because the rationalizing tendency of the eighteenth century and the conscious analyzing of speech by grammarians have overridden this nicety of instinctive feeling and placed in its stead less discriminating conventions and rules.

H. Krüger and Bradley insist that the present usage has developed since Shakspeare, Curme and Aronstein that it was already fixed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.



By way of contributing toward the solution of this problem the present study aims to investigate first, the origin and development of the conventional grammatical rules concerning *shall* and *will*, and, second, the actual usage of these two words in the English drama from the middle of the sixteenth century to the present time.

## PART ONE

### THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONVENTIONAL RULES

In the search for the facts concerning the framing, development, and general acceptance of the conventional rules for *shall* and *will* all the available English grammars<sup>7</sup> published during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries and many of those of the first half of the 19th century were examined in an attempt to establish the chronology of the conventional rules for the expression of the English future tense, and also the linguistic attitude of the grammarians by whom these rules were first framed.

#### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE RULES

The list of grammars follows. Only those are included in this list in which is given some statement of *shall* and *will* as signs of the future tense.

An examination of the discussions of the English future tense as given in the grammars listed reveals the following significant facts:

1. In the grammars published before 1622 there is no indication of any distinction between the use of the auxiliaries *shall* and *will*, with any of the three grammatical persons, when joined with the infinitive to form the future tense. From the statements offered by these grammarians concerning the formation of the

<sup>7</sup> This term "grammars" includes dictionaries and other discussions of the language published during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries.

| <i>Date of<br/>1st ed.</i> | <i>Author</i>          | <i>Title</i>                               | <i>Text used</i>              |
|----------------------------|------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| 1530                       | John Palsgrave.....    | <i>L'Esclaircissement</i> etc.....         | (Repr. F. Genin)              |
| 1532                       | Giles DuWes.....       | <i>An Introduction</i> etc.....            | (Repr. F. Genin)              |
| 1586                       | W. Bullokar.....       | <i>Bref Grammar</i> .....                  | (Repr. <i>Palæstra</i> , LII) |
| 1590                       | John Stockwood.....    | <i>English Accidence</i> .....             | (1590)                        |
| 1594                       | P. Gr.....             | <i>Grammatica Anglicana</i> .....          | (1594)                        |
| 1602                       | Anon.....              | <i>Certain Grammar Questions</i> .....     | (1602)                        |
| 1619                       | Alexander Gil.....     | <i>Logonomia Anglica</i> .....             | (Repr. Q. P. F. 90-92)        |
| 1622                       | George Mason.....      | <i>Grammaire Angloise</i> .....            | (Repr. Brotanek)              |
| 1633                       | Charls Butler.....     | <i>The English Grammar</i> .....           | (1633)                        |
| 1640                       | Ben Jonson.....        | <i>English Grammar</i> .....               | (Repr. Waite, and Folio 1692) |
| 1641                       | R. R.....              | <i>An English Grammar</i> .....            | (1641)                        |
| 1653                       | John Wallis.....       | <i>Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae</i> ..... | (1653)                        |
| 1658                       | Edward Phillips.....   | <i>New World of Words</i> .....            | (6th, 1706)                   |
| 1669                       | John Milton.....       | <i>Accidence Commenced Gram.</i> .....     | (Bohn)                        |
| 1671                       | S. Skinner.....        | <i>Etymologicon</i> .....                  | (1671)                        |
| 1685                       | C. Cooper.....         | <i>Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae</i> ..... | (Repr. Brotanek)              |
| 1706                       | Richard Johnson.....   | <i>Grammatical Commentaries</i> .....      | (1706)                        |
| 1710                       | (Anon. for Brightland) | <i>English Grammar</i> .....               | (2nd, 1712)                   |
| 1736                       | (Anon. for Hodges)     | <i>A New English Accidence</i> .....       | (1736)                        |
| ?                          | Thomas Dyche.....      | <i>English Grammar</i> (Prefixed to Dict.) | (3rd, 1740)                   |
| 1745                       | J. Newberry.....       | <i>Grammar Made Familiar</i> etc.....      | (3rd, 1755)                   |
| 1751                       | J. Harris.....         | <i>Hermes</i> .....                        | (4th, 1786)                   |
| 1754                       | Benj. Martin.....      | <i>An Introduction</i> etc.....            | (3rd, 1766)                   |
| 1755                       | Samuel Johnson.....    | <i>English Grammar</i> .....               | (1755)                        |
| 1755                       | Samuel Johnson.....    | <i>Dictionary</i> .....                    | (1755)                        |
| 1756                       | V. J. Peyton.....      | <i>Elements of English Language</i> .....  | (1794)                        |
| 1761                       | Joseph Priestley.....  | <i>English Grammar</i> .....               | (5th, 1798)                   |
| 1762                       | Robert Lowth.....      | <i>A Short Introduction</i> .....          | (1762, and 1767)              |

| <i>Date of<br/>1st ed.</i> | <i>Author</i>             | <i>Title</i>  | <i>Text used</i>      |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1765                       | Wm. Ward.                 | <i>A Grammar of the Eng. Lang.</i>                      | (2nd. 1767)           |
| 1766                       | John Ash.                 | <i>English Grammar</i>                                  | (1766)                |
| 1767                       | James Buchanan            | <i>English Grammar</i>                                  | (1767)                |
| 1768                       | Joseph Priestley          | <i>Notes and Observations</i>                           | (1798)                |
| 1780                       | (Anon. for Thomas Dodson) | <i>Comprehensive Grammar</i>                            | (3rd, 1789)           |
| 1782                       | Ralph Harrison            | <i>Rudiments of English Gr.</i>                         | (1782)                |
| 1783                       | James Beattie             | <i>Theorie of Language Pt. II.</i>                      | (1783)                |
| 1784                       | (Anon. for J. Norman)     | <i>British Grammar</i>                                  | (1784)                |
| 1784                       | Noah Webster              | <i>Institutes (Part 2)</i>                              | (1787)                |
| 1788                       | Charles Coote             | <i>Elements of the Grammar of the English Language</i>  | (1788)                |
| 1789                       | James Pickbourn           | <i>A Dissertation on the English Verb</i>               | (1789)                |
| 1789                       | Noah Webster              | <i>Dissertations on the English Language</i>            | (1789)                |
| 1790                       | Caleb Alexander           | <i>A Grammatical System of the English Language</i>     | (7th, 1802)           |
| 1791                       | Joseph Hutchins           | <i>An Abstract of the First Principles of Eng. Gr.</i>  | (1791)                |
| 1795                       | Lindley Murray            | <i>English Grammar</i>                                  | (1795 and others)     |
| 1795                       | Alexander Miller          | <i>A Concise Grammar</i>                                | (1795)                |
| 1795                       | Benjamin Dearborn         | <i>The Columbian Grammar</i>                            | (1795)                |
| 1797                       | Jonathan Burr             | <i>English Grammar</i>                                  | (1797)                |
| 1801                       | David Gurney              | <i>The Columbian Accidence</i>                          | (1801)                |
| 1803                       | Daniel Adams              | <i>The Thorough Scholar</i>                             | (2nd, 1810)           |
| 1808                       | Adoniram Judson, Jr.      | <i>Elements of Eng. Gr.</i>                             | (1808)                |
| 1810                       | William Hazlitt           | <i>A New and Improved Grammar of the English Tongue</i> | (1810)                |
| 1818                       | William Cobbett           | <i>English Grammar</i>                                  | (1818)                |
| 1822                       | C. M. Ingersoll           | <i>Conversations on English Etymology and Syntax</i>    | (1822)                |
| 1823(?)                    | Samuel Kirkham            | <i>English Grammar</i>                                  | (1829 and 35th, 1833) |
| 1824                       | J. Greenleaf              | <i>Grammar Simplified</i>                               | (1824)                |
| 1825                       | Mark Twitchell            | <i>The American Instructor</i>                          | (1825)                |
| 1829                       | William Fowle             | <i>The True English Grammar</i>                         | (1829)                |

future tense one concludes that to their minds *shall* and *will* could be used indiscriminately with all three persons.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> (a) "There be thre Tymz caled Tence. The tym that iz Now, caled the Present-Tenc': az, I lou. The tym Past, caled the Preter-Tence': as I loued. The tym Too Com caled the Futur-Tenc': az I shal or wil lou."

"Verbz of the first Coniugation ar thus declyned.

|       |                   |                |        |
|-------|-------------------|----------------|--------|
| Fut.  | I shal or wil     | We             | shal   |
| tenc  | thū shalt or wilt | Plu. ye or you | or lou |
| Sing. | he shal or wil    | they           | wil    |

The present-tenc iz som tym used futurly by raezn of som adverb or other spech in the sentenc shewing a tym too com: az, I ryd ten dayz henc, and my man cometh after me." Bullokar, *Bref Grammar*, (1586).

(b) "There be divers words in English, the which sometimes are signes of a verbe, and somtimes they are verbs themselves.

"Qu. Which be they?

"An. These among the rest: Do, doest, doth, did, diddest, have, hast hath, had, haddest, shall, shalt, will, wilt, may, can, might, would, should, ought, oughtest, am, art, are, was, wast, bin, be, and such like, the which being set before other verbs, are but signes of the verbe, and somtimes are tokens of the tense of the verbe, and somtimes are tokens of the voice of the verbe, as namely whether he be active, passive, or neuter. And sometimes they are verbs themselves, and that for the most part, being set alone." Stockwood, *English Accidence*, (1590).

(c) De futuro primo

"Futurum primum idem est cum Themate, post posita persona expressa, aut intellecta. ut *Hate thou, hate he. Plu. Hate we. Hate ye. hate they.*"

De futuro secundo

"Futurū secundū circūscribitur syntaxi infiniti & praesentis verbi *will* vel *shall* ut *I shall* vel *will hate. Thou shalt* vel *wilt hate. He shall* vel *will hate. Plul Wee shall* vel *will hate, &c.*"

De verbo passivo

"Futurum primum: *Be thou hated, be he hated. Plu. Be we hated, be ye hated, be they hated.*

"Futurum secundum. *I shall* vel *will be hated. Thou shalt* vel *wilt be hated, hee shall* vel *will be hated, yee shall* vel *will be hated, they shall* vel *will be hated.*" P. G., *Grammatici Anglicana* (1594), 21, 24, 25.

(d)

"Q. Which be the signes of the tenses?

|           |   |               |
|-----------|---|---------------|
| "R. These | { | Do or doth    |
|           |   | Did           |
|           |   | Have          |
|           |   | Had           |
|           |   | shall or will |
|           |   | or hereafter  |

Whether anything of a discrimination between the two words is to be inferred from Gil's statement that *shal* forms the future in the Imperative (see note 8-e below), or from his use of the two words in the example "When I shal hav tauht mj skolars, I wil kum tu yü," is doubtful.

2. The first statement of a distinction of use between *shall* and *will* in forming the future tense was found in George Mason's *Grammaire Angloise* (1622):<sup>9</sup>

Le signe du futur est, *shall* or *will*, mais il n'en faut pas user indifferemment: car si vous usez de ce signe, *shall*, quand il faut dire, *will*, il a mauvaise grace, outre qu'il semblera que vous parliez d'audace: exemple; vous pouvez dire elegamment, *If I doe eate that, I shall be sicke*, si je mange cela, je sera malade: au lieu que si vous disiez, *I will be sicke*, il sembleroit que volontairement vous volussiez estre malade: ains vous pouvez dire: *I hope you will be my good friend*, j'espere que vous me serez amy: *If you doe that, you shall bee beaten or chidden*. Si vous faites cela, vous serez batu ou tancé: *But I shall not*, mais non seray: *but you shall not chuse*, mais vous ne choisirez pas, cest a sçavoir, ce ne sera pas à vostre choix: pour le fair court, il est malaisé d'en bailler reigle certaine, parquoy je vous r'envoye à l'usage, auquel, à fin de mieux y parvenir, nous vous proposerons la variation de certains verbes (pp. 25, 26).

"Q. What signe hath the Future tense?

"R. These signes, shall or will or hereafter.

Anon, *Certaine Grammar Questions*, (1602) 43, 45

(e) "Formatio temporum in Activis: & Neutris.

"Futurum formatur à Praesenti, per signa *shal*, aut *wil* in Indicativo; *shal* in Imperativo; hereafter, in Potentiali, & Infinitivo."

|           |      |           |      |         |      |        |
|-----------|------|-----------|------|---------|------|--------|
| "I shall  | luv  | dou shalt | luv  | hf shal | luv  | amabo  |
| Futur aut | tëch | aut       | tëch | aut     | tëch | docebo |
| wil       | spëk | wilt      | spëk | wil     | spëk | dicam  |

Plur. wi', yi', dei, shal aut wil luv, tëch, spëk"

"Modi Imperativi.

|                  |          |          |      |             |
|------------------|----------|----------|------|-------------|
| Futur. dou shalt | luv      | amato    | luv  | amato       |
| tëch             | doceto   | hi shal  | tëch | doceto ille |
| spëk             | dicito   |          | spëk | dicito      |
| Plural yi shal   | luv      | amatote  | luv  | amanto      |
| tëch             | docetote | dei shal | tëch | docëto      |
| spëk             | dicitote |          | spëk | dicütö"     |

Fut. I shal bi' tauht, aut I wil bi' tauht, docebor.

Gil, *Logonomia Anglicana* (1619, 1621), 63, 69, 70, 72.

<sup>9</sup> *Grammaire / Angloise / Contenant reigles bien exactes & / certaines de la Prononciation, Or / thographe, & Construction de nostre langue; / En faveur des estrangers qui en / son desireux. / Par George Mason / Marchand de Londres. / A Londres. / Chez Nat. Butler / 1622.*

This statement does not offer a specific rule but it contains the germ of the definite rules first formulated by Wallis in his *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1653):

*Shall* and *will* indicant Futurum. Uret, *it shall burn, it will burn.*

Quoniam autem extraneis satis est cognitu difficile, quando vel hoc vel illud dicendum est; (non enim promiscue dicimus *shall & will*); neq; tamen alii quos vidi ullas tradidere regulas quibus dirigantur; has ego tradere necessarium duxi, quas qui observaverit hac in re non aberrabit.

In primis personis *shall* simpliciter praedicentis est; *will*, quasi promittentis aut minantis.

In secundus & tertiis personis, *shall* promittentis est aut minantis, *will* simpliciter praedicentis.

Uram, ures, uret, uremus, uretis, urent: *I shall burn, you will burn, (thou wilt), he will, we shall, ye will, they will burn; nempe hoc futurum praedico: vel I will, you shall, (thou shalt) he shall, wee will, yee shall, they shall burn; nempe, hoc futurum spondeo, vel, faxo ut sit.*

*Would & should* illud indicant quod erat, vel esset, futurum: cum hoc tamen discrimine; *would* voluntatem innuit seu agentis propensionem, *should* simpliciter futuriorem.

Urerem; urere debebam, deberem,—volebam, vellem; *I should, or would, burn* (pp. 94, 95).

3. In the grammars published between 1622, the first appearance of the conventional distinction, and 1653, there is no indication of any discrimination between the uses of these two words in the formation of the future.

4. The grammars published between 1653 and 1762 either fail to indicate any distinction between the two words as auxiliaries, as did all those, except Mason's, before 1653, or (with two exceptions) they simply copy or repeat the statements appearing in Wallis.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For example, no distinction is recognized in the following:

Phillips, *New World of Words* (1658)

Milton, *Accidence Commenced Grammar* (1669)

Martin, *An Introduction* etc. (1754)

The following authors repeat the statements of Wallis:

C. Cooper, *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1685)

R. Johnson, *Grammatical Commentaries* (1706)

Anon. (for Brightland), *English Grammar* (1710)

Anon. (for Hodges), *A New English Accidence* (1736)

J. Newbery, *Grammar Made Familiar* (1745)

J. Priestley, *English Grammar* (1761)

The two exceptions are the books of Samuel Johnson (1755) and V. J. Peyton (1756). Peyton's grammar points out no distinction of use with the several grammatical persons but says, "*Shall* denotes necessity, and *will* the will;

5. In 1762, in the grammar of Robert Lowth, appeared the first discussion of the uses of *shall* and *will* in interrogative

so that, when the thing depends on the will of the agent, they use the sign *will*, and on other occasions the sign *shall*."

Samuel Johnson's grammar (prefixed to his dictionary) rather characteristically disposes of the matter by giving the conjugation of *shall* with the infinitive as forming one future, then the conjugation of *will* with the infinitive as forming a second future, and adding the remark, "By reading these futures may be observed the variations of *shall* and *will*."

The explanation given in his dictionary in the discussion of the word *shall* is somewhat more definite. "The explanation of *shall*, which foreigners and provincials confound with *will*, is not easy; and the difficulty is increased by the poets, who sometimes give to *shall* an emphatic sense of *will*: but I shall endeavour, crassa Minerva, to show the meaning of *shall* in the future tense.

"(1) *I shall love.* It will so happen that I must love; I am resolved to love.

(2) *Shall I love?* Will it be permitted me to love? Will you permit me to love? Will it happen that I must love?

(3) *Thou shalt love.* I command thee to love; it is permitted thee to love; (in poetry or solemn diction) it will happen that thou must love.

(4) *Shalt thou love?* Will it happen that thou must love? Will it be permitted to thee to love?

(5) *He shall love.* It will happen that he must love; it is commanded him that he love.

(6) *Shall he love?* Is it permitted him to love? In solemn language, Will it happen that he must love?

(7) The plural persons follow the signification of the singulars."

"(To) *will*—

(5) It is one of the signs of the future tense, of which it is difficult to show or limit the signification.

*I will come.* I am determined to come; importing choice.

*Thou wilt come.* It must be so that thou must come; importing necessity.

*Wilt thou come?* Hast thou determined to come? importing choice.

*He will come.* He is resolved to come; or it must be that he must come, importing either choice or necessity.

*It will come.* It must be that it must come; importing necessity."

The substance of his explanations of the uses of these auxiliaries with the several grammatical persons seems to be,

*Shall*—in all persons implies necessity, obligation, permission; in the 1st person, in addition to these ideas, it may signify resolution on the part of the speaker.

*Will*—in all persons, except the 2nd and 3rd (neuter pronoun) in declarative sentences, imports determination or resolution; in these two situations he indicates that *will* implies necessity.

Johnson's illustrations (see above) omit without comment *will I come?* *Will he come?* *Will it come?*

sentences as distinct from the uses in declarative statements. Here, however, the explanation of the distinct use of *shall* and *will* in questions is very brief, giving only the change in meaning from the declarative use of *shall* with the first person and *will* with the second. "*I shall go; you will go*; express event only; but *Will you go?* imports intention; and *Shall I go?* refers to the will of another."<sup>11</sup>

6. The grammar of William Ward (1765) contains the first complete discussion of the meanings and uses of *shall* and *will* with a thoroughgoing attempt to form the rules on the basis of the fundamental meanings of the two words. Here we have not only the usual meanings given to the uses of *shall* and *will* in independent declarative sentences, and in questions, as in Lowth's grammar, the meanings of *shall* with the first and third persons and *will* with the second person, but in addition the filling out of the meanings in the other possible situations in interrogative sentences, and a complete explanation of the meanings and uses in "compound sentences" and "suppositions."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Lowth, *A Short Introd. to Eng. Grammar*, pp. 64, 65: "*Will*, in the first Person singular and plural, promises or threatens; in the second and third Persons, only foretells; *shall*, on the contrary, in the first Person simply foretells; in the second and third Persons, promises, commands, or threatens.\* But this must be understood of Explicative Sentences; for when the Sentence is Interrogative, just the reverse for the most part takes place: Thus, *I shall go; you will go*; expresses event only; but *will you go?* imports intention; and *shall I go?* refers to the will of another. But again, *He shall go*, and, *shall he go?* both imply will, expressing or referring to a command. *Would* primarily denotes inclination of will; and *should* obligation; but they both vary their import, and are often used to express simple event."

\*This distinction was not observed formerly as to the word *shall*, which was used in the second and third Persons to express simply the event. So, likewise, *should* was used, where we now make use of *would*. See the Vulgar Translation of the Bible.

<sup>12</sup> Ward, *Gram. of the Eng. Lang.*, pp. 121-3: "Of the difference between the Future by *shall*, and that by *Will*.

2. The Verb by *shall*, States of fixed Order shows;  
Or States which Chance directs, as we suppose.  
And *shall* those verbal Future States declares  
Which *for itself*, an Object hopes or Fears,  
Thinks *of itself*, surmises, or foresees;  
But which for other Objects it decrees.
3. The Verb by *will* those Future States declares  
For others, which an Object hopes or fears,  
Of others thinks, surmises or foresees;  
But *for itself*, States which itself decrees.



In questions, in addition to the rules offered by Lowth, this grammar of Ward's first explains *shall you go* as equivalent to *Do you expect to go?*

*Will you go* as equal to *Do you resolve or determine to go?*

"The Future by *shall* is used in sublime Language to express those States which are irrevocably fixed; as, *they* (i.e. the Heavens & the Earth) *Shall perish*, but thou (O God) *Shalt endure*. Old Test. i.e. it is irrevocably fixed that they shall perish, &c., and States which are supposed to depend on Chance are expressed by *shall*; as, *if it shall happen*; or, *if it shall come to pass that you go*. *Shall* is often omitted in Expressions of this Kind; as, *if it happen that you go*.

"In *simple declarative Sentences*, the Thoughts that are expressed are conceived to be those of the Speaker; therefore, as *shall* denotes a State which the Speaker, hopes, fears, or foresees concerning himself, but which he determines concerning others; the Expressions *I* or *we shall go*, are equivalent to *I* or *we foresee*, or *imagine* that we are to go: But *you, he* or *they shall go*, are equivalent to *I* or *we determine that you, he, they are to go*. But, on the contrary, *will* denotes a State which the Speaker determines concerning himself, but which he hopes, fears, or foresees concerning other Objects; And therefore *I* or *we will go* are equivalent to *I* or *we determine to go*; but *you, he, they will go*, are equivalent to *I* or *we foresee, or believe that you propose to go*, that *your going* is some way determined.

"When questions are asked, *shall* denotes a State which the Person of whom the Question is asked foresees concerning himself, but *determines* concerning other Objects; *will* a State which he determines concerning himself, but foresees concerning others: Therefore *shall you go?* is equivalent to *do you expect to go?* but *will you go?* to *do you resolve or determine to go?* But *shall I, he, they go?* are equivalent to *do you determine that I, he, they may go?* or *do you permit us to go?* and *will I, he, they go?* to *do you think or believe that I, he, they are determined to go?* or, *in such a situation as that our, his or their going is likely to take place?*

"In *Compound Sentences*, if a Person is represented as determining his own Future State, *will* is used; but, if the Future State of others, *shall* is used; as, *I resolve, determine that I will go; you, that you will, he, that he will go; But, I resolve, determine that you, he, they* (or anyone but myself) *shall go; you resolve, determine that I, he, they* (or any one but yourself) *shall go: he resolves, determines that I, you, we, they* (or anyone but himself) *shall go*.

"In *Compound Sentences*, if a Person is represented as foreseeing, believing, hoping, fearing his own Future State, *shall* is used; as, *I foresee, believe, hope, fear that I shall; we, that we shall; thou, that thou shall; he, that he shall; you, that you shall; they, that they shall go; But, I foresee, believe, hope, fear, that you, he, they* (or anyone else but myself) *will go; you foresee, &c. that I, he, they* (or anyone but yourself) *will go; he foresees, &c. that I, you, they* (or anyone but himself) *will go*.

"In *Suppositions* it is often immaterial whether we use *shall* or *will*, or mention the Verb without any Sign; as, *I will meet you if my Business shall permit me; or, will permit me; or, if my Business permit me to do it*.

"*Should* and *would* are used with the same Distinctions as *shall* and *will*; as, *I determined that I would; that you, he, they* (or anyone but myself) *would go, &c.*"

*Shall I, he, they go, Do you determine that I, he, they may go? or Do you permit us to go?*

*Will I, he, they go? Do you think or believe that I, he, they, are determined to go?* or in such a situation as that *our, his or their going is likely to take place?*

The explanations for uses in subordinate clauses (indirect statements and suppositions) are practically those given for the rules of the modern conventional point of view.

In addition, Ward gives as other forms of the Future the phrases *to be about, being about, to be going to*. This last, however, he adds is used only in the language of conversation.<sup>13</sup>

7. In spite of the complete discussion in Ward's grammar (1765) which in most respects gives all the features of the received rules as set forth in modern text books, the grammars following his for many years did not usually offer a complete set of rules, and some gave statements absolutely opposed to the uses here indicated and later conventionally accepted.

(a) The following grammars simply give the rules as stated by Wallis (1653) with no consideration of *questions* or *subordinate clauses*:

John Ash (1766).

John Norman (1784).

Benj. Dearborn (1795).

Alexander Miller (1795).

Jonathan Burr (1797).

David Gurney (1801).

Adoniram Judson, Jr. (1808).

Mark Twitchell (1825).

(b) Some, in addition to the rules of Wallis (1653), repeat the meager statement of Lowth (1762) concerning the uses in interrogative sentences. E.g.:

Joseph Priestley (*Notes and Observations*, 1768).

Ralph Harrison (1782).

James Pickbourn (1789).

Caleb Alexander (1790).

<sup>13</sup> "The Forms *to be about, being about*, which are set down in the Future of the Infinitive Mood, and in the Future Participle, are little used at present: For the Participle *going* is now commonly made use of instead of *about*; as, *to be going to have*: But this is only in the Language Conversation (*Ibid.* p. 46)."

(c) Three, differing from Ward, insist that we cannot *under any circumstances* ask a question with *will* in the first person.

James Buchanan (1767).

William Hazlitt (1810).

Noah Webster (*Dissertations*, 1789).

(d) Of especial interest is the statement of the grammar, 1780, Anon. (for Dodson) which insists (p. 61): "In asking a question, *will* is improper in the first (person), and *shall* in the second; as, *Will I go?* i.e., is it my own pleasure to go; *Shall I go?* i.e., is it your pleasure that I go?"

(e) Two grammars refuse to follow the general tendency in framing the rules for *shall* and *will*. Hutchins (1791), p. 143 note:

There are some cases in which it is difficult to ascertain the preference between *shall* and *will* and between *should* and *would* and in which they may be used indifferently.

Daniel Adams (1803), p. 48 note:

*Will* takes the place of *shall* and may be substituted in place of it through all the modes and tenses.

(f) None of the grammars published during the thirty years from 1765 to 1795 accept Ward's explanations of the meanings of *shall* and *will* and incorporate the rules he thus derives. Lindley Murray (1795), although his treatment of direct explicative statements and interrogative sentences is practically a copy of Lowth's, is the first to follow Ward by including a brief statement of *shall* and *will* in subordinate clauses.<sup>14</sup>

8. Only after the first quarter of the 19th century does the complete discussion of the rules of *shall* and *will* in independent declarative statements, in interrogative sentences, and in subordinate clauses become a common feature of text books of English grammar, and many even at this time have not adopted

<sup>14</sup> Murray's many editions repeat the statement of the first of 1795:

"*Will*, in the first person singular and plural, intimates resolution and promising; in the second and third person, only foretells; as, *I will reward the good, and will punish the wicked; we will remember benefits and be grateful; thou wilt, or he will, repent of that folly; you or they will have a pleasant walk.*

"*Shall*, on the contrary, in the first person, simply foretells; in the second and third persons, promises, commands, or threatens: as, *I shall go abroad; we shall*

the whole system at first published in the grammar of William Ward in 1765.

The conventional or received point of view in regard to the rules for the uses of *shall* and *will* took nearly 150 years to be fully stated and about two centuries to become commonly accepted in the text books of grammar. At least one writer of school grammars (see page 977) repudiated these rules as late as the beginning of the 19th century. The important stages in the chronology of the growth of the conventional rules of the periphrastic future with *shall* and *will* are:

- (a) The indication of a difference of meaning in the use of *shall* and *will* with the various grammatical persons in Mason's *Grammar*, 1622.
- (b) The framing of the first specific rules for declarative sentences, making a *shall* with the first person correspond to a *will* with the second and third, by Wallis, 1653.
- (c) The uses of *shall* and *will* in questions as distinct from their uses in declarative sentences in Lowth, 1762.
- (d) The full statement of the general system of the conventional rules by Ward, 1765.
- (e) The common acceptance of this system of rules in the school grammars about the first quarter of the 19th century.

*dine at home: thou shalt, or you shall, inherit the land; ye shall do justice and love mercy; they shall account for their misconduct.*

"The following passage is not translated according to the distinct and proper meaning of the words *shall* and *will*: 'Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.' It ought to be, *will follow me*, and *I shall dwell*." . . .

"These observations respecting the import of the verbs *will* and *shall*, must be understood of explicative sentences; for when the sentence is interrogative just the reverse, for the most part, takes place: thus, *I shall go*; *you will go*; express event only: but, *will you go*? imports intention; and, *shall I go*? refers to the will of another. But, *he shall go*, and *shall he go*? both imply *will*; expressing or referring to a command.

"When the verb is put in the subjunctive mood, the meaning of these auxiliaries likewise undergoes some alteration: as the learner will readily perceive by a few examples: *he shall proceed, if he shall proceed, you shall consent, if you shall consent*. These auxiliaries are sometimes interchanged, in the indicative and subjunctive moods, to convey the same meaning of the auxiliary: as, *he will not return, if he shall not return: he shall not return, if he will not return*."

## THE REASONING OF THE GRAMMARIANS

More important than the mere chronology of the conventional rules concerning *shall* and *will* is the attempt to understand *why* and *how* these rules came to be framed, developed, and generally accepted. Of especial value for this purpose is the evidence furnished by the prefaces and introductions of the early grammars as to the points of view and methods of work of these grammarians.<sup>15</sup>

This evidence from the grammars of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries shows that these books are of three classes: (1) those primarily addressed to foreigners trying to learn English, (2) those which were frankly introductions to Latin grammar, and (3) those aiming to teach English people their own language. These last appearing with increasing frequency in the 18th century are of most importance for our consideration for they are the grammars that were introduced into the schools and thus became the source of the conventionally accepted view of grammar.<sup>16</sup>

The authors of this third group of grammars are in somewhat surprising agreement in respect to the purposes of their work. They very definitely turned away from *describing* the language as *it was* and usually express either or both of the following aims: (a) to reduce the language to rule, to "churn it into method," using the apparatus derived from Latin grammars as a means; and (b) to correct the *usage* of English people by making it conform to a standard of reason.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> I give here in somewhat summary fashion what seems most directly concerned with our immediate problem of the formation of the rules for *shall* and *will*. This material is part of a larger treatment of the development of the apparatus of the accepted formal grammar in which I attempt a more complete analysis of the evidence from the prefaces and introductions to the early grammars in relation to the literary and linguistic tendencies of the times.

<sup>16</sup> These mid-eighteenth century grammars are acknowledged by Lindley Murray to have been the sources of his "compilation" which ran through nearly two hundred editions in the 19th century.

"It is . . . proper to acknowledge, in general terms, that the authors to whom the grammatical part of this compilation is principally indebted for its materials, are Harris, Johnson, Lowth, Priestley, Beattie, Sheridan, Walker, and Coote." Lindley Murray, *Eng. Gram.* (1795) Introduction.

<sup>17</sup> (a) " . . . I cannot but think it would be of great Advantage, both for the Improvement of Reason in General . . . and also for the exact Use of our own Language; which for want of Rule is subject to Uncertainty, and the

As a corollary of these purposes we find one attitude of the grammarians increasingly prominent after the middle of the 18th century. It is the definite *repudiation of usage*, even that of "the best authors," as the standard of correctness—a doctrine of original grammatical sin.<sup>18</sup>

Occasion of frequent Contentions. And upon this account, it has been the Practise of several wise Nations, such of them, I mean, as have a thorough Education, to learn even their own Language by Stated Rules, to avoid that Confusion, that must needs follow from leaving it wholly to vulgar Use." Richard Johnson, *Grammatical Commentaries*, (1706) Preface.

(b) [Several other grammarians] "deserved well of their Country, for their laudable Endeavours to cultivate and improve their own Native Speech, which had long lain, and is at this Day too much neglected, notwithstanding the many brave, but unsuccessful Attempts, to bring it into request, by reducing it to order, and shewing the Beauties and Excellencies it is capable of." Anon, *A New English Accidence* (1736), Introduction.

(c) "Thus have I laboured to settle the orthography to *regulate the structures*, and ascertain the signification of English words." Samuel Johnson, *Grammar*, (1775), Preface, 7.

(d) "Whether many important advantages would not accrue both to the present age, and to posterity, if the English language were ascertained, and reduced to a fixed and permanent standard?" . . . .

"To compass these points . . . has been the chief object of the Author's pursuits in life, and the main end of the present publication." Thomas Sheridan, *Dictionary*, (1780), Preface, 4.

<sup>18</sup> (a) "Considering the many grammatical Improprieties to be found in our best Writers such as *Swift, Addison, Pope*, etc. a Systematical English Syntax is not beneath the Notice of the Learned themselves.

"Should it be urged, that in the Time of these Writers, English was but very little subjected to Grammar, that they had scarcely a single Rule to direct them; a question readily occurs: Had they not the Rules of Latin Syntax to direct them?" James Buchanan, *Grammar*, (1767), Preface, VI.

(b) "But all this apparent difficulty arises from our utter neglect of *examining and regulating our speech*". . . .

"Yet so little regard has been paid to it (English language) in either respect, (writing and speaking) that out of our numerous army of authors, very few can be selected who write with accuracy; and among the multitude of our orators, even a tolerable speaker is a prodigy." . . . .

"Nay it has lately been proved by a learned Prelate, in a short essay upon our grammar, that some of our most celebrated writers, and such as have hitherto passed for our English Classics, have been guilty of great solecisms, inaccuracies, and even grammatical improprieties, in many places of their most finished works." Thomas Sheridan, *Dictionary*, (1780) Preface, 1, 2.

(c) "Among the *middling ranks* of life, grammar appears to be too much disregarded. Those who are occupied in trade or manufactures, are, for the

In other words, the grammarians here pretty generally assume a certain accurate, absolute measuring rod of correctness in grammar, *rules based on "reason" or the "laws of thought,"* and repudiate all usage that does not conform to this standard of what English *ought to be*.

In this group are the grammars in which first appeared the explanations and the outlines of the full system of the conventional rules for *shall* and *will*, Lowth's (1762) and W. Ward's (1765).<sup>19</sup> Both of these men, in harmony with the common attitude toward correct language and the usual purposes of the 18th century grammarians, definitely repudiate usage as the standard of correctness and attempt to regulate the practice of English speakers and writers by means of rules based on "reason." The significance of this point of view for the problem of the arbitrary nature of the conventional rules for *shall* and *will* justifies my quoting at some length from the prefaces of their grammars, especially from that of W. Ward (1765) who first set forth these rules in a complete system.

Lowth, referring to Swift's statement that our language "in many instances offends against every part of grammar," says:

But let us consider, now, and in what extent, we are to understand this charge brought against the English Language:—Does it mean, *that the English*

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most part, so intent upon the consideration of *things*, that they regard *words* as almost unworthy of attention, being satisfied with rendering themselves barely intelligible.

"*The members of the three learned professions* are confessedly superior to the generality in the accurate use of their native language. But even among them, there is some deficiency in this respect . . . . *Persons of rank and fashion*, though they generally speak with ease and elegance, are not remarkable for being *masters of accurate expression*.

"*Authors are, without controversy*, the persons on whom it is more particularly incumbent both in speaking and writing, to observe a strict adherence to grammatical propriety. . . . But this is a point to which the greater part *even of our most esteemed writers* have not sufficiently attended." Coote, *Grammar*, (1788) Preface, IV, V.

<sup>19</sup> The distinctions between the words *shall* and *will* as first explained in the early part of the seventeenth century (Mason, *Grammaire Angloise*, for instance) may easily have been the result of no more than the feeling for the difference between the modal and the tense uses of these auxiliaries. Whatever the fact in this respect, however, the matter of especial importance for us is the grammars in which first appeared the complete system of rules developing out of these early simple statements.

*Language*, as it is spoken by the politest part of the nation, and as it stands in the writings of our most approved authors, often offends against every part of grammar? Thus far, I am afraid, the charge is true. Or does it further imply, that our Language is in its nature irregular and capricious; not hitherto subject, nor easily reducible, to a System of rules? In this respect, I am persuaded, the charge is wholly without foundation.<sup>20</sup>

Ward quotes with approval the attitude expressed by Lowth and develops it further:

This Way of Instruction, by shewing what is wrong in English, in order to teach us to avoid it, is certainly very proper, where no Set of Rules are given that shew what is right in every Part of English Construction: But when such Rules are laid down, the Learner should be taught to refer to them continually. And if your Scholars are Children of Foreigners, you need not doubt but in their daily Exercises they will offend against almost every Rule: So that you will from their own Mistakes, have sufficient Opportunity of shewing them what is wrong, and how to correct it by the Rules. But if your Scholars are Natives of England, and grown up to Years of Consideration, false English pointed out to them may be of the greatest Use: For they are apt to follow Custom and Example even where it is faulty, till they are apprized of their Mistake: And therefore by shewing *where Custom is erroneous*, his Lordship has well deserved the Thanks of everyone who values the English Language and Literature. . . . In short a very blameable neglect of grammatic Propriety has prevailed amongst the English Writers, and at length we seem to be growing generally sensible of it; as likewise of the Use which may be made of a Knowledge of the English Grammar, towards assisting Children to comprehend the general Import and Advantage of Rules concerning Language.

It is manifest that some Rules for the Construction of the Language must be used, and those Rules reduced to some Kind of System. . . . It was for the Sake of gaining such definitions that I first engaged in this Work: For my Profession as a School-Master obliged me to explain the Principles of Grammar to my Scholars; and I found the Grammars commonly made use of in our Schools gave but a very imperfect Account of them. . . . This determined me, many Years ago, to attempt a Discovery of the Reason of every Part of Construction. . . . I had been accustomed to the old geometric Analysis, and had observed, in many Instances, its peculiar Use in discovering Mistakes. This Analysis consists in assuming some Definition or Description of what you would investigate, and in pursuing the Consequences which follow from the Assumption. If the Consequences lead to, and terminate in Truth, the Assumption is concluded to be likewise true: If they terminate in Falsehood or Absurdity follows, that Part must be rectified as exactly as may be, and the Analysis begun anew from the new Assumption, and again pursued through its Consequences. It is clear that, by proceeding continually in this Manner, we may at length discover the most simple Principles, which will account for any Instance of known Practice; and this not only in Grammar, but in any other Art." . . . "Hence Use and

<sup>20</sup> Lowth, *Grammar*, (1762), Preface, IV, V.



Custom are considered as the only Rules by which to judge of what is right or wrong in Process. But is the Custom which is observed in the Application of any Language the Effect of Chance? Is not such Custom a *consistent Plan of communicating the Conceptions and rational discursive Operations of one Man to another*? And who will maintain, that this is, or can be, the Effect of mere unmeaning Accident? If then it be not so, it must be the Effect of the Reason of Man, adjusting certain Means to a certain End: And it is the Business of Speculative or Rational Grammar to explain the Nature of the means, and to shew how they are applied to accomplish the End proposed. If this can be done with sufficient Evidence, the most simple of the Elements of Logic will become familiar to those who engage in a Course of Grammar, and Reason will go Hand in Hand with Practice.<sup>21</sup>

This expressed attitude of these two grammarians toward their material—their effort to correct practice by rules and to frame the rules in accord with reason rather than usage, repudiating even the usage of “the best authors” as a standard—leads one to suspect the rules laid down by them as arbitrary. Such arbitrary rules were common in the grammars of the 18th century and also in the larger field of literary criticism. The complete conventional rules for *shall* and *will* appearing first from such a source cannot safely be assumed to represent the practice of the language. From Ward’s explanations (see p. 982) it seems plainly evident that they are arbitrary at least to the extent of being the conclusions of “reason” rather than the summing up of usage.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The discussions of the uses and meanings of *shall* and *will* seem to have had their beginnings in the search for a “rational grammar,” “the attempt to give a reason for every part of construction,” so prominent first in France and then in England in the latter part of the 18th century. This is the spirit which characterizes the following 19th century discussions:

Edinburgh Review, *Review of Jamieson’s Scottish Dictionary*, XXVII (May 1828), 492-495.

Archdeacon J. C. Hare, *On Certain Tenses Attributed to the Greek Verb*, Philological Museum, II (1833), 218-221.

Edwin Guest, *On English Verbs, Substantive and Auxiliary*, Trans. of the Philological Society, II (1846), 224-229.

Prof. DeMorgan, *On the Uses of the Verbs, Shall and Will*, Trans. of the Phil. Soc. IV (Jan. 1850), 185-187.

Hensleigh Wedgwood, *On the Use of Shall and Will*, Trans. of the Phil. Soc. VI (Nov. 1852), 1-5.

<sup>21</sup> W. Ward, *Grammar*, (1765), Preface, V, XVII, XXI.

R. G. Latham, *The English Language*, (London, 1855, 4th ed., 1841, 1st ed.) II, 395, 405-414.

Sir Edmund Head, *Shall and Will or Two Chapters of Future Auxiliary Verbs*, (Toronto, 1858, 2nd ed., 1856, 1st ed.), 5-120.

Dean Alford, *The Queen's English*, (London, 1864, 2nd ed.), 168-179.

Richard Grant White, *Words and their Uses*, (New York, 1870), 264-273.

Richard Grant White, *Every-day English*, (New York, 1880), XXIII, 331-358.

Gerald Molloy, *The Irish Difficulty, Shall and Will*, (London, 1897).

In this group of discussions we find, roughly, a general attitude of which the following are significant features:

(a) Nearly all assume very delicate distinctions of meaning between the words *shall* and *will* when used with the different grammatical persons.

(b) Many, on the basis of these assumed distinctions of meaning, attempt to give rules and principles for the *correct* use of *shall* and *will*. These rules range in number, completeness, and simplicity, from a single sentence to the 47 pages of refinements and explanations found in Molloy's book. Not only are these rules, after being laid down, used to interpret special instances with meanings that fit the rule, but where such interpretation is absolutely impossible the usage is condemned as wrong. Latham is the only one to raise the question of the validity of the rules as opposed to the usual judgment condemning the *incorrectness* of contrary usage.

(c) In nearly all there is the attempt to explain a priori the principles which underlie the rules, to offer philosophical reasons for the assumed shift of words with the change of grammatical persons. Of these explanations the *courtesy theory* first developed at length by Archdeacon Hare has perhaps been repeated most frequently.

In opposition to this first group of discussions there is a second group growing out of the later 18th century interest in the past and characterized by the historical method of approach. In this second group are included:

(I) The historical grammars—written by Germans.

Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, (1819) Vol. IV (1837) 176-189.

Grimm, *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, (1848) (4th ed. 1880) Vol. II, 908.

Maetzner, *English Grammar*, (1st ed. 1865, trans. by Grece, 1874) Vol. I, 325; Vol. II, 80-85.

Koch, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, (1st ed. 1865, 2nd ed. 1878) Vol. II, 43-45, 46, 47.

(II) Studies of the language, especially in the syntax of the verb, of particular authors and special works, of which at least 20 before 1900 and 14 after 1900 touch upon the use of *shall* and *will*. Such studies e.g. are Wulfing's *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, (Bonn, 1892, 1897); Wandschneider's *Zur Syntax des Verbs in Langley's Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman*, (Leipzig, 1887); Zenke's *Synthesis und Analysis des Verbums im Ormulum*, (Halle, 1910).

(III) Studies devoted especially to the problem of the usage of *shall* and *will* as,

Lutgens, *Über Bedeutung und Gebrauch der Hilfsverbe im Frühen Allen-  
gischen-Sculen und Willen*, (Diss. Kiel, 1888).

Graef, *Das Futurum und die Entwicklung von *scal* und *wil* zu Futurischen  
Tempus Bildern Bei Chaucer*, (Progr. Flensburg, 1893).

Bruening, *An Illustration of the Formation of the Future Tense in the English  
Language*, (Progr. Lubeck, 1871).

Kujack, *On the Use of the Auxiliary Verbs in Old English*, (Progr. Lauenburg  
ad Elbe, 1876).

Blackburn, *The English Future: Its Origin and Development*, (Diss. Leipzig,  
1892).

Of these studies,

(A) that by Blackburn, which aims primarily to discover the time at which the modern idiom arose, contains conclusions that seem to be open to question because,

(a) he assumes as a basis for the interpretation of his instances the conventional idea of the shift of the words *shall* and *will* with the various grammatical persons,

(b) an admittedly large subjective element of personal judgment and bias is a determining factor in the decision of whether cases should be included in his statistics as pure futures or not;

(c) the statistics for the early 17th century, upon which he concludes that the accepted modern idiom arose in the time of Shakspeare and became fully established in the latter part of the 17th century, consist of a comparison of the number of occurrences in the *Faerie Queene* and the Bible of 1611 with the number from Shakspeare's *Tempest*. The essential difference in the nature of the literary forms and the different distribution of the frequency of the use of the grammatical persons in drama from that in other types of literature makes these figures incapable of comparison.

(B) the other general studies of Bruening (1871) and Kujack (1876) are confessedly dependent upon the treatments contained in the grammars of Koch and Maetzner and lay no claim to originality in the interpretation of the instances given. The real value of these, as also that of most of the studies included under (II) above, and of the investigations of Lutgens and of Graef, lies in the great number and variety of instances that have there been collected.

(C) the treatments of the problem of *shall* and *will* in the grammars of Grimm, Koch, and Maetzner, which thus provided the basis for later investigations of usage, are, therefore, a valuable part of the 19th century contributions. Grimm furnished the explanation of the earliest meanings of *shall* and *will*, the explanations which were accepted and followed in later discussions. He calls *shal* a preterit of an hypothecated *shila* and attributes to this present form the meaning "I kill or wound." *Skal*, therefore, must mean "I have killed or wounded, and I am liable to pay the weregild." From this concrete meaning of pecuniary obligation there was gradually developed the abstract idea of general moral obligation so commonly expressed by this word in the older Gmc. dialects. The earliest meaning of *will* is *wisk*, and Grimm insists that it never expresses

a pure future in any of the old Gmc. dialects but always retains its fundamental meaning.

All three (Grimm, Koch, Maetzner) find the beginnings of our tense use of *shall* and *will* in the gradual fading out of these root meanings of the two words. All three also accept as a fact the conventional idea of the shift from *shall* with the first person to *will* with the second and third when expressing simple futurity. Grimm suggests "courtesy" as the explanation. Maetzner, however, rejects the idea with the comment that the "pliancy of the *will* in the first person, or its inclination, might be no less urbane than its subjection to the *shall*."

Maetzner's summary of the situation is probably the most important of the 19th century explanations:

"The notion *shall* pervades, even in the modern tongue, a series of gradations, which are weakened down from the expression of a compulsion, subjectively or objectively determined, to the idea of expectation and of imminence." . . .

"*Will*, appearing in the periphrastic future, appears no less in a manifold gradation of meanings, which gradually sink from the more decided expression of the will into weaker shades of the notion." . . .

"With the weakening of both the primitive meaning has not perished. The glimmering through of the latter gives to the modern tongue, on the one hand, occasion to avoid ambiguity, on the other, to express more delicate shades of thought, apart from the conventional distribution of the auxiliary verbs among the several persons."

## PART TWO

### THE USAGE IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN DRAMA

If the conclusions just outlined regarding the arbitrary nature of the conventional grammatical rules concerning *shall* and *will* can be accepted as sound, this fact has considerable significance in determining the assumptions upon which instances of the use of these two words are to be interpreted. In many of the studies of their use it has been a general practice to assume that, wherever possible, instances were to be interpreted in accord with the conventional rules and only those cases needed special treatment in which the context very definitely made it necessary to put some other meaning into the *shall* or the *will*. According to this practice it is assumed that *I (we) will* imply intention or determination in every instance in which the context does not clearly exclude such an idea. In like manner unless the context unquestionably prohibits such an interpretation the *I (we) shall* and *Shall you?* are assumed to imply the pure future idea only. If these conventional rules are indeed arbitrary

In their development and have not a validity based upon usage, such assumptions would seem to be unjustifiable and conclusions from studies of the usage of *shall* and *will* which proceed from this method of interpreting the words in question are thus open to very serious criticism. Not only do these particular assumptions invalidate many of the conclusions presented but to *assume any* meanings for these much discussed words must render the results based upon such assumptions unconvincing. Much of the conflict of opinion that appears in the more scientific discussions of *shall* and *will* (see note 6, above) arises from the difference in the meanings assumed for *shall* and *will* and used as a basis of interpretation in special instances.<sup>22</sup>

Accordingly I have attempted to follow a method of investigation which should be as objective as possible, without depending upon any assumed meanings or rules for *shall* and *will*. The method employed is thus an effort to make the facts of the usage of *shall* and *will* in English and American drama yield whatever significance they hold without imposing upon the words any specific meanings or rules as a basis for interpretation. The scope of the investigation includes, first, a *survey* of the usage in fifty English dramas from 1560-1915; next an examination of *contemporary English usage* in eighteen English dramas from 1902-1918; and, finally, a comparison of this English usage with *American contemporary usage* in eighteen dramas from 1905-1918.

The documents studied have been confined to those in dramatic form for three definite reasons:

(1) The language of drama is probably nearer to actual usage than that of other types of literature since the drama carries its effects through the speaking of actors to actual hearers. At the least, the language of the drama is perhaps the best compromise between the living spoken English and the written English of literature.<sup>23</sup>

(2) But *one* type of literature is here used to permit the maximum use of comparisons both of statistics and of instances.

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. Curme's use of assumed meanings for *shall* and *will*, *Jr. of Eng. and Gmc. Phil.* XII, 519, 520, 521.

<sup>23</sup> Prose fiction, especially realistic conversation, would perhaps serve equally or better in this respect were it not for the objection that it fails to meet the demand indicated in (3).

Because of the fact that the numerical distribution of the uses of the various grammatical persons differs in the several types of literature, statistics to be comparable must be from the same type.<sup>24</sup>

(3) The drama seemed the only type of literature, *approaching realistic speech*, which would furnish the desired continuity over the entire period of 350 years which the survey undertakes to cover.<sup>25</sup>

The choice of the dramatic texts to be studied was guided roughly by the following considerations:

(1) For the survey, two dramas of nearly the same date were selected for about every decade from 1550-1915.

(2) In order to eliminate from the conclusions, as far as possible, conditions due to the individual peculiarities of the authors and thus approach the general usage, the attempt was made in each case to choose two which differed widely in subject matter and style, and whose writers differed in respect to general education and training.

(3) In both the English and the American dramas used for contemporary usage a wide variety of material was sought in order to represent the general situation fairly and to eliminate individual characteristics.

The method of examination was, briefly, as follows:

(a) Every instance of *shall* and *will* was recorded, together with the circumstances under which it was used—grammatical person; independent statement, or question, or subordinate clause; kind of clause; and, in many cases, something of the context.

(b) These instances (nearly 20,000 in all) were classified and summarized for statistical study.

(c) The instances were studied in relation to their context. Here the point of view taken was not an interpretation of the context in view of a meaning assumed for the *shall* or *will* but

<sup>24</sup> See above, page 985, Bibliographical note, the objection offered to the argument from statistics proposed by Blackburn. Certainly one cannot assume that under ordinary circumstances there is likely to be an equal number of the uses of the first person, for example, in Shakspeare's *Tempest*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and the 1611 *English Bible*.

<sup>25</sup> For this reason, too, it seemed undesirable to use prose comedy exclusively for the latter half of the survey, although the language of this type of drama would perhaps have better represented actual usage.

rather an attempt to understand whatever evidence the context could afford as to the meaning or feeling which must lie in these two words.

In attempting a statistical approach to the problem I realize that if the results are to have significance, the handling of the figures must be carefully guarded; and even then the method has very definite limitations. The statistics presented include, of course, not only instances of the *tense* use of *shall* and *will* but also the so-called *colored future* or *modal use*.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The reduced form, always atonic and written as an enclitic 'll, is interpreted by practically all who have written of *shall* and *will*, as a contraction for *will only*. One, however, Professor G. P. Krapp, insists that "I'll, you'll, he'll may as well stand for I will, etc. as for I shall, etc." (*Modern English: Its Growth and Present Use*, p. 295.)

The decision of this point is forced upon the investigator at the very beginning of any study of *shall* and *will* and, because of the following considerations, I have taken the position generally maintained, that these contractions I'll, you'll, he'll stand for contractions of *will only*.

These considerations, which seem to have been ignored by Professor Krapp, are:

(a) The very common loss of (*w*) in English unstressed syllables. Middle English examples are abundant of the loss of (*w*) both with the pronoun of the first person, with the negative particle, and other words.

ichulle wel neomen þe—*St. Juliana*, (Royal Ms.) v. 41.

(Morris, *Spec. of E.E.*)

ichulle þat he wite wel—*St. Juliana*, (Royal Ms.) v. 75.

(Morris, *Sp. of E.E.*)

þat, quap he nelle ich nevre do—*Floris and Blancheflur*.

(Emerson, *M.E.R.* 45, 28)

þe man þe nele do na god—*Poema Morale*.

(Emerson, *M.E.R.* 180, 1)

For loss of (*w*) in more modern English see Wyld, *History of Modern Colloquial English*, p. 296 and Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, I, 7.32.

(b) The phonetic difficulty involved in accepting I'll, you'll, etc. as a probable contraction of *I shall*, *you shall*, etc. For the unstressed form of *shall* in modern English see Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, I, 9.211, 10.32. In this connection one ought also to call attention to the instances given in the New English Dictionary of the reduction of *shall*, atonic, to an enclitic with an unmistakable form. These "reduced enclitic forms (all persons and numbers)" are represented as spelled in the following ways: -sh, -s, -ce, -se, -s'. Some examples of this enclitic *shall* are:

*Gammer Gurton*, I, v. 39.

Hodge. By the masse, and she burne all *yoush beare* the blame for mee.

*Gammer Gurton*, III, iii, 44.

Gammer. Now ware thy throte, losell, *thouss pays* for all

*King Lear*, IV, vi, 246.

Unless one assumes some arbitrary rules for distinguishing the modal use from the tense use there are many cases in which the judgments of any two readers would differ widely. It is generally agreed, however, that the *modal use* of *shall* and *will* has had a continuous history from the earliest records of our language to the present.<sup>27</sup> In this connection it ought to be noted in

---

Edgar. . . . keep out or *Ice try* whither your Costard or my Ballow be the harder.

These considerations lead me to believe that the weight of the evidence is still in favor of interpreting I'll, you'll etc. as reductions of *I will, you will*, etc. This does not mean that it is assumed that the user is *consciously* choosing a *will* rather than a *shall* in these combinations. The lack of stress which makes the form an enclitic is evidence of a want of attention directed to this word. But it is assumed that for whatever idea may be in the user's mind he employs in the enclitic 'll the reduced form of the word *will*.

<sup>27</sup> Whether the *tense use* of *shall* and *will* also appears in O.E. as a possible means of indicating future time alternative with the use of the present form of the verb, is a matter of some dispute. Maetzner (I, 325) insists that these words are not used in O.E. without the recollection of their original meanings; and Blackburn (*The English Future*, 24), rather than accept the *shall* or *will* as at this date expressing simple futurity, assumes "intentional variation" from the original idea where Aelfred and Aelfric use a *shall* or a *will* to translate a Latin future. On the other hand, Wülfing (*Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, 57, No. 414) and Sweet (*New English Grammar*, II, No. 2198) assert that in some instances in O.E. these words *shall* and *will* were used as tense signs to express pure futurity.

Although Aelfric, in his grammar, translates the Latin future in the usual fashion by using the present form of the verb, when he comes in the course of his discussion to set forth a general statement of the tenses (page 123), he uses the *shall* and *will* periphrasis to translate the Latin future participles (pp. 136, 150, 152, 246, 247).

The interpretation of specific instances without allowing assumed modern use or some theory of former meanings to color our readings is extremely difficult. In the following cases, however, the context seems to exclude the modal meanings of *shall* and *will*, leaving these words to be mere signs of the future tense.

- (1) "Se fore þonc is sio godcunde gesceadwisnes; sio is fæst on þæm hean sceppende þe eall fore wat *hu hit geweordan sceal ær ær hit geweorde*."

Alfred, *Boethius*, XXXIX, 5.

- (2) "Gelyfst þu þæt we sceolon ealle arisan mid urum lichaman on domes dæge?" ("Credis tu resurrecturos omnes nos?")

Alfred, *Bede*, 181m (Quoted Lüttgens, 47)

- (3) "Hafast þu gefered þæt þam folcum sceal Geata leodum ond Gar-Denum sib gemæum ond sacu restan."

*Beowulf*, 1855.



passing that many discussions of the origin of our modern idiom have ignored the significance of this fact. A number of the conservative writers—e.g., Head, Dean Aford—have pointed to instances of the *modal use* of *shall* and *will* in Shakspeare and others of his time as evidence that the *general use* of *shall* and

- (4) "Se þe getimbrap ofer þam grundwealle treowa opþe streap opþe ceaf, untrylice mæg witan, þæt *his weorc sceal* on þam micclum fyre forbyrnan."  
 ("Qui super fundamentum illud ligna sive foenum, sive stipulam aëificat, indubitanter scire posset, quod opus suum in tanto igne exarsit.")

Alfred, *Bede*, 385u, (Quoted Lüttgens, 49)

- (5) "Swæ swæ *sio wund wile toberan*, gif hio ne bið gewriðan mid wræð, swæ willað ða synna weaxende toflowan, gif hie beoð gebundne hwilum mid stræclice lareowdome."

Alfred, *Pastoral Care*, (Sweet, E.E.T.S.) 122, 15.

- (6) "donne hie gesioð ðære oðerra gesældo eaciende, ðonne *ðyncð him ðæt his willan acwelan* for ðære mettrymnesse ðæs oðres gesa linessse, swæ he bið genierwed on his mod"

Alfred, *Pastoral Care*, (Sweet, E.E.T.S.) 230, 20.

- (7) "Ic wat, þæt *hit wile þincan* swyde ungeleafullic ungelæredum mannum gyf we secgað. . . ."

Koch, *Historische Grammatik*, II, 43. (Quoted out of Wright, *Pop. Treat.*, 16).

- (8) "Sodlice twegen sint gewilniende þæt *hi on us eardian wylleað* ure drihten . . . & se swicula deoful . . . is."

R. Brotanek, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 22, 15.

It seems impossible that the *shall* and *will* should have different meanings in the following passage, or that they should not parallel the use of the present form, *forlaete* in line No. 21:

- (line 6) "Hwa is þæt þe eall ða yfel þe hi donde wæron asecgean mæge oððe areccean? Eac *ic wille geswigian* Tontolis & Philopes þara scondlicestena spella; hu manega bismierlica gewin Tontolus gefremede syððan he cyning wæs; . . ."

- (line 14) "*Ic sceall eac ealle forlatan* þa þe of Perseo & of Cathma gesæde syndon, . . ."

- (line 17) "Eac *ic wille geswigian* þara mandæda þara Lemniadum & Ponthionis þæs cyninges, . . ."

- (line 21) . . . ic hit eall forlaete. Eac *ic hit forlaete*, Adipsus hu he ægþer ofsloh ge his agenne fæder, ge his steopfæder, ge his steopsunu."

Alfred, *Orosius*, E.E.T.S., I, 42.

Compare also the following from the 16th century:

"of whiche in the thryde boke *I wyl speke* in this place more at length."  
 (p. 104)

"very seldom used without SE before them, as *I shal* in the thryde boke in this place more playnely declare." (p. 114)

*will* in the 16th century was like that of the present. Such instances are worthless as evidence concerning the *tense use* or even the *general use* of these two words, for they go no farther than to illustrate the continuity of the modal use of *shall* and *will*, in regard to which there is practically general agreement. If, then, in these figures this modal use of *shall* and *will* could be safely treated as a *constant element*, one could draw from these statistics more definite conclusions concerning the tense use of *shall* and *will* than I have ventured.

Although the statistical method in such a problem is much limited, the figures indicating the relative frequency of *shall* and *will* in particular situations ought to be at least a valid check upon statements of the common usage in those situations. If, for example, as Head insists, Shakspeare's use of *shall* and *will* is the same as that of the English of the 19th century, then in any large amount of material of a similar nature from these two periods the percentage of the occurrences of *will* to *shall* in the first, second, and third persons, respectively, in independent declarative statements ought not to be widely different. If, on the other hand, as Bradley asserts, *will* has, since Shakspeare's time gradually displaced *shall* in all three persons, then these percentages ought to show considerable difference for the past 300 years. Or, again, if, as Curme says: "*Altho shall has thus lost some of its former territory in principal propositions, it has still kept its old distinctive meaning there and has become, perhaps, a greater favorite in the subordinate clause than it has ever been,*" (*J. E. G. Ph.* XII, 522), then the percentages of *shall* to *will* in this situation ought to show some increase in favor of *shall*. It is to be expected, too, that in a large number of instances from the same type of literature any great shift in the meanings of the two words ought to reveal itself in the curves showing the relative frequency of these words in particular situations over a long period of years.

"as I have afore touched, whiche *I wyll also conjugate* as I have done the other verbes meanes . . . ." (p. 123)

"But of the use and signification of this verbe *I shal more speke* here after in the thryde boke." (p. 128)

"and howe they put *Il faict* before diverse other adjectives . . . . *I shal defer to speke of*, tyl I come to the thryde boke in this place where *I wyll also speke of Il y a*. . . ." (p. 130, 131)

Palsgrave, *L'Esclaircissement* etc. (1530) 104, 114, 123, 128, 130, 131.

# I. SURVEY OF USAGE IN ENGLISH DRAMA 1560-1915

The following is a list of the dramatic texts on which the survey of usage during this period is based:

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Author</i>   | <i>Title</i>   | <i>Text</i>                        |
|-------------|-----------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 1557        | .....           | <i>Wealth and Health</i> .....                         | Ed. J. S. Farmer                   |
| 1560        | .....           | <i>Impatient Poverty</i> .....                         | Ed. J. S. Farmer                   |
| 1584?       | Lyly.....       | <i>Alexander and Campaspe</i> .....                    | Ed. Gayley (R. E. C.)              |
| 1591?       | Shakspeare..... | <i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i> .....                   | Neilson Text.                      |
| 1610        | Johnson.....    | <i>The Alchemist</i> .....                             | Ed. H. C. Hart                     |
| 1611        | Shakspeare..... | <i>The Tempest</i> .....                               | Ed. Brooks, Cunliffe<br>MacCracken |
| 1621        | Fletcher.....   | <i>Wild Goose Chase</i> .....                          | Ed. Tatlock and Martin             |
| 1623        | Middleton       | <i>The Changeling</i> .....                            | Ed. Tatlock and Martin             |
|             | Rowley.....     |  |                                    |
| 1636        | Cartwright..... | <i>The Royal Slave</i> .....                           | 1st edition 1639                   |
| 1637        | Shirley.....    | <i>Hyde Park</i> .....                                 | Mermaid Series                     |
| 1656        | Davenant.....   | <i>Siege of Rhodes</i> .....                           | Dramatic Wks. 1873                 |
| 1661?       | Cowley.....     | <i>Cutter of Coleman Street</i> .....                  | Ed. A. R. Walker                   |
| 1666?       | Wycherley.....  | <i>The Plain Dealer</i> .....                          | Mermaid Series                     |
| 1668        | Etheredge.....  | <i>She Wou'd if She Cou'd</i> .....                    | Wks. Ed. A. W. Verity              |
| 1678        | Dryden.....     | <i>All for Love</i> .....                              | Ed. Tupper (R. E. Dr.)             |
| 1682        | Otway.....      | <i>Venice Preserved</i> .....                          | Ed. Tatlock and Martin             |
| 1689        | Shadwell.....   | <i>Bury Fair</i> .....                                 | Mermaid Series                     |
| 1696        | Cibber.....     | <i>Love's Last Shift</i> .....                         | 1st edition 1696                   |
| 1700        | Congreve.....   | <i>The Way of the World</i> .....                      | Ed. Tatlock and Martin             |
| 1703        | Addison.....    | <i>Cato</i> .....                                      | Ed. Tatlock and Martin             |
| 1713        | Rowe.....       | <i>Jane Shore</i> .....                                | Belles Lettres Series              |
| 1714        | Centlivre.....  | <i>The Wonder, or A Woman<br/>Keeps a Secret</i> ..... | Dr. Wks. London, 1872              |
| 1720        | Hughes.....     | <i>Siege of Damascus</i> .....                         | I. Bird, Phila. 1833               |
| 1722        | Steele.....     | <i>Conscious Lovers</i> .....                          | Ed. Tatlock and Martin             |
| 1730        | Fielding.....   | <i>Tom Thumb the Great</i> .....                       | Ed. Tatlock and Martin             |
| 1731        | Lillo.....      | <i>London Merchant</i> .....                           | Belles Lettres Series              |
| 1749        | Johnson.....    | <i>Mahomet and Irene</i> .....                         | Wks. Harper & Bro. 1861            |
| 1753        | Moore.....      | <i>The Gamester</i> .....                              | Isaac Bird, Phila. 1833            |
| 1763        | Foote.....      | <i>Mayor of Garratt</i> .....                          | Isaac Bird, Phila. 1833            |
| 1767        | Goldsmith.....  | <i>The Good Natured Man</i> .....                      | Plays etc. Oxford Edition          |
| 1775        | Garrick.....    | <i>Bon Ton</i> .....                                   | Isaac Bird, Phila. 1833            |
| 1777        | Sheridan.....   | <i>School for Scandal</i> .....                        | Ed. Tatlock and Martin             |
| 1790        | Coleman.....    | <i>Inkle and Yarico</i> .....                          | Isaac Bird, Phila. 1833            |
| 1796        | Reynolds.....   | <i>Fortunes Fool</i> .....                             | Plays, London, 1793-1810           |
| 1817        | Coleridge.....  | <i>Remorse</i> .....                                   | P. & Dr. Wks. Boston 1861          |
| 1820        | Shelley.....    | <i>The Cenci</i> .....                                 | Ed. Tatlock and Martin             |
| 1828        | Mitford.....    | <i>Riensi</i> .....                                    | Cumberland's Br. Theatre           |
| 1832        | Knowles.....    | <i>The Hunchback</i> .....                             | Cassel's Nat'l Lib.                |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Author</i> | <i>Title</i>                            | <i>Text</i>            |
|-------------|---------------|---|------------------------|
| 1838        | Bulwer-Lytton | <i>Lady of Lyons</i> .....              | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1843        | Browning      | <i>A Blot in the Scutcheon</i> .....    | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1860        | Taylor        | <i>The Babes in the Wood</i> .....      | Lacy's Acting Plays    |
| 1862        | Burnand       | <i>Fair Rosamond</i> .....              | Lacy's Acting Plays    |
| 1870        | Robertson     | <i>The Nightingale</i> .....            | Dr. Wks. London 1889   |
| 1876        | Tennyson      | <i>Harold</i> .....                     | London, 1877.          |
| 1893        | Pinero        | <i>Second Mrs. Tanqueray</i> .....      | Ed. T. H. Dickinson    |
| 1896        | Jones         | <i>Michael and His Lost Angel</i> ..... | Ed. T. H. Dickinson    |
| 1902        | Phillips      | <i>Ulysses</i> .....                    | Macmillan 1902         |
| 1910        | Barker        | <i>The Madras House</i> .....           | Ed. T. H. Dickinson    |
| 1910        | Galsworthy    | <i>Justice</i> .....                    | Scribner's Sons, 1913  |
| 1915        | Masefield     | <i>The Faithful</i> .....               | London, 1915.          |

In examining and comparing the usage in these texts with respect to *will* and *shall*, it is necessary to divide the instances into three groups: (1) *will* and *shall* in Independent Declarative Statements, (2) *will* and *shall* in Questions, (3) *will* and *shall* in Subordinate Clauses. The results for these three groups will be considered separately.

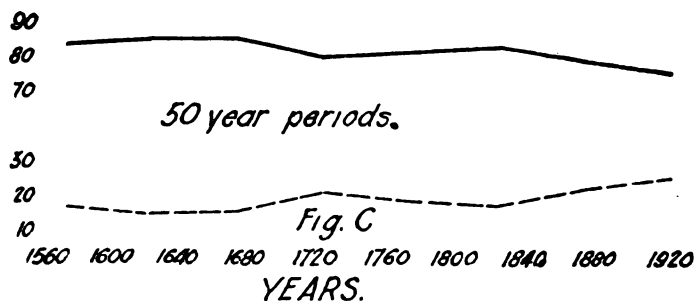
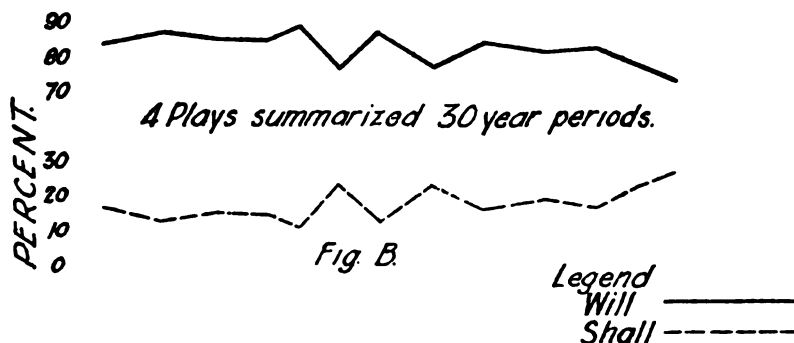
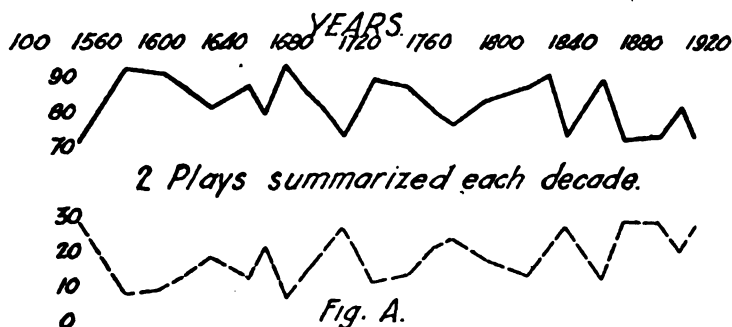
#### INDEPENDENT DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS

Plates I, II, and III show the curves representing the percentage of instances of *will* and *shall* in independent declarative statements for the first, second, and third person, respectively. The data represented by Figure A in each of the three plates are obtained by summarizing the numbers of instances for the two plays of each decade and casting the percentage in each case. Thus, in Plate I, Figure A, the point at 92% for 1588 indicates that, in the material examined for this time (Shakspeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*) of every 100 cases of the first person with these two words in independent declarative statements, 92 are *I (we) will* and 8 are *I (we) shall*.

Figure B in each of the three plates represents the material summarized in larger groups, approximately 25-30 year periods; and Figure C in each of the three plates gives the material summarized in 50 year periods. These summaries were made in the belief that as more plays are considered in one group, the differences due to individual characteristics of particular plays and authors are levelled and general tendencies reveal themselves.

# Independent-Declarative Statements. First Person.

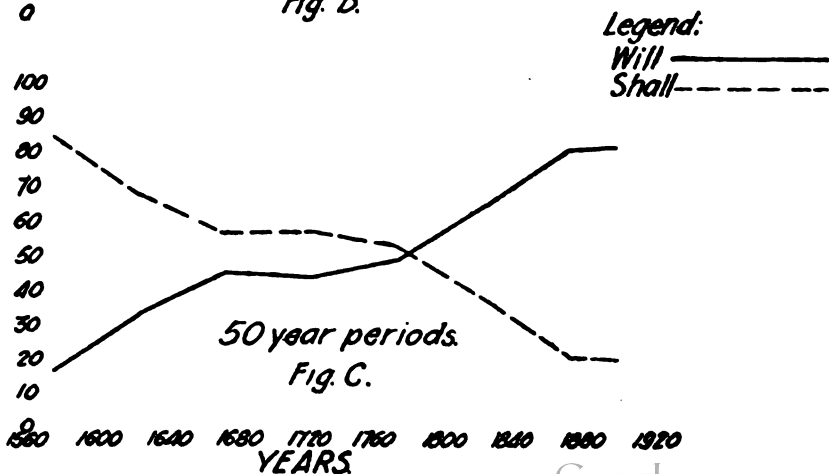
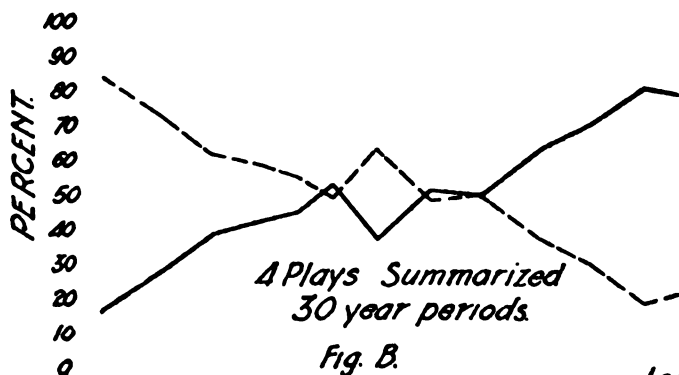
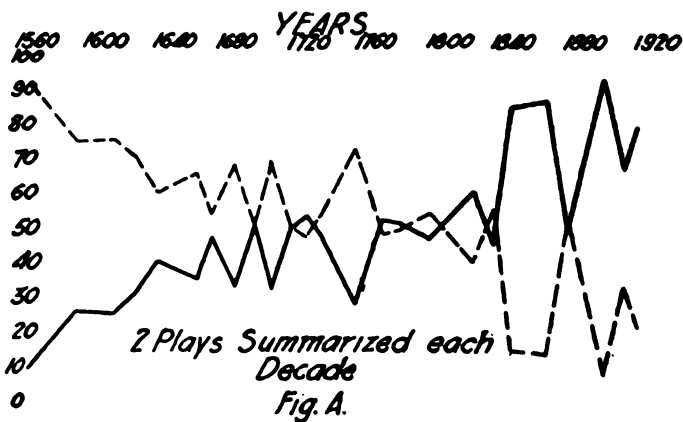
Plate ①



Note.  
From 30 to 70% is omitted in each graph.

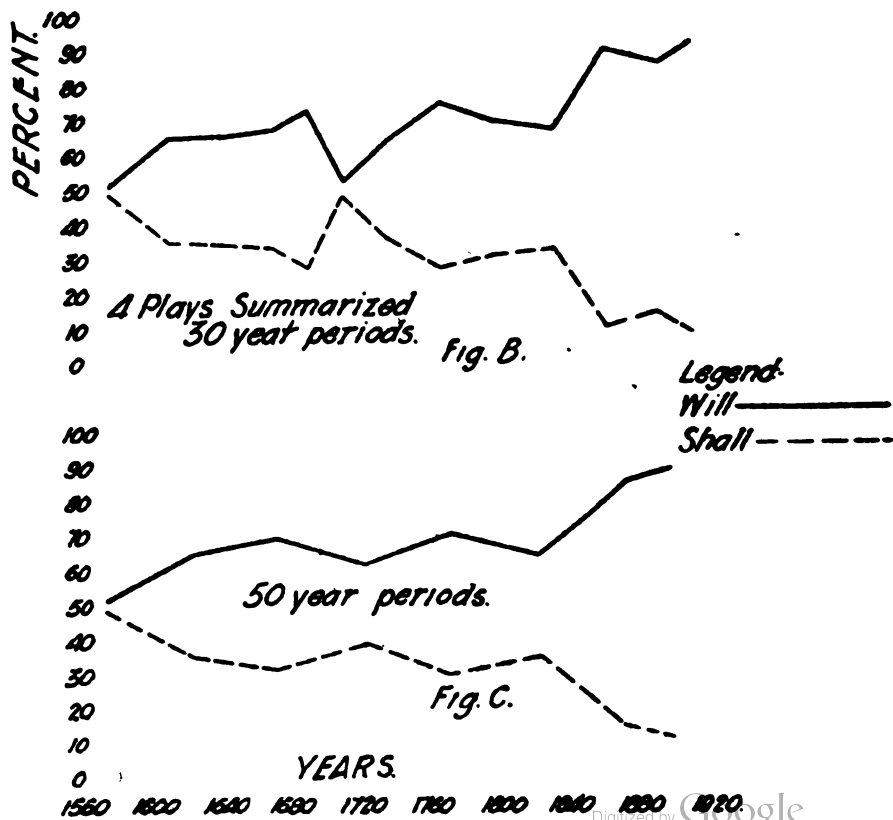
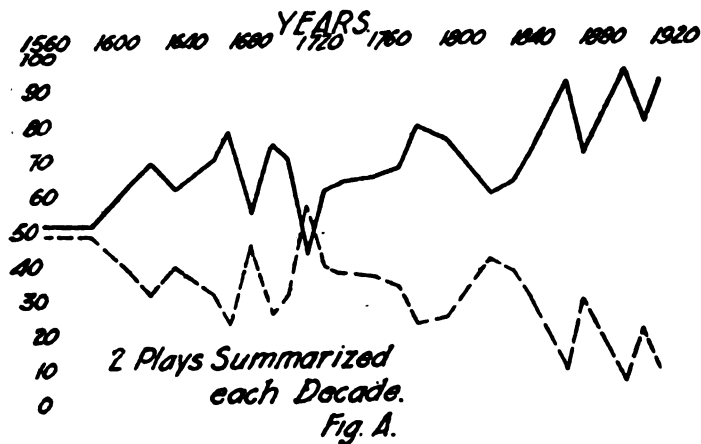
# Independent-Declarative Statements. <sup>Plate</sup> ②

## SECOND PERSON.



# Independent-Declarative Statements THIRD PERSON.

Plate (3)



A study of these charts seems to yield the following significant facts concerning the use of *shall* and *will* in independent declarative statements:

**A. With the First Person.**

(1) The approximate stability of the relation of *shall* to *will* indicates that there has been no great change of use in the first person from the middle of the sixteenth century to the present time.

(2) *Will* with the first person has, during all this time, always been more frequently used than *shall*. (*I (we) will* from 70% to 93% and *I (we) shall* from 7% to 30%).<sup>28</sup> These figures seem effectively to dispose of Hare's "Courtesy theory" (see Bibliographical note) that the English in the first person use *shall* to "refrain from thrusting themselves forward."

**B. With the Second Person.**

(1) In contrast to the approximate stability of the relation of *will* to *shall* in the first person for the past 350 years, with the *second person* there has been practically a complete reversing of the situation existing in the 16th century. In the 16th century *shall* predominated, being used in more than 80% of the cases, *will* correspondingly being used in less than 20%. Throughout the 18th century the two words seem to have been used with the second person about equally—the curves approach the 50% line. During the 19th century, however, the *will* with the second person has more and more displaced the *shall* so that it now is used in about 80% of the cases and *shall* in about 20%.

(2) If the modal use of *shall* and *will* can be regarded as approximately constant, this shift in the second person has special significance for the development of the tense use of *will* in this situation.

**C. With the Third Person.**

(1) With the third person also the relation of the *shall* and *will* has not been stable. As in the second person the *will* has tended to displace the *shall*, being now used in about 85% of the cases with *shall* in but 15%.

<sup>28</sup> The figures given seem also to indicate no ground for the statements of a difference in use between the first person singular and the first person plural. See Bruening, *Formation of Future Tense in English*, 46.



(2) The development with the third person as indicated by the charts, however, has not been, as with the second person, a complete reversing of the situation existing in the 16th century with the approximate 50% point in the 18th century. With the third person the 50% point appears in the 16th century with a gradual rising of the frequency of the *will* and a sinking of the *shall* to the present 85% to 15% relation.<sup>29</sup>

(3) Again if the modal use of the two words can be regarded as practically constant the development shown has especial significance for the tense use of *will* with the third person.

### QUESTIONS

The instances of *shall* and *will* in direct questions occurring in these plays covering a period of three hundred and fifty years reveal no real shift in usage for any of the three grammatical persons. The following tabulation exhibits the total number of cases, subdivided into chronological periods of approximately a half century each:

|                | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|----------------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
| 1557-1637..... | 3   | 69   | 125 | 2    | 38  | 17   |
| 1656-1703..... | 1   | 105  | 129 | 1    | 35  | 10   |
| 1713-1768..... | 1   | 80   | 51  | 1    | 40  | 19   |
| 1775-1843..... | 4   | 63   | 73  | 3    | 36  | 12   |
| 1860-1915..... | 3   | 78   | 127 | 0    | 22  | 7    |
| Total.....     | 12  | 395  | 505 | 7    | 171 | 65   |

Contrary to the situation found in independent-declarative statements *shall* never was common in second person questions even when it was used in more than 80% of the cases of the second person in direct statements. With the first person, on the other hand, *shall* has overwhelmingly predominated in questions although *will* has always been more frequently used in independent declarative statements.

<sup>29</sup> The apparent return to the 50% relation indicated for 1713 in Figures A and B of Plate 3 seems to be explained by the individual characteristics of the play *Jane Shore* by Nicholas Rowe. The situation in this play leads rather naturally to the using of an excessively large number of unmistakably modal *shalls* with the third person.

The percentages of the cases of *shall* and *will* in questions for the entire period reveal some facts of real significance:

|               | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W  | 2-Sh | 3-W  | 3-Sh |
|---------------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|
| Number.....   | 12  | 395  | 505  | 7    | 171  | 65   |
| Per Cent..... | 2.9 | 97.1 | 98.7 | 1.3  | 72.5 | 27.5 |

From these figures two conclusions seem evident:

1. The usual statement that *will* is *impossible* in questions with the first person is inaccurate, although it is true that *will* is seldom used in this situation. About 3% of the instances in the first person appear with *will*.<sup>30</sup> Of these twelve instances, eight (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, and 11) can be classed as "echoes"—the repeating of the *will* of the question just preceding. The

<sup>30</sup> I give here the twelve instances which occur in the plays examined:

- (1) *The Alchemist* (1610), I, 1, 222.

Dapper—You know, I shewed the statute to you.

Face— You did so,

Dapper—*And will I tell, then?* By this hand of flesh,  
Would it might never write good court-hand more,  
If I discover.

- (2) *The Alchemist*, II, 1, 536:

Mammon—And wilt thou insinuate what I am, and praise me,  
And say I am a noble fellow?

Face— O, what else, sir?

And that you'll make her royal with the stone,  
An empress; and yourself king of Bantam.

Mammon—Wilt thou do this?

Face— *Will I, sir?*

- (3) *Hyde Park* (1637), V, 1, 250:

Miss Carol—Because, forsooth, I do not love you, will you  
Be desperate?

Fairfield— *Will I be desperate?*

- (4) *Cutler of Coleman Street* (1661), I, 2, 271:

Servant —It should be Mrs. Lucia by her voice, . . . Will you please  
to see her, Sir?

Truman— *Will I see her, Blockhead?* Yes; go out and kneel to her and  
pray her to come in.

- (5) *The Wonder* (1714), V, 1, 65:

Felix— Give me your hand at parting, however, Violante,  
won't you—won't you, won't you—won't you?

Violante— (Half regarding him) *Won't I do what?*

other four, however, cannot be so explained. It is indeed hard to see how *shall* could be used with the first person in such a question as the following:

*The Witching Hour*, Augustus Thomas, I, 1, 321 (b):

Viola—Haven't you seen the house, Mrs. Whipple?

Helen—Not above this floor.

(6) *Bon Ton* (1775), I, 1, 416 (a):

Miss T— my uncle is in an ill humour, and wants me to discard you, and go with him into the country.

Col. T— And will you, Miss?

Miss T—*Will I?*—no, I never do as I am bid.

(7) *Fortune's Fool* (1796), IV, 1, 46:

Sir Bamber—. . . She has no home, I tell you; and as I heard you were going to your lodgings, will you take her under your arm?

Ap—Hazard—*Will I not?*—My dear Bam, always put yourself in Fortune's way.—Madam!

(8) *Fortune's Fool*, IV, 2, 55:

Sir Bamber—There! now haven't I been libel'd?—hasn't Miss Union been lampoon'd? and *won't I* have you pilloried, sir, for saying that volume of virtue was in these apartments?

(9) *The Hunchback* (1832), II, 2, 41:

Julia— At town  
Or country ball, you'll see me take the lead,  
While wives that carry on their backs the wealth  
To dower a princess, shall give place to me;—  
*Will I not profit*, think you, by my right?  
Be sure I will!

(10) *Babes in the Wood* (1860), I, 1, 15:

Lady Blanche—Will you have a sugar plum? (putting up her mouth)

Rushworth— *Won't I?* (kisses her)

(11) *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* (1893), II, 52. (a):

Mrs. Cortelyon— —Come, Mrs. Tanqueray, won't you spare her?

Paula—*Won't I spare her?* (Suspiciously) Have you mentioned your plan to Aubrey—before I came in?

(12) *The Faithful* (1915), II, 1, 78:

Kurano—Shall we pour the wine on our heads first?

Captain—No, afterwards, when we are hot.

Kurano—*But we will?*

Captain—Yes; oh yes?

Kurano—Yes, we will pour the wine on our heads. We are going to pour the wine on our heads.

Alice—Would it interest you?

Helen—Very much.

Alice—(To Helen) *Will I do as you guide?*

2. The common statement regarding second person questions, for example that in the *New English Dictionary*, that in the second person "in categorical questions" *shall* is "normal," is, according to these figures, plainly inadequate. Of the 512 questions in the second person but 7 or 1.3% use *shall*; all the rest employ *will*. Certainly *Shall you?* with its 7 cases out of 512 second person questions is no more "normal" than *Will I?* having 12 instances out of a total of 407 first person questions.<sup>21</sup>

More than that; of these 7 instances of *shall* with the 2nd person, two (3, 4) are plainly "echoes"; one (5) seems, by the

<sup>21</sup> I give here the seven instances of the second person questions using *shall*:

- (1) *Wealth and Health* (1557) 279.

Health—If these goods came with wrong-doing  
*Shall ye have heaven for so spending,*  
 Or yet any meed?

- (2) *Hyde Park* (1637), V, 1, 246.

Lord B—Do I not make a reasonable motion?  
 Is't only in myself? *shall you not share*  
 I' the delight? or do I appear a monster  
 'Bove all mankind, you shun my embraces thus?

- (3) *Cutter of Coleman Street* (1661), V, 6, 329.

Tabitha— —Oh! my Mother! what shall I do? I'm undone,  
 Cutter— *What shalt thou do? why, thou shalt Dance—*

- (4) *Siege of Damascus* (1720), II, 1, 732. (b)

Eumenes.—O, I could curse the giddy changeful slaves,  
 But that the thought of this hour's great event  
 Possesses all my soul.—If we are beaten!  
 Herbis.— The poison works; 'tis well—  
 I'll give him more. (aside)

True, if we're beaten, who shall answer that?  
*Shall you, or I?*—Are you the governor—  
 Or say we conquer, whose is then the praise?

- (5) *The Hunchback* (1832), I, 2, 19.

Helen.— —Would you be more rich,  
 More wise, more fair? the song that last you learned  
 You fancy well; and therefore *shall you learn*  
*No other song?*

context, to be definitely colored with the meaning of "wish," or "desire," or "intention"; two (6, 7)—which are indeed but *one* question—seem to ask concerning the "will" or "purpose" of the one addressed. But two instances are left to fit the common rule, one from a play dated 1557 and the other from one dated 1637.

One ought also to add here that there are a number of examples of *Will you?* in which the context seems to exclude from the word *will* the idea of "wish" or "resolve."<sup>22</sup>

### SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The instances of *shall* and *will* in subordinate clauses afforded by the plays examined for the entire period indicate no development or marked shift in usage in this respect during the past 350 years. Five classes of subordinate clauses were separately

- (6, 7) *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* (1843), III, 1, 802. (b)

Guendolen—Where are you taking me?

Tresham—

He fell just here.

Now answer me. *Shall you in your whole life*

—You who have nought to do with Mertoun's fate,

Now you have seen his breast upon the turf,

*Shall you e'r walk this way if you can help?*

<sup>22</sup> The following are a few examples:

- (1) *The Tempest* (1611), III, 2, 43:

Calaban—I thank my noble lord. *Will thou be pleased to hearken once again to the suit I made thee?*

- (2) *Cutter of Coleman Street* (1661), I, 2, 271:

Truman Jr.—With me? who is it?

Servant— It should be Mrs. Lucia by her voice,

Sit, but she's veil'd all over.

*Will you please to see her, Sir?*

- (3) *Bury Fair* (1689), II, 1, 383:

Goldsmith—*Will you please to raffle for a teapot, a pair of candlesticks a couple of sconces?*

- (4) *She Wou'd if She Cou'd* (1668):

Lady Cockwood—*Will you be pleased to repose, sir?*

- (5) *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* III, 1, 811:

Tresham—*But will you ever so forget his breast*

*As carelessly to cross this bloody turf*

*Under the black yew avenue?*

investigated, but the figures disclose no reason why some of these groups should not be combined.<sup>33</sup> The totals for the five classes of clauses are as follows:

|   | 1-W   | 1-Sh  | 2-W  | 2-Sh | 3-W  | 3-Sh |
|---|-------|-------|------|------|------|------|
| <i>Noun Object Clauses</i> .....                            | 59    | 79    | 153  | 33   | 316  | 61   |
| <i>Per Cent</i> .....                                       | 42.8  | 37.2  | 82.2 | 17.7 | 83.8 | 16.2 |
| <i>Conditions</i> .....                                     | 3     | 2     | 102  | 3    | 42   | 9    |
| <i>Per Cent</i> .....                                       | 60    | 40    | 97.2 | 2.8  | 82.3 | 17.6 |
| <i>Adverbial Clauses—</i><br>(Time, place, cause, etc.).... | 32    | 19    | 29   | 25   | 55   | 65   |
| <i>Per Cent</i> .....                                       | 62.8  | 37.2  | 57.8 | 48.2 | 45.9 | 54.1 |
| <i>Result Clauses</i> .....                                 | 8     | 15    | 3    | 4    | 22   | 10   |
| <i>Per Cent</i> .....                                       | 34.17 | 65.13 | 42.8 | 57.2 | 68.8 | 31.2 |
| <i>Adjective Clauses</i> .....                              | 18    | 22    | 20   | 16   | 194  | 122  |
| <i>Per Cent</i> .....                                       | 45    | 55    | 55.6 | 44.4 | 61.4 | 38.6 |
| <i>Totals</i> .....   | 120   | 137   | 307  | 81   | 629  | 267  |
| <i>Per Cent</i> .....                                       | 46.6  | 53.4  | 79.1 | 20.9 | 70.2 | 29.8 |

Points of significance in these figures are:

1. In conditions (in opposition to the usual rule offered) *will* is the usual auxiliary, very few cases of *shall* being found in any of the three persons. In the first person very few cases with either *will* or *shall* appeared; only a total of 5 instances in all—3 with *will* and 2 with *shall*.<sup>34</sup> In the second person *will* was

<sup>33</sup> The numbers for the adverbial clauses, the result clauses, and the adjective clauses are considered together. There is also no separate group for the uses in indirect discourse as such. These cases are included in the group marked *noun object clauses*, a group made up of all the noun clauses, objects of such verbs as say, think, know, swear, believe, promise, pray, declare, hope, expect, assure. To separate arbitrarily, "He says that he will come," from "He promises, swears, declares, assures me, or thinks that he will come," seemed to be artificially excluding from the totals many cases which had an obvious bearing as evidence.

<sup>34</sup> The three instances of conditional clauses in the first person with *will* are: (1) *Way of the World*, Congreve (1700) II, 1, 511 (a):

Mrs. Fainall—Ay, ay, dear Marwood, *if we will be happy*, we must find the means in ourselves, and among ourselves. Men are ever in extremes; either doting or averse. While they are lovers, if they have fire and sense, their jealousies are

found in 102 cases (97%); in the third person 42 cases used *will* (82.3%).

2. In the *Noun Object Clauses* (the indirect discourse group) *will* predominates with the second and third persons: with the second person, 82.2%; with the third person, 83.8%. In the first person, however, *shall* is a bit more frequently used—57.2% with *shall* to 42.8% with *will*.

3. In the other three kinds of subordinate clauses (*Adjective, Result, Adverbial*) the total figures show a slight predominance

insupportable; and when they cease to love (we ought to think at least) they loathe.

- (2) *Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, Browning (1843) II, 1, 796 (a):

Tresham—I have despatched last night at your command  
A missive bidding him present himself  
Tomorrow—here—thus much is said; the rest  
Is understood as if 'twere written down—  
"His suit finds favor in your eyes." Now dictate  
This morning's letter that shall countermand  
Last night's—do dictate that!

Mildred— But Thorold—if  
I will receive him as I said?

Tresham— The Earl?

Mildred— I will receive him.

- (3) *The Madras House*, Barker (1910) IV, 203 (b):

Philip—(summing up) Then there's precious little hope for the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth. I know it sounds mere nonsense, but I'm sure it's true. If we can't love the bad as well as the beautiful—  
*if we won't share it all now*—fresh air and art—and dirt and sin—  
then we good and clever people are costing the world too much.

The two instances with *shall* (neither case after 1700) are:

- (1) *Way of the World*, Congreve (1700) IV, 1, 531 (a):

Petulant—If I have a humor to quarrel, I can make less matters conclude premises,—if you are not handsome, what then, if I have a humor to prove it? *If I shall have my reward*, say so; if not, fight for your face the next time yourself—I'll go sleep.

- (2) *Plain Dealer*, Wycherley (1666) IV, 1, 458:

Sailor— Here are now below, the scolding, daggled gentlewoman, and that Major Old—Old—Fop, I think you call him.

Freeman—Old fox;—prithee bid 'em come up, with your leave, captain, for now I can talk with her upon the square, *if I shall not disturb you*. (Exit Sailor)

Manly— No; for I'll be gone, come, volunteer.

of *will* in all three persons—very slight in the first person, 50.8%; in the second, 53.6%; in the third, 57.9%.

4. The common statement that in subordinate clauses in general *shall* has always predominated with all three grammatical persons is not verified by these figures.\* The general totals of all classes of subordinate clauses show a decided predominance of *will* with the second and third persons (2—W. 79.1% to 2—Sh. 20.9%; 3—W. 70.2% to 3 Sh. 29.8%) but with the first person a slightly larger use of *shall* (1—W. 46.6% to 1—Sh. 53.4%).

A general view of the figures of the survey shows a decided development or change of use in the words *shall* and *will* from the 16th century to the present *only with the second and third persons in independent-declarative statements*. In these two situations the older more frequent use of *shall* has been displaced by a decidedly greater use of *will*. With the first person in independent-declarative statements the relation of *shall* to *will* as expressed by the percentages seems to have been fairly constant throughout the 350 years of the survey. In this situation *will* has always been used in more than 70% of the instances. The total figures for questions and subordinate clauses show the predominance of *shall* only with the first person. (Questions—1 Sh. 97%; subordinate clauses—1 Sh. 53.4%) With the second and third persons in questions and subordinate clauses *will* very obviously predominates. (Questions—2W. 98.6%; 3W. 72%; subordinate clauses—2W. 83.4%; 3W. 70%).

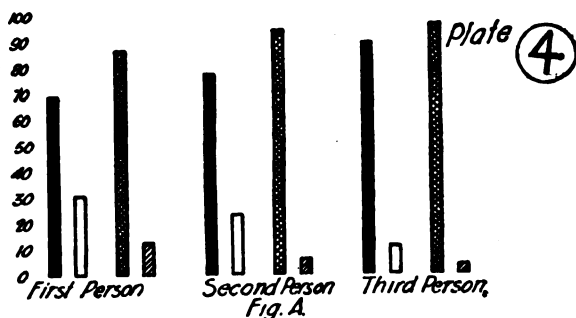
## II. USAGE IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH DRAMA

We proceed next to a more particular study of existing usage by noting the occurrences of *will* and *shall* in contemporary drama. As the material to be examined I have selected eighteen plays written in England between 1902 and 1918. The results gained from these plays will then be compared (see Plate IV) with those which appear from examining an equal number of American plays written during the same period.

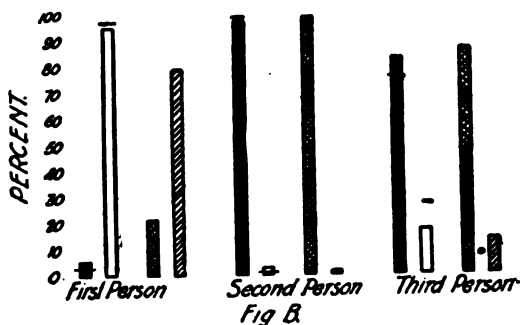
\* "Altho *shall* has thus lost some of its former territory in principal propositions, it has still kept its old distinctive meaning there and has become, perhaps a greater favorite in the subordinate clause than it has ever been" (Curme, *J.E.G. Ph.* XII, 522).



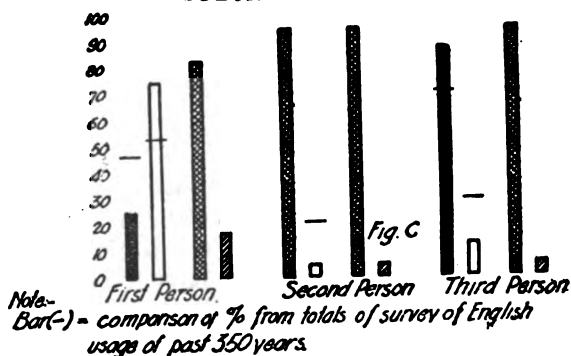
ENGLISH AND AMERICAN CONTEMPORARY USAGE  
INDEPENDENT-DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS



QUESTIONS



SUBORDINATE CLAUSES



Legend.  
English      American.  
will   shall   will   shall.

The list of English plays taken as the basis for this comparison is as follows:

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Author</i>    | <i>Title</i>                            | <i>Tent</i>       |
|-------------|------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1902        | S. Phillips      | <i>Ulysses</i>                          | Macmillan         |
| 1909        | S. Houghton      | <i>The Younger Generation</i>           | Constable         |
| 1910        | G. Barker        | <i>Madras House</i>                     | Dickinson         |
| 1910        | J. Galsworthy    | <i>Justice</i>                          | Scribners         |
| 1910        | A. Bennett       | <i>The Honeymoon</i>                    | Geo. Doran & Co.  |
| 1911        | M. Baring        | <i>The Double Game</i>                  | Constable         |
| 1913        | G. B. Shaw       | <i>Great Catharine</i>                  | Brentano          |
| 1914        | H. A. Jones      | <i>The Lie</i>                          | Geo. Doran & Co.  |
| 1915        | J. Maschfield    | <i>The Faithful</i>                     | William Heinemann |
| 1918        | J. Barry         | <i>Quality Street</i>                   | Scribners         |
| 1907        | C. Gordon Lennox | <i>The Impertinence of the Creature</i> | Clark             |
| 1908        | Gertrude Robins  | <i>Makeshifts</i>                       | Clark             |
| 1908        | St. J. Hankin    | <i>The Burglar who Failed</i>           | Martin Sedner     |
| 1910        | G. Cannan        | <i>James and John</i>                   | Clark             |
| 1910        | Elizabeth Baker  | <i>Miss Tassey</i>                      | Clark             |
| 1911        | Alfred Sutro     | <i>The Man in the Stalls</i>            | Clark             |
| 1911        | Oliphant Down    | <i>The Maker of Dreams</i>              | Clark             |
| 1912        | Arthur Pinero    | <i>The Widow of Wasdale Head</i>        | Clark             |

#### INDEPENDENT DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS

The development indicated in the previous charts (See Plates 1, 2, and 3) seemed to point to an equal predominance of *will* for all three grammatical persons in independent declarative statements. The larger amount of English dramatic material examined for the present generation confirms that conclusion. As indicated on Plate IV the percentages of frequency of *shall* and *will* in independent-declarative statements are:

1st person—c. 70% *will* to c. 30% *shall*

2nd person—c. 78% *will* to c. 22% *shall*

3rd person—c. 90% *will* to c. 10% *shall*

In the face of these figures, it is hard to see how the rule for the simple future tense, that a *shall* with the first person corresponds in meaning to a *will* with the second and third, can be held to represent actual English usage.<sup>23</sup> One can only

<sup>23</sup> It must be borne in mind, of course, that the figures given are the totals for a large body of material in which the usage of the individual writers differs considerably in a few cases. It would be strange indeed if the influence of the schools and a century of teaching should not noticeably affect the usage of a few. An example of such difference taken from the dialog of fiction rather than

adjust these figures to this common grammatical rule by *assuming* that with the first person the "simple future" is seldom used while with the other grammatical persons it is used very frequently.

### QUESTIONS

The actual number of instances of *shall* and *will* in direct questions appearing in the English contemporary plays examined may be tabulated as follows:

|               | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W  | 2-Sh | 3-W  | 3-Sh |
|---------------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|
| Number.....   | 4   | 71   | 160  | 4    | 24   | 5    |
| Per Cent..... | 5.3 | 94.7 | 97.5 | 2.5  | 82.8 | 17.2 |

These percentages are represented graphically in Figure B on Plate IV. In order to facilitate comparison the percentages of *will* and *shall* in questions for the whole period of 350 years, as ascertained from the survey, are marked on the chart by black cross bars.

In direct questions as in Independent Declarative Statements, the figures for the present generation reinforce the conclusions drawn from the total figures of the survey. Especially is this evident in respect to the overwhelming use of *will* to the ex-

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from drama is the following comparison of the use of *shall* and *will* with the first person in independent-declarative statements in Wells' *Ann Veronica* and in Marshall's *The Old Order Changeth*:

(Wells)—1st person with *will* 75%; with *shall* 25%.

(Marshall)—1st person with *will* 54%; with *shall* 46%.

The figures for Wells are quite normal; those for Marshall are perhaps the most extreme variation from the usual situation for any large number of instances. The attempt here has been to examine enough material so that these individual characteristics will be subordinated to a representation of the more general usage.

It seems impossible to suppose a difference in meaning for the auxiliary with the several grammatical persons in the following example:

*The Faithful* (1915), II, 1, 77.

Captain—Yes. First, let us all three be drunk.

Kurano—All be drunk. I'll be drunk, you'll be drunk, she'll be drunk. We'll be drunk, you'll be drunk, he'll be drunk. We'll all be drunk. Let us see who'll be drunk first.

clusion of *shall* with the second person.<sup>37</sup> Of these instances the fourth should probably be classed as an *echo*, and in interpreting the other three questions, unless one *assumes* the conventional rule, it is hard to exclude the idea that the speaker is inquiring concerning the *purpose, intention, or determination* of the one addressed.

With the third person the figures for the present generation show a 10% increase of the *will* forms over the percentage for the same situation in the survey.

#### SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The full number of instances of *shall* and *will* occurring in subordinate clauses in the English contemporary plays examined may be tabulated as follows:

|                                    | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|------------------------------------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
| Noun-Object.....                   | 16  | 39   | 53  | 2    | 79  | 7    |
| Conditions.....                    | 1   | 1    | 26  | 0    | 5   | 0    |
| Adjective Cl.....                  | 0   | 8    | 3   | 0    | 18  | 5    |
| Result Clause.....                 | 0   | 3    | 0   | 0    | 3   | 0    |
| Adverbial (time, place, etc.)..... | 1   | 1    | 3   | 2    | 11  | 3    |
| Total.....                         | 18  | 52   | 85  | 4    | 116 | 15   |

<sup>37</sup> I give here the four instances of *shall you?* found in this material:

(1) *Younger Generation*, p. 193.

Mr. Kenyon (taking it from her)—No, no; we'd better not do that.

Mrs. K.—*What shall you do then?*

Mr. K.— I shall ask Grace to show it to me.

Mrs. K.—Suppose she refuses?

Mr. K.— Then I shall *make* her show it to me.

(2) *The Lie*, p. 24.

Elinor— . . . *Shall you be down here much* before you go back to Egypt?

(3) *The Double Game*, p. 270.

Nielson— I see our author has published a new book.

Elizaveta—Who, Rakint?

Nielson— Yes. It's called "Giordano Bruno and the Movement of Liberation." *Shall you read it?*

Elizaveta—I haven't time to read his books.

(4) *The Honeymoon*, p. 33.

Cedric—I shall always be your grandstand.

Flora— *Shall you?* I can only do my best when I've got the undivided attention of my audience.

In the graphic presentation of percentages in Figure C on Plate IV the figures for all five types of subordinate clauses have been combined. Comparison with the figures in the table shows that for the second and third persons the percentages in the chart fairly represent the situation for all the groups of subordinate clauses. In the case of the first person, however, the percentage in the chart is mainly determined by a single group: viz., the Noun-Object Clause—the reported speech or indirect discourse group.

From these figures two significant facts emerge:

(1) With the 2nd and 3rd persons the overwhelming use of *will* to the exclusion of *shall*. In both these cases there is more than a 15% increase in the uses with *will* over the total figures found in the survey for these situations.

(2) With the first person in indirect discourse or reported speech clauses *shall* very definitely predominates in the English material for the present generation. In this case it is to be noted that the figures for the present generation show a 20% increase of *shall* over the figures for the survey. This seems to be the only situation in which a comparison of the figures for English contemporary usage with those of the survey reveal a definitely marked increase of the *shall* forms.

### III. CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN USAGE COMPARED WITH THAT IN ENGLAND

With the results obtained from the study of contemporary drama written in England we proceed, finally, to compare the instances of *shall* and *will* to be found in a series of eighteen American plays dating from 1906 to 1918. The following is a list of the plays selected for comparison:

| <i>†</i> Date | Author             | Title                              | Text               |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1906          | L. E. Mitchell.... | <i>The New York Idea</i> .....     | Quinn              |
| 1906          | C. Fitch.....      | <i>The Truth</i> .....             | Dickinson          |
| 1906          | W. V. Moody....    | <i>The Great Divide</i> .....      | Dickinson          |
| 1907          | A. Thomas.....     | <i>The Witching Hour</i> .....     | Quinn              |
| 1908          | E. Walter.....     | <i>The Easiest Way</i> .....       | Dickinson          |
| 1909          | E. B. Sheldon....  | <i>The Nigger</i> .....            | Macmillan          |
| 1910          | P. Mackaye....     | <i>Anti-Matrimony</i> .....        | F. A. Stokes & Co. |
| 1911          | D. Belasco.....    | <i>Return of Peter Grimm</i> ..... | Baker              |
| 1912          | R. Crothers.....   | <i>He and She</i> .....            | Quinn              |
| 1915          | L. K. Anspacher..  | <i>The Unchastened Woman</i> ..... | Baker              |

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Author</i>                  | <i>Title</i>                  | <i>Text</i> |
|-------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| 1916        | Doris Halman                   | <i>Will o' the Wisp</i>       | Mayorga     |
| 1916        | G. Middleton                   | <i>A Good Woman</i>           | Mayorga     |
| 1916        | P. Wilde                       | <i>A Question of Morality</i> | Mayorga     |
| 1917        | G. C. Cook<br>(Susan Glaspell) | <i>Suppressed Desires</i>     | Mayorga     |
| 1917        | Sada Cowan                     | <i>Sintram of Shagerrek</i>   | Mayorga     |
| 1917        | Esther Galbraith               | <i>Brink of Silence</i>       | Mayorga     |
| 1918        | Rita Wellman                   | <i>Funiculi Funicula</i>      | Mayorga     |
| 1918        | E. Pilot                       | <i>Hunger</i>                 | Mayorga     |

The percentages of *will* and *shall* established by a count of the instances in these plays are indicated graphically by the blocked and shaded columns in the chart on Plate IV, side by side with the black and white columns representing the English plays of the same period.

#### INDEPENDENT DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS

The number of instances of *shall* and *will* in independent declarative statements in these American plays is as follows:

|     |      |     |      |     |      |
|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
| 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
| 763 | 119  | 208 | 14   | 389 | 15   |

The following comparative table shows the percentages of *will*-forms in each of the three persons for both English and American plays.

|  |
|--|
| 1st person, English 70%; American 87%  |
| 2nd person, English 78%; American 94%  |
| 3rd person, English 90%; American 96%. |

As these figures show, the *shall*-forms have been almost eliminated from American usage with all three grammatical persons. In contemporary English usage the *shall*-forms are somewhat more frequent and the *will*-forms correspondingly less frequent.

But this difference between American and English usage is *not confined to the first person*, as has frequently been asserted. Indeed, in independent declarative statements the degree of difference between American and English usage is practically the same with the second person as with the first.

In independent declarative statements, then, so far as these figures disclose the situation, no marked difference in usage

appears between Americans and Englishmen; American usage seems merely to show with all three grammatical persons a greater elimination of *shall*-forms and a corresponding increase of *will*-forms.

### QUESTIONS

The following is the result of the count of *shall* and *will* in questions in the American plays:

| 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
| 8   | 30   | 143 | 2    | 25  | 4    |

These figures show a close agreement between the American and English use of *shall* and *will* in questions. Especially is this noteworthy in respect to the second person. In both English and American usage there is the same overwhelming use of *will* in second person questions to the practical exclusion of *shall*.<sup>38</sup>

With respect to the first person, the 15% difference between American and English usage indicated by the chart is much less significant than it first appears to be. The total number of instances of *shall* and *will* in questions with the first person in the American material is only *half* the total number with the first person in the contemporary English dramas. As a result the very few more instances with *will* found in the American plays have undue weight in determining the percentage. These instances,<sup>39</sup> however, serve to confirm our earlier

<sup>38</sup> I quote here the only two instances of *shall* with the second person:

(1) *The Easiest Way*, 179, a:

Laura—Mr. Madison is coming up the path.

Mrs. Williams (off stage) That's good.

Laura—*Shan't you come and see him?*

Mrs. Williams (same)—Lord, no! I'm six dollars and twenty cents out now, and up against an awful streak of luck.

(2) *The Truth*, 259, a:

Becky—*Shall you speak* to Mr. Linden about them?

Warder—No. I wouldn't insult you by discussing you with Linden, unless I was convinced every word and more here was true.

<sup>39</sup> I give here the instances from the American dramas of questions using *will* with the first person.

(1) *New York Idea*, 731, b:

John—The case meant a big fee, big Kudos, and in sails Cynthia, Flashlight mad! *And will I put on my hat and take her?* No—and bang she goes off like a stick o' dynamite.

conclusion that *will* is sometimes possible in questions with the first person.<sup>40</sup> It is to be noted, too, that the third, fourth and sixth examples, and possibly also the seventh, are neither "echoes" nor rhetorical questions.

(2) *The Nigger*, 128:

Phil.— Run down an' choke him—quick. Take his papahs.

Barrington—*Will I?* Oh Lord! Honest, I pity that kid from the bottom o' my tendah hea't. Just you wait.

(3) *Unchastened Woman*, II, 412:

Hildegard—I'd play the game out for all it's worth. It's no use weakening now.

Lawrence (pointing to bills)—*What will we do with these?*

Hildegard (encouragingly)—We'll meet them with your first installment.

(4) *Witching Hour*, 771, b:

Viola— Haven't you seen this house, Mrs. Whipple?

Helen— Not above this floor.

Alice— Wouldn't it interest you?

Helen— Very much.

Alice— *Will I do as your guide?*

(5) *Witching Hour*, 773, b:

Clay.— . . . Always you when I think about a real house, you bet—a house for me—and you'll be there, won't you?

Viola— *Will I?*

Clay— Yes, say, "I will."

(6) *Witching Hour*, 786, b:

Prentice.— . . . When in your own mind your belief is sufficiently trained you won't need this. (another slight pass)

Jack—*I won't!*

Prentice—No.

Jack—*What'll I do?*

Prentice—Simply think . . .

(7) *Witching Hour*, 800, 9:

Jack— No, you stay here.

Alice— That's scandalous.

Jack— But none of us will start the scandal, *will we?*

<sup>40</sup> See page 1000.



## SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The following are the statistics for the use of *shall* and *will* in subordinate clauses:

|                                      | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|--------------------------------------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
| Noun-Object.....                     | 53  | 8    | 59  | 3    | 91  | 2    |
| Conditions.....                      | 1   | 0    | 35  | 0    | 12  | 0    |
| Adj-Clause.....                      | 0   | 3    | 7   | 0    | 21  | 2    |
| Result Clause.....                   | 2   | 0    | 1   | 0    | 5   | 2    |
| Adv. Clause (time, place, etc.)..... | 1   | 1    | 3   | 1    | 12  | 1    |
| Totals.....                          | 57  | 12   | 105 | 4    | 141 | 7    |

For the second and third persons these figures, with the great preponderance of *will* in all types of subordinate clauses, exhibit a marked agreement with English usage. The comparative percentages are as follows:

2nd person with *will*, American 96.4%; English 95.6%

3rd person with *will*, American 95.3%; English 88.6%

In the case of the first person, on the other hand, a striking conflict appears between English and American usage. These figures primarily concern the Reported Speech or Indirect Discourse group of subordinate clauses for in the other classes no such disagreement appears.<sup>41</sup> In reported speech clauses the contemporary English material shows 71% of *shall* uses with the first person to 29% of *will*<sup>42</sup>; for the American material just the reverse is true with but 14% of *shall* uses to 86% of *will*.

On the whole, the figures give evidence of a general tendency in American usage to eliminate the *shall* forms in all situations except direct questions with the first person. In practically all situations the percentage of *will* uses is somewhat higher than in the English material examined. The one outstanding conflict, however, between American and English usage of *shall* and *will* seems to be with the first person in subordinate clauses of reported

<sup>41</sup> See also page 1010.

<sup>42</sup> In subordinate clauses with the first person appears the only great increase of *shall* forms in the contemporary English material over those from the survey. See also page 1007.

*speech* (Noun Object Clauses). If these figures can be trusted as significant it is probably the difference here indicated which is chiefly responsible for the disagreement we feel between the present American and English use of *shall* and *will*.

The more significant facts concerning the use of *shall* and *will* revealed by this statistical study of the material examined are briefly these:

1. The figures seem to indicate that in some respects at least the conventional rules of the common school grammars do not represent and have never represented the practice of the language. Especially is this fact evident in regard to (a) the first person in independent-declarative statements, (b) the second person in direct questions, (c) the second and third persons in subordinate clauses.

(a) With the first person in independent-declarative statements *will* is used in more than 70% of the cases. This predominance prevails throughout the material examined for each decade since 1560 with no great shift of frequency or development revealed by the figures.

(b) With the second person in direct questions *will* is almost always used. The cases with *will* are over 97% in all the material. A *shall* with the second person questions is found even less frequently than a *will* with first person questions.

(c) In all subordinate clauses, with the second and third persons *will* decidedly predominates. Very plainly does this appear in the figures for the contemporary material both English and American.

2. The figures for the survey seem to indicate very plainly a development in the use of *shall* and *will* with the second and third persons in independent-declarative statements. With both the second and the third persons the earlier more frequent use of *shall* has gradually been displaced through the 18th and 19th centuries by an increasing use of *will*.

3. The comparison of figures from equal amounts of contemporary English and American usage reveals for practically all situations a somewhat higher percentage of *will* for the American material. The one outstanding conflict, however, appears in the case of *clauses of reported speech with the first person*. In this situation the figures for American usage show an 86% of *will* against the 71% of *shall* for English usage.

## IV. MEANINGS IN SHALL AND WILL

As indicated on page 988 above these instances of *shall* and *will* (about 20,000 in all) were not only subjected to a statistical study but in each case the context in which the *shall* or the *will* occurred was scrutinized for evidence concerning the meaning or feeling which must lie in these two words.

The usual explanations offered for the development of the use of *shall* and *will* as a periphrastic future point to their original meanings of "obligation" and "wish" as especially fitted to develop the idea of futurity.<sup>43</sup> The present obligation or wish is thus conceived as furnishing a very natural basis upon which to infer the satisfying future action. "When motive and circumstance sink in importance, interest and attention shift to the event." Many then take the attitude expressed by Mätzner that in the present use of these two words there is a "glimmering through" of the "primitive meanings" of *shall* and *will*; that with *shall* there is connoted obligation or compulsion in a "series of gradations" gradually fading into the pure future idea; that with *will* there is connoted wish or resolve in a similar "series of gradations" likewise fading into the pure future.<sup>44</sup>

When one attempts to apply this explanation to the facts, however, one finds a large number of instances in which the context more or less plainly puts into *shall* and *will* meanings and feelings which cannot be accounted for on the basis of the "glimmering through" of the "primitive meanings" of these two words. This explanation, for instance, would account for the meaning of "resolve" or "determination" of the subject which remains in the word *will*, but it does not account for the many cases in which the context indicates the meaning of the "resolve" or "determination" of the subject put into the future expression with *shall*. This use of *shall* has frequently been recognized as legitimate English usage but is ignored in the attempted explanations of the development of *shall* in the periphrastic future.

<sup>43</sup> See Curme, *Jr. of Eng. & Gmc. Phil.*, 13, 517; and Bradley, *Trans. of Am. Phil. Assn.*, 42 (1911), 15, 16, 17.

<sup>44</sup> See above page 986, Bibliographical Note.

Sweet, for instance, declares that "the emphatic *I; shall do it* expresses determination, as if the speaker meant to imply that his will was so strong as to become a purely objective force."<sup>45</sup> And the article on *shall* in the *New English Dictionary* contains this statement: "*I shall* often expresses a determination insisted on in spite of opposition, and *I; shall not* (colloq. *I shan't*) a peremptory refusal."

Examples of this use of *shall* to express "resolve" or "determination" are:

*The Wonder* 1714 (V, 1, 65)

Violante—Nay, sure you will not let my Father find you here—Distraction  
Felix—*Indeed but I shall*—except you command this Door to be open'd, and  
that Way conceal me from his sight.

*Way of the World* 1700 (V, 1, 539)

Sir Wilful—Therefore withdraw your instrument, sir, or by'r Lady, *I shall draw mine.*

*Love's Last Shift*, 1696, (Iv, 66)

. . . Damme, Sir, have a care! Don't give me the Lye, *I shan't take it*, Sir.

*Babes in the Wood*, 1860, (III, 1, 69)

Beetle—There! but let this be a lesson to you, Arabella—the first time you forget it, I shall *not* return to the Queen's Bench, but *I shall certainly apply* to Mr. Justice Cresswell.

*The Faithful*, 1915, (I, 1, 11)

Lord Asano—This alters everything. *I shall go at once* to the Envoy's court and appeal against Kira.

Again, the explanation—the "glimmering through" of the "primitive meaning"—would account for the various shades of *compulsion* to be brought upon the subject expressed by the *shall* with the second and third persons, but it does not account for the cases in which *will* with the second or third persons also implies a compulsion to be brought upon the subject.

In the second person, for example, the use of *will* to express a command has been often recognized.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *New English Grammar*, No. 2202.

<sup>46a</sup> See Blount and Northrup, *English Grammar*, No. 144, e.

<sup>46b</sup> "You will go to your room and stay there!, being the speaker's command."  
*The King's English*, p. 138.

The following are illustrations (quoted from Aronstein)<sup>47</sup>:

Sehr oft steh *you will* an stelle eines imperativs:

Froude I, 243: '*You will entreat* the present pope in my name to exercise the same moderation—*You will observe* in his reply whether he repeats the offer made to me by Paul IV.' (Übersetzung eines briefes Phillipps II an seinen gesandten in Rome.)

Thackeray, *Henry Esmond III*, IX: '*You will wait* on the Bishop of Rochester early, *you will bid him* bring his coach hither.'

In the first of the following the expression containing the *You will* implies a threat of the speaker; in the second the speaker's promise and determination:

*Jane Shore* V, 208, line 393:

Shore— Infamy on thy head!

Thou tool of power, thou pander to authority!

I tell thee, knave, thou know'st of none so virtuous!

And she that bore thee was an Aethiop to her!

Catesby—*You'll answer this at full.*—Away with 'em.

*The Faithful* I, 2, 51:

Kurano—Kira taught you the wrong ritual?

Asano— Yes.

Kurano—*You will not go unavenged.*

In like fashion the context with the strongly emphasized auxiliary sometimes shows plainly that, in both the second and the third persons with *will*, the subject will be under such pressure as to force him to act even in direct opposition to his "wish" or "resolve." For example:

A—He says that he has decided not to go to the court.

B—Well, *he will* go to the court even if we have to carry him.

X—I don't intend to allow anyone to see the books.

Y—But you *will* let us see them for we have the judge's order.

<sup>46</sup> "—Sehr oft drückt *you will* mit einem Z., das Tun besagt, einen gemessenen Befehl aus (*you must, you are to*) wie im D. und Frz. die 2 P. der Zukunftform eines solchen Z.—

*'You will come tomorrow at ten o'clock!*

Sie werden morgen um 10 Uhr antreten!

*Vous viendrez demain à dix heures!*

*You will take this packet to Mr. Molloy.*

*I say you will sweep my room.'*"

Krüger, *Syntax*, IV, 2926.

<sup>47</sup> Aronstein, *Anglia*, 41, p. 39.

In other words, instead of the situation supposed in the explanation usually offered—that the *shall* or *will* may be colored by the original meanings still clinging to them—we have many cases in which the *shall* and *will* each imply meanings which originally belonged only to the other. Thus *shall* not only carries the connotations of “obligation” or “compulsion” of the speaker or of circumstances but at times with the first person is used to express his “resolve” or “determination”; *will* not only expresses various shades of the subject’s “determination,” “desire,” “willingness,” but at times implies strong “compulsion” or “necessity” to an action in opposition to the will of the subject.

Not only must an adequate explanation of the meanings in these words account for this situation respecting *shall* and *will* alone, but it must also account for the implications, the meanings, which other modes of expressing the future have acquired. The combination *to be+going+prepositional infinitive* cannot be said to have brought from the original meanings of *to be* or *going* any ideas of “determination” or “resolve” or “compulsion.” And yet when used as a phrase to express a future idea the context very frequently shows that some one of these meanings is conveyed by the phrase.<sup>48</sup> For example:

*The Nightingale* (1870) I, 380:

Keziah—[discussing the wealth of the prospective bridegroom of her mistress]  
At least he had; but he’s spent some. But now *he’s* [resolve] *going to reform* because he’s going to marry.

*The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* (1894) III, 62, a:

Ellean—I-I can’t talk to you. . . . You do nothing else but mock and sneer, nothing else.

Paula—Ellean dear! Ellean! I didn’t mean it. I’m so horribly jealous, it’s a sort of curse on me. . . . My tongue runs away with me, *I’m going to alter*, [resolve] I swear I am. I’ve made some good resolutions. and as God’s above me, I’ll keep them!

*The Faithful* (1915) II, 1, 62:

Kurano—*Are they going to kill me?*

4th Ronin—They said [resolve] *they were going to make sure of you.*

The same situation arises in connection with the phrases *to be+about+prepositional infinitive* and the verb *to be+preposi-*

<sup>48</sup> See also Royster and Steadman, *The “Going-to” Future*, Manly Anniversary Studies, 399-402.

*tional infinitive*. Nothing in the original meanings of these words signified "resolve," "compulsion," or "command." But these phrases when used to express a future very frequently carry with them the suggestion of the "resolve" of the subject or of the "necessity" of the action.

The man *is about to dive from the bridge*.

He has bought up two of our neighbors and *is about to buy us up too*.

<sup>3</sup> *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, I, 38b:

Drummle—Oh, Nugent Warrinder's engagement to Lady Alice Tring. I've heard of that. *They're not to be married till the spring*.

*The Faithful*, III, 4, 131:

The Herald—I have a message for you. That *you are to kill yourselves here*, on this spot, for the murder of Duke Kira.

Even those cases in which the present form of the verb is used and the future idea is indicated by an adverb frequently cannot be freed from the meanings of "intention," "resolve" or "determination."

*Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, I, 40, (a):

Misquith—I *go up to Scotland to-morrow*, and there are some little matters . . .

*Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, II, 52, (b):

Mrs. Cortelton—*We go to town this afternoon* at five o'clock and *sleep tonight* at Bayliss's.

*Michael and His Lost Angel*, II, 92, (b):

Michael—Withcombe has gone over to Saint Margaret's with Gibbard and my uncle. *They stay there the night*.

*Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, II, 45, (a):

Aubrey—Well, she's going to town, Cayley says here, and his visit's at an end. *He's coming over* this morning to call on you. Shall we ask him to transfer himself to us?

From these instances, then, it is evident that the common explanation of the "glimmering through" of the primitive meanings of *shall* and *will* fails to account for the following significant facts:

(1) Both *shall* and *will* sometimes express the *resolve* or *determination* of the subject and *both* sometimes imply *compulsion* or *necessity* to an action even in opposition to the will of the subject.

(2) The other phrases commonly used to express the future may also connote *resolve* and *determination*, or *compulsion* and *necessity*, although their original meanings suggest no such idea.

It may be added that the same set of instances of the expression of the future offered to different people will produce a wide variety of interpretations and not infrequently the same person will see in a given example at one time only a pure future idea and at another the connotation of other circumstances. Very probably a speaker or writer seldom conceives of the future event entirely freed from the circumstances upon which it is predicted; and, likewise, for the hearer or reader, although in a rapid impression with an entirely unemphasized phrase the general future prediction may be all that registers, yet with more attention put upon the statement, directed by greater emphasis on some part of the word group or retained by the reader's attempted analysis, there often stand out some of the connotations of *intention*, *resolve*, *determination*, *compulsion*, or *necessity*.<sup>49</sup> There are, without question, unmistakable modal uses of *shall* and *will*, but they are mingled with these lighter shades of connotation and so inseparably joined to them that no *rules* seem adequate to distinguish them satisfactorily.

## V. A BRIEF RESTATEMENT OF CONCLUSIONS

1. A survey of the discussions of *shall* and *will* since the early 19th century and especially of those since 1900 reveals much conflict of opinion and *no thoroughly accepted views* concerning (a) the present state of the usage of these two words, (b) the meaning and trend of the development of that usage, (c) the causes which have given rise to it.

<sup>49</sup> In view of the meanings which attach themselves not only to *shall* and *will* but also to the other phrases used to express the future, and the fact that these meanings of *intention*, *resolve*, *determination*, *compulsion*, *necessity*, are necessarily the grounds upon which future predictions are made one naturally raises the question whether these meanings are not inevitable connotations of the future *idea* unrelated to the particular words by which the future is expressed. If so they will attach themselves to any phrase used to express the future and thus prevent the development of any one word group to indicate a pure uncolored future. This question, however, is not a matter concerning English alone but one of comparative syntax and must be reserved for future publication.



2. There are several distinct stages in the development of the conventional rules for *shall* and *will*. The first suggestion found in English grammars of a differentiation of use between the two words appears in 1622, in Mason's *Grammaire Angloise*. Wallis' *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1653) first gives a definite rule concerning a *shall* with the first person to correspond to a *will* with the second and third. The beginnings of the conventional rules for interrogative sentences are not to be found until Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762). The complete scheme of conventional rules of *shall* and *will* is first outlined in all essentials in the discussion given in the grammar of William Ward (1765). Not until 1795 with Lindley Murray's famous grammar is this complete scheme of conventional rules repeated and it does not become a common feature of English or American grammars until after the 1st quarter of the 19th century.

3. The expressed purposes of the grammarians in which the developed system of rules for *shall* and *will* first appeared, in accord with a common 18th century attitude, were to frame rules for the English language and to correct the practice of English speakers and writers by means of these rules. Their use of "reason" and their explicit repudiation of usage—even that of "the most approved authors"—as a standard and basis for their rules points to the conclusion that the conventional rules for *shall* and *will* then first formulated were probably arbitrary and without a validity based upon the practice of the language.

4. The figures and charts of the instances found in the survey of English drama from the 16th century to the present indicate that in this type of literature at least

(a) In independent-declarative statements the 1st person with *will* has always predominated with no great shift of frequency or development.

(b) In independent-declarative statements in the 2nd and 3rd persons *will* has gradually displaced *shall*.

For the present generation *will* predominates in all three persons. This condition probably necessitates the repudiation of the conventional rule that a 1st person with *shall* corresponds to a 2nd and 3rd with *will*.

In questions, *shall* is almost always used with the first person and *will* with the second although a *will* with the 1st and a *shall* with the second is occasionally found. The usual rule that *shall* is the "normal" auxiliary in 2nd person questions does not seem to represent the practice of the language.

The figures do not verify the conventional rule that in subordinate clauses and conditions *shall* is used for all persons. On the other hand, *will* very decidedly predominates in the second and third persons. In the indirect discourse group the figures do not furnish any substantial basis upon which to judge the conventional rule. With the first person in the indirect discourse clauses, however, the figures indicate one situation in which American and contemporary English usage differ widely. Here there is shown not the usual general increase of *will* forms for the American usage but a definite conflict with English usage—the American 86% of *will* as contrasted with an English 70% of *shall*.

5. From the mass of instances examined, the evidence furnished by the context in which the *shall* and *will* (as well as other phrases to express the future) were used, seems to indicate that the connotations of intention, resolve, compulsion, necessity, are not simply the "glimmerings through" of the primitive meanings of *shall* and *will* for there are many cases in which the *shall* and the *will* each imply meanings which originally belonged to the other. These connotations become prominent in proportion to the stress given to the elements of the phrase expressing the future and the amount of attention given by the reader to the analysis of the idea. The lighter colorings of connotation shade into the unmistakable modal uses so inseparably as to make a definite dividing line impossible.

CHARLES C. FRIES

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3. The Secretary shall select the programme from the papers thus offered trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

4. The question of publication is to be decided for each paper on its merit as a contribution to science, without regard to the form in which it has been presented at the meeting.

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BERT EDWARD YOUNG, *Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.*

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THE OFFICERS NAMED ABOVE AND

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GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP, *University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.*

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The next annual meeting of the Modern Language Association  
will be held under the auspices of the *University of Chicago*  
at Chicago, December 29, 30, 31, 1925.



JAN 13 1926

**PUBLICATIONS**  
*of the*  
**MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION**  
*of*  
**AMERICA**



*Edited by*  
**CARLETON BROWN**  
*Secretary of the Association*

**VOLUME XL, SUPPLEMENT**

**LIST OF MEMBERS, 1925**

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The annual volume of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* is issued in quarterly installments. It contains articles which have been approved for publication by the Editorial Committee. To a considerable extent these are selected from papers presented at meetings of the Association, though other appropriate contributions are also accepted. The first number of each volume includes, in an Appendix, the *Proceedings* of the last Annual Meeting of the Association. A Supplement is also issued in December each year containing the List of Members for the current year. The price of the Supplement, when sold separately, is \$1.00.

Volumes I to VII of the *Publications*, constituting the Old Series, are out of print, but Volumes I to IV, inclusive, have been reproduced, and can be supplied at \$3.00 each. All of the New Series, beginning with Volume VIII, may be obtained of the Treasurer at the rate of \$3.00 a volume, or \$1.00 each for single numbers.

From January, 1921, the annual subscription to the "*Publications*" is \$4.00; the price of single numbers is \$1.30.

Communications should be addressed

in editorial matters to  
CARLETON BROWN,  
*Secretary of the Association,*  
*Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.*

in business matters to  
E. PROKOSCH,  
*Treasurer of the Association,*

# APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTY-FIRST MEETING OF THE  
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA  
HELD ON THE INVITATION OF  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
AT NEW YORK CITY,  
DECEMBER 29, 30, 31, 1924.

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ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION,  
WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON,  
"FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A PROFESSOR TURNED  
PRESIDENT."

---

MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST  
HELD AT  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA,  
NOVEMBER 28 AND 29, 1924.





## THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The forty-first meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held under the auspices of Columbia University at New York City, December 29, 30, 31, 1924. The number of members who registered their attendance was 978.

### FIRST SESSION, MONDAY AFTERNOON, DEC. 29.

#### McMILLIN ACADEMIC THEATRE

The Association was called to order by the President, WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, at 2:45 P.M.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor Carleton Brown, presented as his formal report Vol. XXXIX of the *Publications* of the Association. He reported that the Association was represented at the One hundredth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Oct. 3, 1924, by Professor Edward E. Hale of Union College, and at the inauguration of Dr. Robert E. Vinson as President of Western Reserve University, Oct. 11, 1924, by Professor John S. Kenyon of Hiram College. He announced that Professor E. C. Hills of the University of California had been appointed to represent the Association at the Pan American Educational Congress to be held at Santiago, Chile, in Sept. 1925; and that Professor Hills had accepted the appointment.

The Secretary announced the death during the current year of two distinguished members of the Association: Raymond Macdonald Alden (Sept. 27) and William Herbert Carruth (Dec. 15)—both of Stanford University. The growth of the Association during the year just ended had surpassed all previous records. As reported at the Ann Arbor meeting the membership was 2106. At the date of this report there were 2452 members, besides 68 persons whose names had been entered on the roll, membership to begin Jan 1, 1925. The actual gain in membership for the year was, therefore, something more than four hundred.

The Secretary announced that the first Monograph in the new Series—*Les Prophecies de Merlin*, edited from MS. 593

in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rennes, with an Introduction and Studies in the Contents, by Lucy Allen Paton—was now at press and would appear within a few months. This would make a monograph of some 900 pages, and would be issued in two volumes. The submission of such elaborate studies for the Monograph Series, though it justified the establishment of the series and ensured its high scholarly standard, presented a larger financial problem than had been anticipated. At the date of the Ann Arbor meeting the Endowment Fund for the Monograph Series consisted of \$7,000 in 5% bonds. Early in 1924 another \$1000 bond had been purchased for this Fund out of the earnings of the Association. But even this was insufficient to maintain a Series consisting of such elaborate studies as those now in the hands of the Committee of Award. To ensure the publication of these Monographs it was necessary to increase the income from the Endowment Fund to not less than \$500. Accordingly the Secretary had undertaken to secure contributions sufficient to bring up the Endowment basis to a full ten thousand dollars. He was glad to report that contributions amounting to \$1214.50 had already been paid in and that there were also outstanding pledges amounting to \$651.00,\* so that the full amount needed to complete the Endowment Fund might be regarded as practically assured. The Secretary took opportunity to express grateful appreciation for contributions of \$100 each which had been made by three publishing houses—Ginn & Company, D. C. Heath & Company, and the Century Company. Aside from this \$300, the contributions and pledges had come from the members of the Association themselves.

The Secretary announced with much pleasure that the Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation of New York at a recent meeting had voted to authorize the President, Dr. Frederick Keppel, to commit the Corporation to the sum of \$5,000 to the Modern Language Association of America for the purpose of establishing a revolving publications fund. This action on the part of the Carnegie Corporation was all the more gracious in that it had been taken without any solicitation on the part of the Association.

\* On the 2nd of February there had been paid in \$1829.50, with pledges still outstanding amounting to \$202.00—SECRETARY.

The Secretary reminded the members of the Association of the contributions (amounting to \$785.00) which had been made during 1923 for the relief of the family of a deceased member. The need was still urgent and he would be glad to give detailed information in regard to the case to any person who might be interested.

It was voted to accept the Secretary's report.

The following report was submitted on behalf of the Trustees of the Invested Funds by Mr. Le Roy E. Kimball, Managing Trustee:

PERMANENT FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK

| Par Value  | Book Value  |
|--|-------------|
| \$11,000 Pennsylvania R. R. General Mortgage 5% Bonds due 1968.....    | \$11,170.39 |
| 1,000 New York Central R. R. Ref. and Imp. Mtg. 5% Bond, due 2013..... | 982.89      |
| 500 U. S. Fourth Liberty Loan 4¼% Bonds due 1938.....                  | 495.88      |
| <hr/>  | <hr/>       |
| \$12,500   | \$12,649.16 |

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 24, 1924

RECEIPTS:

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Balance carried forward from 1923 report.....  | \$ 32.31    |
| From E. Prokosch, Treasurer, for Life Membership payments from twenty-three members..... | 573.75      |
| From E. Prokosch, Treasurer, for the purchase of securities.....                         | 627.19      |
| From sale of \$150 par U. S. Fourth Liberty Loan 4¼% Bonds.....                          | 150.89      |
| Interest on \$1,000 par New York Central Bond.....                                       | 50.00       |
| Interest on \$11,000 par Pennsylvania Bonds.....   | 550.00      |
| Interest on \$500 par U. S. Fourth Liberty Loan Bonds..                                  | 21.25       |
| <hr/>  | <hr/>       |
|  | \$ 2,005.39 |

DISBURSEMENTS:

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| To E. Prokosch, Treasurer, income on investments....                                   | \$ 595.20 |
| To United States Trust Company of New York:  |           |
| For purchase of \$1,000 par New York Central R. R. Ref. and Imp. Mortgage 5% Bond..... | 982.89    |

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| For services rendered in collection of income, safe-keeping of securities, etc. (2½% of the income collected)..... | \$ 26.05    |
| Cash balance on deposit with the United States Trust Company of New York.....                                      | 401.25      |
|  | <hr/>       |
|  | \$ 2,005.39 |

This cash balance of \$401.25 added to the book value of the investments, makes the total of the Permanent Fund \$13,050.41.

**BRIGHT-VON JAGEMANN SPECIAL TRUST FUND**  
SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK

| Par Value   | Book Value  |
|---|-------------|
| \$9,000 New York Central R.R. Ref. and Imp. Mortgage 5% Bonds, due 2013, interest payable April 1, and October 1..... | \$ 8,879.88 |

**RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 24, 1924**

**RECEIPTS:**

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| From E. Prokosch, Treasurer,  |             |
| For purchase of securities.....   | \$ 992.47   |
| For contributions received.....   | 1,048.50    |
| From United States Trust Company of New York for interest on \$8,000 par New York Central Bonds (the additional \$1,000 Bond having been purchased after the Oct. 1st interest period)..... | 400.00      |
|   | <hr/>       |
|   | \$ 2,440.97 |

**DISBURSEMENTS:**

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| To E. Prokosch, Treasurer, income on investments..   | \$ 400.00   |
| United States Trust Company of New York for purchase of \$2,000 par New York Central R.R. Ref. and Imp. Mortgage 5% Bonds..... | 2,002.86    |
| Cash balance on deposit with the United States Trust Company of New York.....  | 38.11       |
|  | <hr/>       |
|  | \$ 2,440.97 |

Respectfully submitted,  
LEROY E. KIMBALL,  
EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG,  
GEORGE H. NETTLETON.

It was voted to accept the report of the Trustees.  
The Treasurer of the Association, Professor E. Prokosch presented the following report:

## A. RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

## RECEIPTS

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| Balance on hand January 1, 1924.....           | \$ 1,851.92        |
| From members, for 1921.....                    | \$ 4.00            |
| "      "      " 1922.....                      | 68.00              |
| "      "      " 1923.....                      | 266.84             |
| "      "      " 1924.....                      | 7,850.80           |
| "      "      " 1925.....                      | 240.00             |
| "      "      " Life Memberships.....          | 573.75             |
|  | <hr/>              |
|  | \$9,003.39         |
| From Libraries, for XXXVIII.....               | \$ 10.58           |
| "      "      " XXXIX.....                     | 302.62             |
| "      "      " XL.....                        | 211.90             |
| " Foreign Subscribers.....                     | 43.20              |
|  | <hr/>              |
|  | \$ 568.30          |
| From Sale of <i>Publications</i> .....         | \$ 314.36          |
| "      "      " List of Members.....           | 15.70              |
| "      "      " Index Volume.....              | 5.80               |
|  | <hr/>              |
|  | \$ 335.68          |
| From Advertisers.....                          | \$ 691.00          |
| From Income of Permanent Fund.....             | \$ 595.20          |
| "      "      on Current Funds.....            | 69.19              |
|  | <hr/>              |
|  | \$ 664.39          |
| From Miscellaneous Sources:                    |                    |
| Joint Memberships in Am. Folklore Soc. ..      | \$ 198.00          |
| Membership fees for M.H.R.A.....               | 3.00               |
| Subscriptions to <i>Mod. Lang. Rev.</i> .....  | 11.25              |
| On account of extra reprints.....              | 12.42              |
| "      "      " excess corrections.....        | 21.61              |
| Contributions to Relief Fund.....              | 15.00              |
|  | <hr/>              |
|  | \$ 261.28          |
| Contributions to Bright-von Jagemann Fund..... | \$1,209.50         |
|  | <hr/>              |
|  | <u>\$12,733.72</u> |
|  | <u>\$14,585.64</u> |

## EXPENDITURES

To George Banta Pub. Co., for *Publications*:

|                          |            |
|--------------------------|------------|
| XXXVIII,4.....           | \$1,221.84 |
| XXXVIII, Supplement..... | 309.66     |
| XXXIX,1.....             | 1,274.37   |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| XXXIX,2.....                                    | \$1,137.01 |
| XXXIX,3.....                                    | 1,203.19   |
| Paper.....                                      | 1,138.50   |
|   | <hr/>      |
|   | \$6,283.57 |
| To LeRoy E. Kimball, Managing Trustee           |            |
| Life Membership Fees.....                       | \$ 573.75  |
| Added to Permanent Fund.....                    | 627.29     |
| Added to Bright-von Jagemann Fund,              |            |
| from Current Funds.....                         | 992.47     |
| from Contributions.....                         | 1,048.50   |
|   | <hr/>      |
|   | \$3,242.01 |
| Transferred to Monograph Expense Account.....   | \$ 221.20  |
| Administrative Expenses:                        |            |
| Salary, Secretary.....                          | \$ 750.00  |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 750.00     |
| Clerical Assistance, Secretary.....             | 15.65      |
| " " Treasurer.....                              | 17.40      |
| Postage, Secretary.....                         | 62.08      |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 230.48     |
| Express, Secretary.....                         | 5.72       |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 10.10      |
| Telegrams, Secretary.....                       | 17.15      |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 2.48       |
| Printing.....                                   | 70.75      |
| Supplies Secretary.....                         | 10.14      |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 50.84      |
|   | <hr/>      |
|   | \$1,992.79 |
| To Committee on Rotographs for Printing.....    | \$ 34.33   |
| To Amer. Folklore Society, Membership fees..... | 198.00     |
| To Amer. Council of Learned Soc. for Dues.....  | 106.10     |
| To Amer. Council on Education for Dues.....     | 10.00      |
| Miscellaneous Expenditures:                     |            |
| To Members, Refund for Express.....             | \$ 2.03    |
| " " " " Telegrams.....                          | 2.49       |
| " " " of Dues.....                              | 22.00      |
| " " " on Sale.....                              | 2.00       |
| Checks returned.....                            | 8.00       |
| Relief Fund, contributions forwarded.....       | 15.00      |
| Plates for <i>Publications</i> .....            | 34.70      |
| Treasurer's Bond.....                           | 12.50      |
| Notary fees.....                                | 1.00       |
| Safety Deposit Box rental.....                  | 1.00       |

|   |           |             |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| <i>Mod. Lang. Rev.</i> Subscriptions forwarded...       | \$10.15   |             |
| Mod. Hum. Research Ass'n membership fees forwarded..... | 3.00      |             |
| Exchange on foreign checks.....                         | 3.67      |             |
|   |           | <hr/>       |
|   | \$ 117.54 |             |
|   |           | <hr/>       |
| *Balance on hand Dec. 24, 1924.....                     |           | \$12,205.54 |
|   |           | 2,380.10    |
|   |           | <hr/>       |
|   |           | \$14,585.64 |

B. MONOGRAPH EXPENSE ACCOUNT

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| Balance on hand January 1, 1924.....      | \$ 821.11   |
| Transferred from Current Funds.....       | 221.20      |
| Income from Bright-von Jagemann Fund..... | 400.00      |
| Bryn Mawr Trust Company Interest.....     | 32.78       |
|   | <hr/>       |
| On hand, Dec. 24, 1924.....               | \$ 1,475.09 |

C. BALANCE SHEET FOR 1924

|                                  |             |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
|                                  | Increase    |
| Current Funds.....               | \$ 528.18   |
| Monograph Expense Account.....   | 653.98      |
| Permanent Fund.....              | 1,201.04    |
| Bright-von Jagemann Fund.....    | 2,040.97    |
|                                  | <hr/>       |
| Total increase in Resources..... | \$ 4,424.17 |

It was voted to refer the report of the Treasurer to the Auditing Committee.

A report of the work of the American Council of Learned Societies was made by the Delegates representing the Modern Language Association, Professors E. C. Armstrong and John Erskine [See the December *Publications*, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxvi]. It was reported further that at a meeting held December 6, 1924, The Council of Learned Societies in order to comply with the necessary conditions for securing incorporation had adopted the following amended form of its Constitution, which was submitted to the constituent societies for their ratification:

\* After deducting bills for XXXIX,4. XXXIX Supplement, and Programs for the Columbia meeting, amounting to \$1883.47, there remains a balance of \$497.63.

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| XXXIX,2.....                                  | \$1,137.01 |
| XXXIX,3.....                                  | 1,203.19   |
| Paper.....                                    | 1,138.50   |
|   | <hr/>      |
|   | \$6,283.57 |
| To LeRoy E. Kimball, Managing Trustee         |            |
| Life Membership Fees.....                     | \$ 573.75  |
| Added to Permanent Fund.....                  | 627.29     |
| Added to Bright-von Jagemann Fund,            |            |
| from Current Funds.....                       | 992.47     |
| from Contributions.....                       | 1,048.50   |
|   | <hr/>      |
|   | \$3,242.01 |
| Transferred to Monograph Expense Account..... | \$ 221.20  |

## Administrative Expenses:

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Salary, Secretary.....                          | \$ 750.00  |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 750.00     |
| Clerical Assistance, Secretary.....             | 15.65      |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 17.40      |
| Postage, Secretary.....                         | 62.08      |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 230.48     |
| Express, Secretary.....                         | 5.72       |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 10.10      |
| Telegrams, Secretary.....                       | 17.15      |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 2.48       |
| Printing.....                                   | 70.75      |
| Supplies Secretary.....                         | 10.14      |
| " Treasurer.....                                | 50.84      |
|   | <hr/>      |
|   | \$1,992.79 |
| To Committee on Rotographs for Printing.....    | \$ 34.33   |
| To Amer. Folklore Society, Membership fees..... | 198.00     |
| To Amer. Council of Learned Soc. for Dues.....  | 106.10     |
| To Amer. Council on Education for Dues.....     | 10.00      |

## Miscellaneous Expenditures:

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| To Members, Refund for Express.....       | \$ 2.03 |
| " " " " Telegrams.....                    | 2.49    |
| " " " of Dues.....                        | 22.00   |
| " " " on Sale.....                        | 2.00    |
| Checks returned.....                      | 8.00    |
| Relief Fund, contributions forwarded..... | 15.00   |
| Plates for <i>Publications</i> .....      | 34.70   |
| Treasurer's Bond.....                     | 12.50   |
| Notary fees.....                          | 1.00    |
| Safety Deposit Box rental.....            | 1.00    |



|  |           |             |
|--|-----------|-------------|
| <i>Mod. Lang. Rev.</i> Subscriptions forwarded...              | \$10.15   |             |
| <i>Mod. Hum. Research Ass'n</i> membership fees forwarded..... | 3.00      |             |
| Exchange on foreign checks.....                                | 3.67      |             |
|  |           | <hr/>       |
|  | \$ 117.54 |             |
|  |           | <hr/>       |
|  |           | \$12,205.54 |
| *Balance on hand Dec. 24, 1924.....                            |           | 2,380.10    |
|  |           | <hr/>       |
|  |           | \$14,585.64 |

B. MONOGRAPH EXPENSE ACCOUNT

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| Balance on hand January 1, 1924.....      | \$ 821.11   |
| Transferred from Current Funds.....       | 221.20      |
| Income from Bright-von Jagemann Fund..... | 400.00      |
| Bryn Mawr Trust Company Interest.....     | 32.78       |
|   | <hr/>       |
| On hand, Dec. 24, 1924.....               | \$ 1,475.09 |

C. BALANCE SHEET FOR 1924

|                                  |             |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
|                                  | Increase    |
| Current Funds.....               | \$ 528.18   |
| Monograph Expense Account.....   | 653.98      |
| Permanent Fund.....              | 1,201.04    |
| Bright-von Jagemann Fund.....    | 2,040.97    |
|                                  | <hr/>       |
| Total increase in Resources..... | \$ 4,424.17 |

It was voted to refer the report of the Treasurer to the Auditing Committee.

A report of the work of the American Council of Learned Societies was made by the Delegates representing the Modern Language Association, Professors E. C. Armstrong and John Erskine [See the December *Publications*, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxvii]. It was reported further that at a meeting held December 6, 1924, The Council of Learned Societies in order to comply with the necessary conditions for securing incorporation had adopted the following amended form of its Constitution, which was submitted to the constituent societies for their ratification:

\* After deducting bills for XXXIX.4. XXXIX Supplement, and Programs for the Columbia meeting, amounting to \$1883.47, there remains a balance of \$497.63.

## CONSTITUTION

1. The name of the corporation shall be *American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies*, hereinafter termed "the Council."

2. The objects of the corporation shall be to advance the general interests of the humanistic studies and especially to maintain and strengthen relations among the national societies devoted to such studies.

3. The members of the Corporation shall be:

(a) the persons now appointed as delegates from each of the following Societies, viz:

The American Philosophical Society.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The American Antiquarian Society.

The American Oriental Society.

The American Philological Association.

The Archaeological Institute of America.

The Modern Language Association of America.

The American Historical Association.

The American Economic Association.

The American Philosophical Association.

The American Political Science Association.

The American Sociological Society.

And at all times two delegates from each of said Societies, such delegates to be chosen in such manner as each Society respectively may determine.

(b) two delegates from any such other Society as may be admitted to be members of the Council by vote of three-fourths of all then existing members of the Council.

4. The membership of each of the delegates now appointed from each of the above Societies shall expire at the end of the term for which he has now been appointed: at the expiration of his term, a delegate shall be chosen whose term of membership shall be four years, except that any delegate chosen to fill a vacancy occurring prior to expiration of the four year term shall remain a member only until such expiration.

In case of admission to membership of delegates from any society other than the above enumerated, one of the delegates shall be admitted to membership for a term of two years and the other for a term of four years, and thereafter one delegate shall be chosen every two years, for a term of four years.

5. The officers of the Council shall consist of a chairman, a vice-chairman, and a secretary-treasurer, who shall be chosen for such terms and in such manner as the Council may determine, but no two officers shall be from the same society.

6. The Council shall determine its own rules of procedure and shall enact such by-laws, not inconsistent with this Constitution, as it may deem desirable.

7. The Council shall hold at least one meeting each year, which meeting shall be not less than two months prior to the stated annual meeting of the Union Academique.

8. The Council shall choose such number of delegates to represent the United States in the Union Academique as may be prescribed by the statutes

of the Union, and shall prepare their instructions and in general shall be the medium of communication between the Union and the societies which are represented in the Council.

9. In order to meet its own necessary administrative expenses and to pay the annual contribution of the United States to the administrative budget of the Union Academique the Council shall, until otherwise provided, assess upon each society represented in it an annual contribution of not less than twenty-five dollars, nor more, except as the minimum contribution, than a sum equal to five cents for each member of the society.

10. The Council may receive gifts and acquire property for the purposes of its incorporation and as set forth in this Constitution, to the extent authorized by the laws of the District of Columbia.

11. The Council shall make a report to the societies each year setting forth in detail all the acts of the Council and all receipts and expenditures of money.

12. Identical instructions from a majority of the Societies which are represented in the Council shall be binding upon it, so far as they may be in accordance with the purposes of its incorporation, the law and this Constitution.

13. The Council upon a vote of two thirds of the Societies represented therein may be dissolved in the manner prescribed by law.

14. Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by a vote of two-thirds of the Council, at a meeting called for the purpose, and shall take effect when ratified by a majority of the societies represented in the Council.

It was *voted*: That the Modern Language Association hereby ratifies the amendments to the Constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies adopted at the meeting of the Council held December 6, 1924.

Professor E. C. Armstrong then offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Modern Language Association expresses its gratification over the inauguration of the plan for an authoritative Dictionary of American Biography, and that it records its appreciation of the public-spirited action of the *New York Times* Company and of its president, Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, in providing the subvention of \$500,000 which assures the adequate financing of the project.

The resolution was adopted by a rising vote.

The Secretary read a letter from President Aydelotte, Chairman of the Committee on Rotographs of MSS. and Rare Books, explaining that through the advice of his physician he had been prevented from attending the meeting of the Association, but that he would present the report of the Committee in season to be printed in the Proceedings.\* He also found himself obliged by the pressure of other duties to resign from the Committee.

\* For the Report of the Committee see below, p. liv.

On motion of Professor J. S. P. Tatlock it was ~~voted~~: To accept the resignation of President Aydelotte, and at the same time to express the grateful appreciation of the Association for the energy and enthusiasm which he had devoted to organizing the machinery for securing rotographic reproductions and securing the coöperation of colleges and universities in assuring the success of this most important service to American scholars.

The Secretary of the Association nominated Professor Karl Young of Yale University to succeed President Aydelotte as Chairman of the Committee on Rotographs, and he was there-upon elected.

The report of the Committee on Metrical Notation was presented by the Chairman, Professor Morris W. Croll of Princeton University. [See the December *Publications*, pp. lxxxvii—xciv.]

Dr. Frederick P. Keppel made a statement explaining the purpose and scope of the "Modern Foreign Language Study" for which the Carnegie Corporation had provided the financial support. The Study is being conducted, by a group of Special Investigators, under the auspices of the American Council on Education. In the absence of Dr. C. R. Mann, Director of the American Council on Education, a further statement concerning the "Modern Foreign Language Study" was made by the Assistant Director, Mr. David A. Robertson.

The President of the Association announced the appointment of the following committees:

*On Nomination of Officers*; Professors Hardin Craig, Camillo von Klenze, Milton A. Buchanan, Willard Farnham, and Alan D. McKillop.

*On Resolutions*; Professors Chauncey B. Tinker, Laura A. Hibbard, and Ernest Bernbaum.

*To Audit the Treasurer's Report*; Professors Harry M. Ayres, Kenneth McKenzie, and Taylor Starck.

Under the head of new business, Professor Charles H. Grandgent called attention to the fact that His Excellency J. J. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, and an Honorary Member of the Association, was on the point of returning to France, and moved that the following message be sent to him in the name of the Association:

To our honored associate, Jules Jusserand, who, to our country's deep regret, is leaving his post after long and brilliant service as French Ambassador, we bid Godspeed, but not Farewell; for we are proud to think that wherever he may be, he will still remain one of ours.

The Secretary transmitted this message to M. Jusserand and received from him the following reply:

Modern Language Association,  
Columbia University, New York.

Thanks from my heart. I shall ever be proud to remain one of yours, and wish the Association continued success and prosperity.

JUSSERAND.

The Secretary announced that The American Academy of Arts and Letters invited members of the Association to visit the Exhibition of American Manuscripts which was being held in the building of the Academy, and which would be kept open during the holidays especially for the convenience of members of the Association.

The reading and discussion of papers was then begun.

1. "Balder, King of the Golden Age." By Professor Hermann Collitz of *The Johns Hopkins University*.

2. "A Survey of Early American Pronunciation." By Professor Henry Alexander of *Queen's University*.

3. "French Realism as Affected by Cabanis' Ideas of the Nature of Man." By Professor F. M. Warren of *Yale University*.

4. "Young, Richardson, and the *Conjectures*." By Professor Alan D. McKillop of *The Rice Institute*.

On account of the lateness of the hour the reading of the paper by Professor G. R. Elliott was postponed until the Wednesday afternoon session.

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On Monday evening, December 29, at 6 o'clock the ladies of the Association were entertained at dinner by Columbia University in the Entertainment Room of the Faculty House. One hundred and twenty-one ladies were present.

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#### THE COUNCIL DINNER

Ten members of the Executive Council and the three Trustees of the Invested Funds of the Association met at dinner at 6 o'clock in the Faculty House and considered matters relating to the affairs of the Association.

The question of administering the Revolving Fund for publication about to be turned over to the Association by the Carnegie Corporation was taken up and discussed at length. The general opinion expressed was that this Fund should be administered by a small Committee which should be free to seek advice from the most competent judges in regard to the importance and scholarly soundness of MSS. submitted for publication under the provisions of the Fund. It was also pointed out that the Committee of Administration should be so constituted that not all its members should retire in any one year.

It was unanimously *voted*: that the Committee of Administration of the Revolving Fund consist of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer of the Association *ex officio*, and one other person to be elected by the Executive Council for the term of three years.

The Council thereupon elected as member of this committee for the next three years Professor A. H. Thorndike of *Columbia University*.

The Secretary thereupon proposed for the consideration of the Council the following amendments to the Constitution of the Association.

(1) To amend the statement in Article IV, section 1, relating to the Editorial Committee so that it will read: "an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shall be Chairman *ex officio*) and four other members."

The effect of this amendment would be to lighten the heavy burden which at present is borne by an Editorial Committee of three, and also to increase the membership of the Council to seventeen, as it had been previous to the Ann Arbor meeting.

(2) To amend Article III, section 1, by changing the words "Secretary-Treasurer" to read "Secretary or Treasurer."

This amendment was merely to correct a phrase which, through an oversight, had been left unchanged when the office of the Secretary was separated from that of the Treasurer.

Both amendments were unanimously approved by the ten members of the Council who were present.

## EVENING SESSION

On Monday evening, December 29, the Association assembled in the McMillin Academic Theatre at 8 o'clock.

The President of *Columbia University*, Dr. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, after reviewing the remarkable development in the departments of Modern Languages as illustrated in the history of Columbia University, gave a cordial welcome to the members of the Association.

The President of the Association, WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, then delivered the annual Presidential Address: "From the Point of View of the Professor turned President."\*

Following this address, President and Mrs. Butler received the members and guests of the Association at the President's House.

## SECOND SESSION, TUESDAY MORNING AT 9:30

For the second session the Association met in three sections devoted respectively to English, Romance, and Germanic Philology.

## ENGLISH SECTION

309 HAVEMEYER HALL

*Chairman:* Professor Hardin Craig of the *University of Iowa*. The following papers were read:

5. "On Chasing Parallels." By Professor Baldwin Maxwell of the *University of Chicago*. (Discussed by Professor F. E. Pierce of *Yale University*.)

6. "Chaucer and the Church." By Professor Ernest P. Kuhl of *Goucher College*.

7. "The Site of Heorot." By Dr. Stephen J. Herben, Jr., of *Princeton University*. A written discussion of the conclusions of this paper, by Professor Fr. Klaeber, was read by Professor Kemp Malone, who also added comments of his own.

8. "An Unpublished Letter by Browning." By Professor Herbert E. Greene of *Johns Hopkins University*.

9. "Wefts and Spectres: A Fragment of a Chapter in the History of *The Ancient Mariner*." By Professor John L. Lowes of *Harvard University*.

\* For the text of the Presidential Address see below, p. xlii.

10. "An Undescribed Likeness of Samuel Johnson." By Professor Chauncey B. Tinker of *Yale University*.

On motion of Professor Lowes it was *voted*: That the Chairman, Professor Craig, be authorized to appoint a committee to consider a proposed plan, to be submitted by the Chaucer Group, looking toward the reorganization of a Chaucer Society, Professor Craig himself to be a member of this Committee.

ALBERT C. BAUGH, University of Pennsylvania, *Secretary*.

### ROMANCE SECTION

411 KENT HALL

*Chairman*: Professor Kenneth McKenzie of the *University of Illinois*.

The following papers were read:

11. "Foreign Influence on Spain from 1750 to 1800." By Professor Arthur Hamilton of the *University of Illinois*.

12. "Nature Appreciation in French Literature of the 17th Century." By Professor W. O. Farnsworth of *Northwestern University*. (Discussed by Professor Isabelle Bronk of *Swarthmore College*.)

13. "The Nature Doctrine of Voltaire." By Professor George R. Havens of *Ohio State University*. (Discussed by Professors W. A. Nitze and H. A. Todd.)

Professor A. Coleman of the *University of Chicago*, read a report on the activities of the committee now surveying modern language instruction.

14. "Unpublished Letters by Pierre Bayle." By Professor J. L. Gerig of *Columbia University*.

15. "Some Old French Glosses." By Professor D. S. Blondheim of *Johns Hopkins University*.

16. "Are the Modern French Poets Decadent?" By Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck of *New York University*.

17. "Blasco Ibañez and His Novels." By Professor R. Selden Rose of *Yale University*.

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK, New York University,  
*Secretary*.

### GERMANIC SECTION

305 SCHERMERHORN HALL

*Chairman*: Professor Paul R. Pope, of *Cornell University*



The following papers were read:

18. "The German Language in the History of the Prussian Academy of Sciences." By Professor Edwin H. Zeydel, of *Indiana University*.

19. "The OHG *Tatian* and its Translators." By Professor Taylor Starck, of *Harvard University*.

20. "Friedrich Schlegel's Apostasy and his *Europa*." By Professor T. Moody Campbell, of *Wesleyan University*.

21. "A Lost Portrait of Heine, Found." By Professor Carl F. Schreiber, of *Yale University*.

22. "A New Interpretation of Italy: Karl Scheffler's *Italien; Tagebuch einer Reise*, Leipzig 1922." By Professor Camillo von Klenze, of the *College of the City of New York*.

The report of the committee on the collecting of funds to assist in publishing the remaining portions of Grimm's *Wörterbuch* was presented by Professor Taylor Starck. For the present it seemed advisable to await developments rather than to solicit funds. The report of the committee on Bibliography was presented by Professor F. W. J. Heuser. The bibliography of German periodicals owned in Germany and Austria is to be expected in the fall of 1925, and subscriptions to it are solicited. In place of Professor Stroebe, who found herself obliged to retire from the committee, the committee recommended Professor Harvey W. Hewett-Thayer. Both committees were continued.

Professor C. M. Purin reported on the progress of the investigation into the study of modern foreign languages.

The following officers were elected for 1925: *Chairman*, Professor Alexander R. Hohlfeld; *Secretary*, Professor Taylor Starck.

ARCHER TAYLOR, Washington University, *Secretary*.

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Luncheon was provided for the members of the Association by Columbia University at Faculty House.

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### THIRD SESSION, TUESDAY AFTERNOON

The third session of the Association was devoted to Group Meetings, which were held in two Divisions, those of the First Division from 2:30 until 4:00 o'clock, and those of the Second from 4:30 until 6 o'clock.

## FIRST DIVISION, 2:30 P.M.

(*General Topics III*) Problems in General Æsthetics. *Chairman*, Professor Charles E. Whitmore, *University of Michigan*. The following papers were read:

"Favorite Words," by Professor F. N. Scott, *University of Michigan*.

"Croce and American Literary Criticism," by Dr. T. T. Stenberg, *University of Texas*.

"Clearing the Ground for Æsthetics," by the Chairman.

The attendance, fluctuating because of the competition of other groups, reached a total of 48. This fluctuation shortened discussion and precluded the forming of plans for future work. The Chairman will therefore be glad to correspond with members of the Group who are interested in collecting and disseminating references in this field.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE, *Chairman*.

(*General Topics IV*) Practical Phonetics. *Chairman*, Professor James L. Barker. In the absence of the Chairman Professor Samuel Moore of the *University of Michigan* was elected temporary Chairman.

The following papers were read:

"Intonation, with some details of Klinghardt's most recent work," by William Tilly, *Columbia University*.

"The Vowel Triangle—a Fallacy," by Professor G. Oscar Russell, *University of Utah*.

"Report of work done in the Phonetics Laboratory of the University of Michigan," by Professor Clarence L. Meader.

It was voted to instruct the officers of the Group to limit next year's program to two papers. The officers were authorized to appoint a member to represent the Group on the general committee of the Association to consider the adoption of a modified phonetic alphabet.

The following officers were elected for 1925: *Chairman*, Elliott A. White, Dartmouth College; *Secretary*, A. R. Morris, University of Michigan.

A. R. MORRIS, *Secretary*.

(*Comparative Literature III*) Arthurian Romances. *Chairman*, Professor William A. Nitze, *University of Chicago*. In the absence of Professor Tom Peete Cross, Mr. Roger S. Loomis was elected *Secretary pro tem*. The following papers were read: "The Iconography of the Round Table," by Professor Laura A. Hibbard of *Wellesley College*, who illustrated her paper by numerous lantern-slides. The paper was discussed by Professor A. C. L. Brown and Messrs. J. J. Parry and Roger S. Loomis. "The Four Talismans of the Tuatha De Danann," by Professor A. C. L. Brown. (Discussed by Professor W. P. Shepard.)

ROGER S. LOOMIS, *Secretary pro tem*.

(*English VII and VIII*: joint meeting extending through two Group periods) English Literature 1660-1800. *Chairmen*, Professors F. B. Kaye and R. S. Crane; *Secretaries* Professors A. E. Case and J. W. Draper.

Professor Crane reported that the publication of the volume of XVIIIth century studies projected last year had been made feasible. He was appointed Chairman of a committee to deal with the matter, with the understanding that he would select two colleagues to collaborate with him.

Professor Crane also announced that the finding-list of British periodicals before 1800 accessible in American libraries, on which he and Professor Kaye have been working, was now approaching completion. In connection with this announcement, he invited the coöperation of the Groups in the task of preparing an index of critical essays in the more obscure periodicals of the early XVIIIth century.

The following papers were then presented:

1. "Opposition to Neo-Classicism in England, 1660-1700," by Professor Paul Spencer Wood, *Grinnell College*.
2. "The Sense of Art in XVIIIth Century Poetry," by Professor Louis I. Bredvold, *University of Michigan*.
3. "Remarks on the Bibliography of Pope," by Professor R. H. Griffith, *University of Texas*.

After a lively discussion—and a brief intermission—the meeting turned to the consideration of certain theses concerning the nature of Romanticism in the XVIIIth century which had been prepared by the Chairmen. The discussion which resulted will be summarized in the next bulletins of the Groups.

It was voted that the present officers be continued for another year. About seventy persons were present.

F. B. KAYE and R. S. CRANE, *Chairmen*.

(*English X*) Victorian Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Finley M. K. Foster, *University of Delaware*. After introductory remarks by the Chairman emphasizing the need of a Group for studying the literature of the Victorian period, and defining its limits as 1840-1892, the following papers were read:

"The Study of Victorian Literature," by Professor John Erskine.

"Thackeray's *Round-about Papers*: their MSS. and Proofs," by Professor John Edwin Wells.

"Another Source for *The Cloister and Hearth*," by Professor A. M. Turner, *University of Maine*.

"The Sources of Bulwer-Lytton's *Richelieu*," by Dr. Charles B. Qualia, *University of Texas*.

Professor L. N. Broughton reported on the present state of the *Browning Concordance*, begun in 1914, and announced that it will probably be completed and ready for distribution by March 1, 1925.

The Chairman has appointed Professor Gilbert W. Mead, *Westminster College*, Secretary of the Group.

FINLEY M. K. FOSTER, *Chairman*.

(*English XI*) Contemporary Literature. *Chairman*, Mr. Christopher Morley; *Secretary*, Mrs. Carleton Brown.

The Chairman urged the advisability of including fewer papers in the program, and allowing more opportunity for discussion.

Professor Paul Kaufman proposed that the Group undertake a survey of the courses in Contemporary Literature which are given at present in American colleges and universities. He stated that the Federal Bureau of Education was interested in such a survey and would lend coöperation. It was voted to undertake this investigation, and the Chairman appointed a committee consisting of Professor Kaufman, Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn, and one other member to be named by these two, to take the work in hand in coöperation with the Federal Bureau of Education. [The third member of this committee is Professor J. F. L. Raschen of the University of Pittsburgh.]

The following papers were read.

1. "The Scene of Masefield's *The Everlasting Mercy*," by Professor Stanley P. Chase, *Union College* (read by Professor G. R. Elliott, *Bowdoin College*).

2. "Bernard Shaw's *Joan of Arc* and that of Anatole France," by Professor David Cabeen, *Williams College*.

3. "The Genealogical Novel," by Professor A. E. Zucker, *University of Maryland*.

4. "The Character of Irene Heron in *The Forsyte Saga*," by Professor Austin K. Gray, *Haverford College*.

The present officers were re-elected for the coming year.

BEATRICE D. BROWN, *Secretary*.

(*French III*) French Literature of the XVII and XVIII Centuries. *Chairman*, Professor André Morize, *Harvard University*. No report of the meeting of this Group has been received.

(*German III*) Goethe. *Chairman*, Professor E. H. Mensel, *Smith College*.

The following papers were read:

"The Riddle of Mephistopheles in *Faust* II, 1," by Professor E. Prokosch, *Bryn Mawr College*.

"George Borrow and Goethe's *Faust*," by Mr. William A. Speck, *Yale University*.

"The First American Life of Goethe," by Mr. B. F. Ladd, *Yale University*.

The Secretary read the annual report of the Goethe Centenary committee. It was voted to amend the report by enlarging the committee from four members to eight. The report was then adopted.

Professor Julius Goebel was elected Chairman of the Group for 1925, and the present Secretary was re-elected. The meeting this year was unusually well attended—and adjourned on time!

CARL F. SCHREIBER, *Secretary*.

## SECOND DIVISION, 4:30 P.M.

(*General Topics I*) Poetic Form. *Chairman*, Professor Morris W. Croll, *Princeton University*.

The report of the Committee on Metrical Notation appointed by the Association was presented and discussed. Professor

Clarence E. Andrews of Ohio State University was elected Chairman of the Group for 1925 and was empowered to appoint the Secretary.

MORRIS W. CROLL, *Chairman*.

(*Comparative Literature V and English VI*; joint meeting)

The Renaissance, Spenser and Milton. *Chairmen*, Professors Hardin Craig and James Holly Hanford. At the First Session\* Professor Craig presided and the following papers were presented:

"Milton on Liberty," by Professor Philo M. Buck, *University of Nebraska*.

"Spenser's Lost Book of Constancy," by Professor Austin K. Gray, *Haverford College*.

"Renaissance Theories of Criticism," by Miss E. F. Pope, *University of Wisconsin*.

The program included also brief reports on the progress of Renaissance scholarship in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish by Allan H. Gilbert, C. L. Finney, Ralph C. Williams, Robert H. Fife, Walter L. Bullock and R. H. Keniston. Owing to the lack of time it was found impossible to present these reports in full, to the great regret of everyone present. About one hundred persons were in attendance.

HELEN E. SANDISON

ROBERT V. MERRILL

*Secretaries.*

(*English I*) Middle English Language. *Chairmen*, Professors Howard R. Patch and Thomas A. Knott; *Secretary*, Professor Robert J. Menner. In the absence of Professor Patch, Professor Knott presided, and Professor Samuel Moore was appointed Secretary *pro tem*.

The following papers were read:

"The Middle-English Diphthong *ai*," by Dr. Kemp Malone by *Johns Hopkins University*. (Discussed by Professors Moore, Emerson, Bryan, and Knott.)

\* For the report of the Second Session, which was held Wednesday at 11 o'clock see below, p. xxxii.

"Some Phases of Analogy, or Associational Changes in English," by *Professor O. F. Emerson of Western Reserve University*.

There was a brief discussion of the proposed Middle English Dictionary sponsored by this Group.

The officers of the Group were re-elected for the coming year.

THOMAS A. KNOTT, *Chairman*.

(*English VII and VIII*; joint meeting continued). For report of this meeting see above, p. xix.

(*French II*) French Mediæval Literature. *Chairman*, Professor William P. Shepard, *Hamilton College*.

The following papers were read and discussed:

"The Provençal *Passion* of the Didot MS.," by the *Chairman*.

"Chrétien de Troyes' Attitude toward Woman," by Professor Charles Grimm, *Williams College*.

The following resolutions were adopted:

1. That a committee consisting of Professors E. C. Armstrong, D. S. Blondheim, G. L. Hamilton, W. P. Shepard, and T. A. Jenkins be appointed to prepare a program for next year's meeting, including a systematic bibliography of the work done during the year in the field covered by the Group.

2. That the Group unite with the Group in Romance Linguistics.

The following officers were elected for 1925; *Chairman*, Professor E. C. Armstrong, *Princeton University*; *Secretary*, Professor Louis Allen, *University of Toronto*. Sixty-five members were present.

OTTO MÜLLER, *Secretary*.

(*German IV*) German Literature from a Social Point of View.

*Chairman*, Professor A. B. Faust; *Secretary*, Professor Martin Schütze. The following papers were read:

"The Development of Goethe's Conception of Personality until the Completion of the First Part of *Faust*," by Professor Martin Schütze, *University of Chicago*. "The Social Vision of Jakob Wassermann," by Professor A. W. Aron, *Oberlin College*. "Paul Heyse als sozialer Schriftsteller," by Dr. Ernst Rose, *The Brearley School*.

The Group elected as officers for the ensuing year: *Chairman*, Professor Ernst Feise, *Ohio State University*; *Secretary*, Professor Martin Schütze, *University of Chicago*.

The following resolution was adopted: "Resolved, that provision be made for one or more papers to be presented at the next session of this group, on *Modern Currents of Thought and their Influence upon German Literature.*"

A. B. FAUST, *Chairman.*

(*Slavonic I*) Slavonic Languages and Literatures. *Chairman*, Professor Clarence A. Manning, *Columbia University.*

The meeting was attended by some dozen persons interested in Slavonic studies. It was decided to continue the group and to arrange for papers and discussion at the next annual meeting. Professor Manning was continued as Chairman of the Group.

It was voted to request the Editorial Committee to provide for the inclusion of a Slavonic Section in the annual American Bibliography in the *Publications.*

The Chairman was directed to coöperate with any groups in similar societies which are endeavoring to strengthen Slavonic interest in the different colleges and universities.

CLARENCE A. MANNING, *Chairman.*

(*Spanish I*) Spanish Language. *Chairman*, Professor Charles P. Wagner. In the absence of the Chairman, Professor Charles Carroll Marden of *Princeton University* was elected Chairman of the meeting. The following papers were presented:

"The Vocabulary of the *Libro de buen amor*," by Dr. Henry Brush Richardson, *Yale University.*

"Observaciones personales sobre el lenguaje de Cuba," by Professor Oscar L. Keith, *University of South Carolina.*

"Remarks on Vocabulary-Making and Opportunities for Work in This Field," by Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald, *University of Illinois.*

"Practical Applications of Spanish Phonetics," by Professor Julián Moreno-Lacalle, *Middlebury College.*

A vote of thanks was tendered to the Chairman and Secretary for their services in arranging and conducting the meeting; and it was unanimously voted to continue the Group for the the coming year. Professor Ralph H. Keniston, *Cornell University*, was elected Chairman for 1925 and the present Secretary was re-elected. Seventy-five members attended the meeting.

HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE, *Secretary.*



## AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY

The Annual Meeting of the American Dialect Society was held Tuesday afternoon, Dec. 30, at 4:30 P.M. in Room 307 Philosophy Hall.

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At 7 o'clock Tuesday evening a subscription dinner was served to 467 members of the Association in the banquet hall of the Hotel Pennsylvania. Following the dinner there was a Smoker with a program arranged by the Local Committee. Professor Aurelio Espinosa of *Stanford University* entertained the audience by relating a Spanish folk-tale. The Smoke-talk was given by Professor Ashley H. Thorndike of *Columbia University*.

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## FOURTH SESSION, WEDNESDAY MORNING

The fourth session of the Association was devoted to Group Meetings, which were held in two Divisions, those of the First Division from 9 o'clock until 10:30 and those of the Second from 11 o'clock until 12:30.

## FIRST DIVISION

(*General Topics II*) Critical Study of Romanticism. *Chairmen*, Professors Charles E. Whitmore and Bartholow V. Crawford.

The following papers were presented:

"Barrès as a Romanticist," by Professor Frederic D. Cheyd-leur, *University of Wisconsin*.

"Shelley and the *Empire of the Nairs*," by Professor Walter Graham, *Western Reserve University*.

"What is the Romantic Temper?" by Professor J. Duncan Spaeth, *Princeton University*.

Professors Crawford and Kaufman were re-elected Chairman and Secretary respectively for the coming year. Sixty persons were present.

PAUL KAUFMAN, *Secretary*.

(*Comparative Literature I and English III*; joint meeting) Mediæval Latin and Chaucer. *Chairmen*, Professors G. H. Gerould and Robert K. Root; *Secretaries*, Professors George R. Coffman and Howard R. Patch.

Professor Coffman reported on behalf of the Committee on Mediæval Latin Studies (1) that Professor Beeson's Anthology would be ready for use in the second semester or third quarter of this year, (2) that a beginning has actually been made with the work allotted to the United States in compiling the Mediæval Latin Dictionary under the general direction of the U.A.I., (3) that a Committee, of which Professor Harry M. Ayres is Chairman, has been appointed by Professor Haskins, Chairman of the A.C.L.S., to secure funds for the establishment of the *Mediæval Journal*.

Professor Lowes reported for the Committee on the Development of Chaucer Studies that there were prospects of large possibilities for the work. He reported also the resolution adopted at the meeting of the English section looking toward the reorganization of a Chaucer Society, but suggested that the present special committee of the Chaucer Group be continued, in order to continue its work in case the larger plans should not materialize.

Professor J. S. P. Tatlock then presented as a basis for discussion a paper on "Chaucer's Relation to Vernacular and to Classical and Mediæval Literature."

In the ensuing discussion the following persons took part: Professors Root, Cooper, Lowes, Baldwin, Karl Young, F. M. Warren, A. C. L. Brown, Baugh, and Dr. Magoun.

The following officers were elected for the coming year:

(1) CHAUCER GROUP: *Chairman*, Professor Karl Young; *Secretary*, Professor Howard R. Patch.

(2) MEDIAEVAL LATIN GROUP: *Chairman*, Professor J. S. P. Tatlock; *Secretary*, Dr. F. P. Magoun, Jr.

(*Comparative Literature II*) Popular Literature: a joint meeting with the American Folk-Lore Society. *Chairman*, Professor Louise Pound. The following papers were read:

"Ideas of the Soul in the English and Scottish Ballads," by Dr. L. C. Wimberly, *University of Nebraska*.

"Animal Songs of Jamaica," by Professor Martha W. Beckwith, *Vassar College*.

"Some Southern Folk-Tunes," by Professor John H. Cox, *West Virginia University*.

"Negro Folk-Songs about Animals," by Professor Dorothy Scarborough, *Columbia University*.

"Some Problems in the Classification of Folk-Tales," by Professor Stith Thompson, *Indiana University*.

The following officers were elected for 1925: *Chairman*, Professor John H. Cox; *Secretary*, Professor Stith Thompson. The attendance was extraordinarily large.

HYDER E. ROLLINS, *Secretary*.

(*Comparative Literature IV*) Anglo-French Literary Relations. *Chairmen*, Professors George W. Sherburn and George R. Havens. The following papers were read and called forth interesting discussion:

"The French Background of the *Essay on Man*," by Professor F. B. Kaye, *Northwestern University*.

"Problems in Franco-American Relations of the Revolutionary Period," by Professor Gilbert Chinard, *Johns Hopkins University*.

It was suggested that a future meeting of the Group be devoted to a study of problems connected with the *Lettres Persanes* of Montesquieu.

Professors Havens and Sherburn continue as joint chairmen for the coming year, with Professor Havens in charge. About thirty-five members were present.

GEORGE W. SHERBURN

GEORGE R. HAVENS

*Chairmen.*

(*English II*) Present-Day English. *Chairman*, Professor W. F. Bryan, *Northwestern University*.

Professor T. A. Knott, on behalf of the Committee on Coöperation with the Society for Pure English, made a report of progress. The Committee (of which Professor R. J. Menner is Chairman) was continued.

Professor Harry M. Ayres demonstrated the value of phonographic records in making a linguistic survey by presenting records of several types of American speech which had been made under his direction by the Western Electric Co. It was voted to appoint a special committee, of which Professor Ayres

should be chairman, to carry on this work with phonographic records.

Professor Hans Kurath outlined in detail a tentative plan for making a survey of American English. The following persons were appointed as a Committee to perfect methods for such a survey and, if possible, secure the means for undertaking it: Professors Hans Kurath (Chairman), J. S. Kenyon, J. F. Royster, C. C. Fries, and George Philip Krapp.

It was voted to authorize the officers of the Group to co-operate with other interested groups in requesting the appointment by the Association of a committee to formulate a standardization of phonetic transcription.

Professor Samuel Moore was elected chairman of the Group for 1925 and the present Secretary was continued. Twenty-nine members were present.

C. C. FRIES, *Secretary*.

(*English V*) Shakespeare. *Chairman*, Professor Tucker Brooke, *Yale University*.

The following papers were presented and briefly discussed:

"J. P. Collier's Shorthand Notes on Coleridge's Seventh and Ninth Shakespeare Lectures," by Paul Kaufman, *American University*. (Members had the opportunity of examining the notes, which have been lent to Professor Kaufman by the Collier family.)

"Shakespeare's Ideation," by Hardin Craig, *University of Iowa*.

"Shakespeare's Early Company Connections," by T. W. Baldwin, *Goucher College*.

"Shakespearean Punctuation," by C. C. Fries, *University of Michigan*. Professor J. Q. Adams was elected chairman for the coming year.

HELEN SANDISON, *Secretary*.

(*French IV*) Molière. *Chairman*, Professor Colbert Searles; *Secretary*, Professor Gustave L. van Roosbroeck. In the absence of the Chairman, the Secretary presided.

Professor W. A. Nitze read a paper, "Molière and the *libertin* philosophy of the XVII Century," which was discussed by Professors A. Schinz, A. Schaffer, C. D. Zdanowicz, A. G. H. Spiers and G. L. van Roosbroeck.

Professor E. B. Babcock read a study on "Molière's Pronunciation."

The present officers were re-elected for 1925. About fifty members were present.

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK, *Secretary*.

(*German II*) Language and Literature of the XVI Century. *Chairman*, Professor Ernst Voss; *Secretary*, Professor Charles A. Williams. In the absence of these officers Professors C. H. Handschin and W. Kurrelmeyer were elected respectively, *Chairman* and *Secretary pro tem*. The report on the Scientific contributions made by German scholars at the meeting of the group last year was presented and adopted.

The following papers were read:

"The Faust Books and the Synoptic Gospels," by Professor James T. Hatfield.

"Valentin Ickelsamer, the Grammarian and the Theologian," by Professor Otto Clemen (this paper was read by the *Chairman*).

The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, Professor W. Kurrelmeyer; *Secretary*, Professor J. T. Hatfield.

The *Chairman* was directed to appoint a Committee of three to ascertain what original 16th-century prints in the German language are accessible in this country. The Committee consists of Professors Ernst Voss (*Chairman*), W. Kurrelmeyer, and J. T. Hatfield.

W. KURRELMEYER, *Secretary pro tem*.

(*Scandinavian I*) Scandinavian Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Axel Johan Uppvall; *Secretary*, Professor Josef Wiehr. The following papers were presented:

"Love's Comedy vs. *When We Dead Awaken*," by Mr. Theodore T. Stenberg, *University of Texas*.

"An Old Icelandic Medical Manuscript," by Professor Henning Larsen, *University of Iowa*.

"Some Linguistic Aspects of Taboo, with Special Reference to the 'Norn' Element in the Shetland Dialect," by Professor George T. Flom, *University of Illinois*.

"Bayard Taylor's Interest in the Scandinavian North," by Professor Adolph B. Benson, *Yale University*.

"Psychological Problems in the Interpretation of Ibsen's *Ghosts*," by Professor Hermann J. Weigand, *University of Pennsylvania*.

(Read by title) "Strindberg's Historical Theory," by Professor Harry V. E. Palmblad, *Columbia University*.

The following resolutions were adopted:

*Resolved:* (1) That the Scandinavian Group of the Modern Language Association of America heartily concur in the conviction expressed by Professor Hermann Collitz of Johns Hopkins University relative to the desirability and urgent need of having translated and published Viktor Rydberg's *Undersökningar i Germanisk Mythologi*, Part II, which is available only in the Swedish original, and that we as a group pledge our active support to the completion of such an undertaking.

2. That, furthermore, members of the Scandinavian Group pledge responsibility for the translation of Part II of this work, Professor Hermann Collitz having offered to write the introduction.

3. That a copy of these resolutions be submitted to the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association of America with the request that they consider the matter of the necessary financial support of such an undertaking, as suggested by Professor Collitz. (The translation of Part II involves about a thousand pages.)

Professor Henning Larsen was elected Chairman of the Group for the coming year with power to appoint the Secretary. Thirty members were present.

ADOLPH B. BENSON, *Secretary pro tem.*

(*Spanish II*) Spanish Literature since the Renaissance. *Chairman*, Professor M. A. Buchanan, *University of Toronto*.

Professor Keniston reported for the Committee on Spanish Periodicals. The publication of the tentative list of Spanish Periodicals was approved and it was decided to ascertain and, if necessary, to try to modify the attitude of Library authorities on the loaning of single volumes from large sets. No report was given on the contemplated reproduction of Covarrubias.

The following Group-officers for 1925 were elected: *Chairman*, Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford; *Secretary*, Professor W. S. Hendrix.

The following papers were read:

"H. de Luna's *Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes*, corregida y emendada," by Mr. E. R. Sims, *University of Texas*.

"Dictation in the Composition of a XVII Century *Comedia*," by Professor C. E. Anibal, *Ohio State University*.

"The Mexican *novela de costumbres*," by Mr. A. R. Seymour, *University of Illinois*.

"The Introduction of the *costumbrista*-essay into Spain," by Dr. H. C. Berkowitz, *University of Wisconsin*.

"The Authorship of the *auto: Las Cortes de la Muerte* (attributed to Lope de Vega)," by Professor G. I. Dale, *Washington University*.

"An Early American Version of *La Estrella de Sevilla*," by Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford, *University of Pennsylvania*.

On account of lack of time the last three papers had to be summarized. About forty-five persons were present.

J. E. GILLET, *Secretary*.

## SECOND DIVISION, 11 A.M.

(*General Topics IV*; sub-group) Experimental Phonetics. *Chairman*, Professor Elliott A. White. The following papers were read and discussed:

"A Method for the Approximate Determination of Speech Stress," by Professors Helen Griffith, *Mount Holyoke College*, and A. R. Morris, *University of Michigan*. (Discussed by Professors Meader, White, and Russell.)

"Methods of Projecting and Photographing Sounds," by Professor Sarah T. Barrows and Mr. Milton Metfesel, both of the *University of Iowa*. (Discussed by Professors White, Russell, Maxfield, and Mrs. Busse.)

It was voted to ask the General Committee on Groups for a separate designation for the Experimental Phonetics Group; also to have the officers of this group confer with those of the Practical Phonetics group in preparing the programs.

Professor G. Oscar Russell was elected *Chairman* for the coming year and Professor Sarah T. Barrows, *Secretary*.

SARAH T. BARROWS, *Secretary*.

(*Comparative Literature V and English VI*; joint meeting) The Renaissance, Spenser and Milton. *Chairmen*, Professor Hardin Craig and James<sup>c</sup> Holly<sup>1</sup> Hanford. At the Second

Session\* Professor Hanford presided and the following papers were presented:

"The Renaissance of Geography in England," by Dr. George B. Parks, *Washington University*.

"The *Mirror for Magistrates* and Elizabethan Tragedy," by Professor Willard Farnham, *University of California*.

"Sir Thomas Elyot's *Image of Governance*; an expression of English Humanism," by Professor Hewette E. Joyce, *Dartmouth College*.

"Tracts on Liberty of Conscience, 1644," by Professor William Haller, *Barnard College*.

"Spenser's Ovidian Lover," by Professor E. B. Fowler, *University of Louisville*.

"The Development of the 'Vice,'" by Professor Robert Withington, *Smith College*.

Robert V. Merrill, University of Chicago, distributed a general Report on Renaissance Work in Progress in American Universities. [Copies of this report are available for distribution on request to Mr. Merrill, accompanied by stamped self-addressed envelope.]

At the business session of the combined groups it was voted that Mr. Hanford, in conference with the Chairman of Groups, appoint a committee to effect the amalgamation of the Renaissance and the Spenser-Milton groups; the committee also to be empowered to arrange a program and to nominate officers for next year, succeeding the officers serving on this occasion. About seventy-five members were present.

HELEN E. SANDISON

ROBERT V. MERRILL

*Secretaries.*

(*English IX*) Wordsworth and his Contemporaries. *Chairman*, Professor Arthur Beatty, *University of Wisconsin*; *Secretary*, Professor Abbie F. Potts, *Rockford College*.

Professor John L. Lowes spoke informally of his work on certain early poems of Coleridge, after which the following papers were read:

\* For the report of the First Session, which was held Tuesday at 4:30 o'clock see above, p. xxii.



"New Shelleyan Discoveries," by Professor Walter E. Peck, *Wesleyan University*.

"The Development of Shelley's Reputation, 1810-1841," by Professor Newman I. White, *Trinity College* (N. C.)

"The Influence of *The Borderers* in the Development of Wordsworth's Æsthetic up to 1798," by Professor O. J. Campbell, and Mr. Paul Mueschke, *University of Michigan*.

The present officers, according to the tradition of the Group, hold over for 1925.

ABBIE F. POTTS, *Secretary*.

(*English XII*) American Literature. *Chairman*, Professor F. L. Pattee, *Pennsylvania State College*. Owing to the illness of the Chairman, Professor A. H. Quinn presided.

The following papers were read and discussed:

"The Significance of the Frontier in American Literature," by Professor J. B. Hubbell, *Southern Methodist University*.

"The Vermont Transcendentalists," by Professor Marjorie H. Nicolson, *Goucher College*.

"A New Poe Poem," by Irving T. Richards, *University of Maine*.

"Sidney Lanier and Edward Spencer," by Professor Ernest P. Kuhl, *Goucher College*.

"Pinkney and Poe," by Mr. Thomas O. Mabbott, *Columbia University*.

The Committee on Graduate Dissertations and Americana reported that the results of their investigation would be published within the year. Professor Hubbell was elected Chairman for 1925. About eighty persons were present.

E. E. LEISY, *Secretary*.

(*French I*) Romance Linguistics. *Chairman*, Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins. In the absence of the Chairman Professor Henry A. Todd was appointed Chairman of the meeting. A paper was read by Professor Henri F. Muller, *Barnard College*, entitled, "A Chapter of Vulgar Latin Chronology." (Discussed by the Chairman and Professor D. S. Blondheim.)

The following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved:* That the Group unite with the Group in Old French Literature. and that the program committee of that section be authorized to prepare the program for next year's meeting, this program to include some work on linguistics.

There were twenty members in attendance.

OTTO MÜLLER, *Secretary.*

(*French V*) French Literature of the XIX Century. *Chairman,* Professor Alexander G. H. Spiers, *Columbia University.*

The first half of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of "The Study of French Literature since 1880." The discussion was opened by the Chairman and continued by Professors Coleman, Schinz, van Roosbroeck, Jameson, Henning, H. E. Smith, Mason, and Morize.

It was *voted:* that the Chairman be asked to appoint a committee to study the proper distribution among the several universities of the task of procuring for university libraries in this country significant modern works, in such a way as to avoid unnecessary duplication. Professor George N. Henning was elected Chairman of the Group for the coming year.

The following papers were then read:

"Sainte-Beuve's *Chateaubriand et son Groupe Litteraire*," by Professor Horatio E. Smith, *Amherst College.*

"Some Early Belgian Precursors of Emile Verhaeren," by Professor Elliott M. Grant, *Smith College.*

"Is Rene Boylesve a Disciple of Balzac?" by Professor Aaron Schaffer, *University of Texas.*

"The Contribution of Bourget to the History of the French Novel," by Mr. E. M. Bowman.

"Flaubert's *Oeuvres de Jeunesse*," by Professor Louis P. Shanks, *Western University (Ont.).*

ELLIOTT M. GRANT, *Secretary.*

(*German I*) Historical Grammar. *Chairman,* Professor Hans Kurath, *Northwestern University.*

The Committee on the Standardization of Phonetic Transcription and Nomenclature, Professor E. Prokosch, *Bryn Mawr College*, Chairman, reported that it preferred not to make any recommendations for the present; that it was thought best to continue the work on a wider basis with representatives from allied groups of the Association.

Professor C. M. Lotspeich, *University of Cincinnati*, read a paper on "Germanic and Romance Linguistic Tendencies." (Discussed at length by Professor Prokosch; followed by general discussion.)

Professor George T. Flom, *University of Illinois*, was elected Chairman and Professor C. M. Lotspeich Secretary of the Group for 1925.

ALBERT W. ARON, *Secretary*.

(*German V*) Modern German Literature. *Chairman*, Professor F. W. J. Heuser, *Columbia University*. The following papers were read and discussed:

"Foreshadowing of Revolution in Modern German Literature," by Professor A. B. Faust, *Cornell University*.

"Heinrich von Kleist's Call to Poetry, a Re-interpretation," by Dr. George M. Howe, *Harvard University*.

"The Weavers in German Drama before Hauptmann," by Dr. Solomon Liptzin, *College of the City of New York*.

"The Conflict of the Generations in the Novels of Ernst Zahn," by Professor B. Q. Morgan, *University of Wisconsin*.

Other papers were read by title as follows:

"Der Einfluss von Jeremias Gotthelf, Gottfried Keller und Conrad Ferdinand Meyer auf den zeitgenössischen Roman der deutschen Schweiz," Werner C. Michel, *West Virginia University*.

"The Spiritual and Literary Relationship of Heinrich von Kleist and Otto Ludwig," Walter Silz, *Harvard University*.

"Philosophical Dualism in the Contemporary Drama," Dr. Ernst Rose, *The Brearley School*.

"America and Americans in the Modern German Novel," Josef Wiehr, *Smith College*.

Professor B. Q. Morgan was elected Chairman and the present Secretary was re-elected for the coming year.

HARVEY W. HEWETT-THAYER, *Secretary*.

(*Italian I*) Italian Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Kenneth McKenzie.

Professor Walter L. Bullock, *Bryn Mawr College*, read a paper on "The Lyric Innovations of Giovanni della Casa," showing that della Casa was not an innovator, but rather a

follower of Petrarch and Bembo. The merit of della Casa lies in the music of his verse.

Professor Charles H. Grandgent gave an account of "The Seven Hundredth Anniversary of the University of Naples."

Professor Olin H. Moore read a paper on "Graduate Courses in Italian in American Universities." (Discussed by Professors Bruno Roselli and J. P. W. Crawford). This paper is to be published in the *Bulletin* of the American Association of Teachers of Italian.

Countess Irene di Robilant spoke of the work of the Italy-America Society, and Professor Mario Cosenza of the Italian Teachers Association.

It was voted to ask for more time on the program next year, inasmuch as two periods seemed absolutely necessary.

It was also voted that the officers of the Group and of the American Association of Teachers of Italian be the same. For the coming year Professor James Geddes, *Boston University*, was elected Chairman, and Professor Olin H. Moore, *Ohio State University*, Secretary.

At 12 o'clock the meeting resolved itself into the first annual meeting of the A.A.T.I.

MARY VANCE YOUNG, *Secretary*.

## MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

A meeting of the American members of this Association for the consideration of questions of policy of special interest to members of the M.H.R.A. in America was held Wednesday, December 31, at 11 o'clock in Room 309 School of Business Building.

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Luncheon was provided for the members of the Association by Columbia University at the Faculty House.

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## FIFTH SESSION, WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

### MCMILLIN ACADEMIC THEATRE

The Association was called to order by the President at 2:35 P.M.

Professor Harry M. Ayres, Chairman of the Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported that they had been examined and found correct. Thereupon it was *voted*: to accept the Report of the Treasurer of the Association.

Professor Hardin Craig, Chairman of the Committee on Nomination of Officers, presented the following nominations:

For President: Hermann Collitz of *The Johns Hopkins University*.

For Vice-Presidents: John Livingston Lowes of *Harvard University*, Louise Pound of the *University of Nebraska*, Bert Edward Young of *Indiana University*.

For member of the Executive Council, in place of Raymond M. Alden deceased: Robert Herndon Fife of *Columbia University*.

For member of the Editorial Committee, to fill the unexpired term of two years: Gustav Gruener of *Yale University*.

For delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies, to fill the unexpired term of three years: Karl Young of *Yale University*.

It was voted to instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot for these nominees, and they were declared elected.

The Secretary on behalf of the Executive Council announced the Committee of Administration of the Revolving Fund as appointed by the Council, and also presented for ratification by the Association the following amendments to the Constitution which had been approved by the necessary two-thirds vote of the Council:

(1) To amend the statement in Article IV, section 1, relating to the Editorial Committee so that it will read: "an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shall be Chairman *ex officio*) and four other members."

(2) To amend Article III, section 1, by changing the words "Secretary-Treasurer" to read "Secretary or Treasurer."

It was *voted*: to ratify both amendments. According to the Constitution, however, these amendments will not become effective unless they are also ratified at the succeeding meeting of the Association.

Professor A. G. H. Spiers brought up the question of the organization and scheduling of the Group meetings. He proposed that next year each Group should be expected to elect its

own Chairman, with the understanding that the general question of the Groups which should be continued be discussed at the concluding session. This called forth an explanatory statement from Dean Greenlaw, Chairman of the General Group Committee, as to the policy which had been followed by the Committee.

On motion of Professor Gruener it was *voted*: to refer the whole matter to the General Group Committee for a report at the next annual meeting.

Professor J. S. P. Tatlock made a statement in regard to the *Corpus Hamleticum* by Professor Joseph Schick of the University of Munich, of which the first volume was published in 1912. On account of present conditions in Germany the publication of the remaining volumes of this most important scholarly work could not be undertaken without assurance of financial support. He pointed out that American scholars could materially assist in this undertaking by sending advance subscriptions for the *Corpus Hamleticum* to Professor Schick, Einmiller Strasse 4, Munich.

The Secretary of the Association offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*: that the Modern Language Association of America extends a cordial welcome to the Linguistic Society of America as an ally in promoting scientific linguistic research, and that this Association gives assurance of its desire to coöperate in every possible way in promoting the common objects of the two organizations.

Professor Samuel Moore, on behalf of the Group in Present-Day English, reported to the Association that much first-hand material which would be of assistance in the researches of this Group is to be found in documents on file in the Veterans' Bureau, but that by Act of Congress June 7, 1924, this material was closed to the public, except as permission to examine these documents was granted on the request of other Departments of the Government. The Bureau of Education, however, seemed willing to aid in making this material available for the purposes of linguistic study, by allowing a "special collaborator" of the Bureau of Education to make such an investigation—such collaborator to be appointed by this Association and to be officially added to the Staff of the Bureau at \$1.00 a year. In

order to open the way for such an arrangement he offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved:* that the Modern Language Association of America officially requests the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior, United States Government, to aid this Association in a survey of American English by using its influence to make available for this purpose correspondence materials now on file in the Allotment and Allowance section of the Veterans' Bureau.

The Secretary read for the information of the Association resolutions adopted at the Scandinavian Group meeting urging that a translation be made of the Second Volume of Viktor Rydberg's *Undersökningar*. [The text of these resolutions is printed above, p. xxx.]

Professor O. F. Emerson made a statement calling attention to the work of the Modern Humanities Research Association and the desirability of larger American coöperation, both by extending its membership in this country and by greatly increasing the number of subscriptions to its annual *Bibliography of English Language and Literature*.

The reading and discussion of papers was then resumed.

23. "Shades of Longfellow." By Professor G. R. Elliott of *Bowdoin College*.

Professor W. F. Bryan asked leave to present the following resolution:

*Resolved:* That the Secretary of the Modern Language Association be requested, in coöperation with the Chairmen of the Groups on Present-Day English, Practical Phonetics, General Phonetics, and Germanic Historical Grammar, to appoint a committee to consider the standardization of phonetic transcription in the various branches of linguistic science.

On motion the resolution was unanimously adopted. [The Secretary after consultation with the Chairman of the several Groups named has appointed as such committee: Professors Hans Kurath (Chairman), Charles H. Grandgent, John S. Kenyon, George Philip Krapp, Clarence E. Parmenter, W. F. Bryan, and Max Diez.]

24. "The Views of Great Critics on the Historical Novel." By Professor Ernest Bernbaum of the *University of Illinois*.

25. "Two Twelfth Century Latin Minstrels and their Succession." By Professor James Holly Hanford of the *University of Michigan*.

26. "Chess Moralities and Medieval Conventions." By Professor Frederick Tupper of the *University of Vermont*.

27. "New Letters of J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur." By Professor Stanley T. Williams of *Yale University*.

On account of the lateness of the hour Professor Charles M. Purin was obliged to leave before his paper was announced and accordingly it was read by title.

In the absence of a report from the Committee on Resolutions Professor Lewis F. Mott moved that the Secretary of the Association be instructed to express to the authorities of Columbia University and to the Local Committee the thanks of the Association for the generous hospitality which had been extended, for the ample facilities which had been supplied for the meetings of the Association and for the careful provision for the comfort of visiting members.

At 5:35 p.m. the Association adjourned.

#### PAPERS READ BY TITLE

28. "Goethe and Russia." By Professor Charles M. Purin of *Hunter College* in the City of New York.
29. "The Wife of Bath's 'Maistrye' and Mediaeval Feminism." By Professor Howard R. Patch of *Smith College*.
30. "The Present State of the Republick of Letters." By Professor Roger Philip McCutcheon of *Wake Forest College*.
31. "Vanbrugh, *Squire Trelooby*, and *The Provok'd Wife*." By Professor Alwin Thaler, of the *University of Tennessee*.
32. "Literature and the Law of Libel: Shelley and the Radicals of 1840-1842." By Professor Newman I. White of *Trinity College*, (N. C.).
33. "Two Early Reviews of Keats' First Volume." By Professor Roberta D. Cornelius of *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*.
34. "Swinburne and Leconte de Lisle as Humanitarians." By Professor Ruth Lansing of *Simmons College*.
35. "Walt Whitman and Italian Music." By Professor Louise Pound of the *University of Nebraska*.
36. "The Old French Romance *Gliglois*." By Professor Charles H. Livingston of *Bowdoin College*.
37. "Rousseau as Critic of Molière." By Professor S. G. Patterson of *Dartmouth College*.
38. "Minutoli's *Depeches du Parnasse, ou la Gazette des Savants*." By Dr. George B. Watts, of the *University of Minnesota*.
39. "The Spanish Dramatic Prologue from Encina to Augustin de Rojas." By Mr. J. A. Meredith of the *University of Pennsylvania*.



40. "A New Approach to Mediaeval Latin Drama." By Professor George R. Coffman of *Boston University*.
41. "A Recent German Version of Omar Khayyam." By Professor Arthur F. J. Remy of *Columbia University*.
42. "German and Foreign Influences in the Writings of Timm Kröger." By Sara Porter Fitzgerald of Dallas, Texas.
43. "A Proposed Compromise in Metrics." By Professor Charles E. Whitmore of the *University of Michigan*.
44. "The Cadence of Free Verse." By Dr. A. R. Morris of the *University of Michigan*.
45. "Standardized Phonetic Apparatus and Methods." By Professor Elliott White of *Dartmouth College*.
46. "Homophony and Ambiguity in Present-Day English." By Professor William F. Luebke of the *University of Denver*.
47. "A Reconsideration of Ibsen." By Professor Bertha Reed Coffman of *Simmons College*.
48. "The Sources and Motives for Composition of Drayton's *Battle of Agincourt*." By Professor Raymond Jenkins of *New York University*.
49. "Thomas Randolph's Part in the Authorship of *Hey for Honesty*." By Mr. Cyrus L. Day of *Columbia University*.
50. "Scott's Temperamental Predisposition toward the 'Epic' rather than the 'Romantic' Aspects of Life." By Professor Christabel F. Fiske, of *Vassar College*.
51. "John Woolman and His Relation to the Quaker Journal Type." By Mr. George Fullerton Evans of the *University of Texas*.
52. "'El Indiano' in the Spanish Theatre of the Seventeenth Century." By Professor Esther J. Crooks of *Goucher College*.
53. "Traces of the Judas Legend in the Spanish Drama." By Professor Joseph E. Gillet of *Bryn Mawr College*.
54. "The Dreyfus Case in French Literature." By Professor Eunice Morgan Schenck of *Bryn Mawr College*.

## FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A PROFESSOR TURNED PRESIDENT\*

BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

After some introductory remarks the speaker proceeded:

... I have, then, no new discoveries in scholarship to bring you, no fresh solutions of old problems, no devices in teaching, no theory of education in general or of the place of modern language study in particular. I am going to speak on a series of ancient topics, not in the light of new facts, but merely as seen by one who has changed the point of view from which he once saw them. Whatever novelty exists in the aspects discussed will be, I fear, mainly subjective—and that due partly to the perspective given by my present remoteness from active scholarship, and partly to my occupation with administration rather than with teaching. What follows, in short, are the reflections of a professor turned president; one of Mr. Kipling's bridge guards in the Karroo,

No—not combatants—only  
Details guarding the line.

### I

The supreme task of the executive in the American college and university is that of the selection of staff. The thousand and one other concerns in which he must engage, from finance to drainage and from the handling of parents and alumni to dormitory architecture and theories of the curriculum, are negligible in comparison with the choice of the men and women on whom finally depends the success of his institution in the accomplishment of the main task of education. In this business of selection one of the first issues is the question of preference between the teacher and the scholar. It is commonly agreed that for undergraduates the prime requisite is teaching power, for graduates erudition; and, perhaps, with the qualifications that will occur to every one, we may let this pass. But under-

\*The Presidential Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, Columbia University, December 29, 1924.

graduates are much more numerous than graduate students, and good teachers are probably rarer than good scholars. Yet our advanced instruction is planned mainly for the production of scholars, hardly at all for the training of teachers. This has long been recognized, yet nothing is done about it. Years ago, when I was a graduate student looking forward to a teaching career, I raised the question with a distinguished scholar at whose feet I was sitting, and the reply was, "This is a university, not a normal school." To the implications of the retort I may return later.

When this problem is viewed from the point of view of the individual instructor, it may take the form of the question as to whether he is more interested in the subject or in the pupil. There is, of course, much to be said for a teacher's having abounding enthusiasm for his subject and little good is to be expected without it. But such enthusiasm is not incompatible with some consideration of the general task before us. The problem of the undergraduate college is not merely that of providing abundance of the waters of learning, it is also that of inducing those who are led or driven thither to drink. This requires skill in presentation, power of evoking curiosity, and not merely enthusiasm but a contagious enthusiasm. These seem to be possessed by only a minority of the men and women who regard themselves as prepared for college teaching; and if they are candid with themselves they find it out sooner or later. If later, they probably think they cannot afford to do anything about it, or think that nothing can be done about it. I presume the majority of my hearers believe that the teacher is as definitely "born not made" as the poet, and are even now preparing to resist a plea for pedagogy with all the ancient weapons of our most prejudiced profession. I am not going to make any such plea. I wish only to urge upon your attention the serious nature of the problem involved in the absence of practical skill in so large a proportion of college teachers. Apart from what is commonly called professional training, I have come to believe in the importance of two factors that, viewed properly, might help to improve the situation. I have found, first, that many—not all—poor teachers are so because their whole intellectual life is sluggish. It is only rarely that a man who is actively getting and giving in the intellectual interchange of the

college community is dull in the classroom. His teaching may be lopsided, but his pupils are likely to get something for their money, and his colleagues are the better for his fellowship. I really mean, of course, *intellectual* interchange: not the interchange of anecdote at the club. A faculty can go far without scientific pedagogy if it lives in an atmosphere friendly to ideas, friendly to the curiosity that seeks to extract the meaning from events, ancient, medieval, or contemporary.

I have found, secondly, that the solution of the larger educational problems is terribly hampered by departmentalism. I need no more striking instance of this than that which I contemplate on looking back at my own unregenerate past. For twenty years I sat and voted on college and university faculties, and in the presence of controversial issues hardly raised my eyes beyond the horizons of the department of English. I should probably never have found out had not fate suddenly placed me where my duties made me realize my all but complete innocence of any thought-out scheme or policy, any well considered general ideas on what the whole business of college education was about. And now as hesitatingly I seek to arrive at such ideas and present them to my colleagues, I find myself faced from without, as previously unconsciously from within, by the instinct to defend the chosen subject, to guard the interests of the single department, to support the measures that will bring it the maximum of equipment, of enrollment, of prestige. Such partisanship, of course, hinders educational progress in general; but it also lessens the teaching effectiveness of the partisan, who could not but teach better if he saw the problem involved not only as the exposition, say, of French idiom, but as the mental development of each student before him. It reminds me of certain country roads I have travelled in the foothills of the Black Forest where the use of centuries has sunk them far below the level of the surrounding fields, and where the wayfarer may walk through the midst of beautiful prospects, yet be unable to see over the embankments which hem him in. Loyalty to one's own branch of learning is, of course, commendable; but like all provincial patriotisms, it is apt if uncontrolled to be at war with the larger interests of the race.

The teacher of the type I have been describing usually believes he has, and indeed does have, certain educational fundamentals which determine his attitude and vote on general questions of policy; but he seldom realizes the assumption which underlies these principles. This is usually one of two. The commoner is the assumption that the educational system which produced him must have been a pretty good system. The rarer—rarer because humility is rarer than arrogance—is that the educational system which produced him, and left him with so much to do for himself later, must have been pretty bad. In other words, while we have no educational science, we have a dominant educational superstition. Our tests are subjective tests. I have seldom listened long to a discussion of educational aims or policies without noting the tendency of the discussion to become a series of autobiographical narratives, carrying, all unknown to the narrator, one of the two implications I have mentioned.

Now I submit that such a situation is unworthy of men who have undergone a discipline as rigorous as most of us have. We are almost all in some sense scientists, and in our own *Fach* are aware of the danger and futility of subjective tests. It is true that there are few fields in which scientific experiment is as difficult as it is in education. At the bottom of the difficulty lies the fascinating and perplexing fact of the infinite variety of human beings. But in many fields of method and result controlled experiment is possible if we can overcome our inertia, our fear of pedagogy, our love of the old, easy, hit-or-miss routine. It is our shame that for so long we have been content to follow this routine without knowing whether it works or no. For all we can prove, our students may learn in spite of our methods rather than because of them, become decent citizens in spite of our schools and colleges rather than because of them. I am not equipped to pass judgment upon the newer methods of measurement in education which are beginning to force themselves upon our notice, but of this I am sure that for our own self respect we are shortly going to be forced to do our own measuring, to abandon the vague impressionism which leads us to prefer one way rather than another, and to seek to build steps upward more solidly based upon demonstrated fact.

college community is dull in the classroom. His teaching may be lopsided, but his pupils are likely to get something for their money, and his colleagues are the better for his fellowship. I really mean, of course, *intellectual* interchange: not the interchange of anecdote at the club. A faculty can go far without scientific pedagogy if it lives in an atmosphere friendly to ideas, friendly to the curiosity that seeks to extract the meaning from events, ancient, medieval, or contemporary.

I have found, secondly, that the solution of the larger educational problems is terribly hampered by departmentalism. I need no more striking instance of this than that which I contemplate on looking back at my own unregenerate past. For twenty years I sat and voted on college and university faculties, and in the presence of controversial issues hardly raised my eyes beyond the horizons of the department of English. I should probably never have found out had not fate suddenly placed me where my duties made me realize my all but complete innocence of any thought-out scheme or policy, any well considered general ideas on what the whole business of college education was about. And now as hesitatingly I seek to arrive at such ideas and present them to my colleagues, I find myself faced from without, as previously unconsciously from within, by the instinct to defend the chosen subject, to guard the interests of the single department, to support the measures that will bring it the maximum of equipment, of enrollment, of prestige. Such partisanship, of course, hinders educational progress in general; but it also lessens the teaching effectiveness of the partisan, who could not but teach better if he saw the problem involved not only as the exposition, say, of French idiom, but as the mental development of each student before him. It reminds me of certain country roads I have travelled in the foothills of the Black Forest where the use of centuries has sunk them far below the level of the surrounding fields, and where the wayfarer may walk through the midst of beautiful prospects, yet be unable to see over the embankments which hem him in. Loyalty to one's own branch of learning is, of course, commendable; but like all provincial patriotisms, it is apt if uncontrolled to be at war with the larger interests of the race.

The teacher of the type I have been describing usually believes he has, and indeed does have, certain educational fundamentals which determine his attitude and vote on general questions of policy; but he seldom realizes the assumption which underlies these principles. This is usually one of two. The commoner is the assumption that the educational system which produced him must have been a pretty good system. The rarer—rarer because humility is rarer than arrogance—is that the educational system which produced him, and left him with so much to do for himself later, must have been pretty bad. In other words, while we have no educational science, we have a dominant educational superstition. Our tests are subjective tests. I have seldom listened long to a discussion of educational aims or policies without noting the tendency of the discussion to become a series of autobiographical narratives, carrying, all unknown to the narrator, one of the two implications I have mentioned.

Now I submit that such a situation is unworthy of men who have undergone a discipline as rigorous as most of us have. We are almost all in some sense scientists, and in our own *Fach* are aware of the danger and futility of subjective tests. It is true that there are few fields in which scientific experiment is as difficult as it is in education. At the bottom of the difficulty lies the fascinating and perplexing fact of the infinite variety of human beings. But in many fields of method and result controlled experiment is possible if we can overcome our inertia, our fear of pedagogy, our love of the old, easy, hit-or-miss routine. It is our shame that for so long we have been content to follow this routine without knowing whether it works or no. For all we can prove, our students may learn in spite of our methods rather than because of them, become decent citizens in spite of our schools and colleges rather than because of them. I am not equipped to pass judgment upon the newer methods of measurement in education which are beginning to force themselves upon our notice, but of this I am sure that for our own self respect we are shortly going to be forced to do our own measuring, to abandon the vague impressionism which leads us to prefer one way rather than another, and to seek to build steps upward more solidly based upon demonstrated fact.

## II

Let us turn now from the field of teaching to that of scholarship.

The ideal motive of scholarship is love of truth. It is based on the faith that truth is one of the supreme and final aims of humanity, that human welfare depends on our wholehearted allegiance to it, that the humblest discoverer of new truth is aiding, however infinitesimally, in the onward march.

But human nature seldom moves long in the rare atmosphere of these uplands. The motives more frequently in force among working scholars, the motives which keep a man at it day after day, vacation after vacation, are apt to be an insatiable curiosity without afterthought, or the desire for light on a practical problem, or the sheer love of the game. Admirable motives all of them, and I should be glad to think that they sufficiently accounted for the research attempted in our profession. Were we left to ourselves, they probably would.

The Presidents, however, have intruded. They discovered that their institutions gained glory from the publications of the results of research by the members of the faculties, and that to encourage research helped to keep up the intellectual vitality of the place. So the process began which is called "putting on pressure to produce." Advancement was often made to depend on publication, and on quantity rather than quality, and a number of evils with which we have long been familiar resulted. As I see it now, the great mass of non-significant so-called learned publication is due less to stupidity or vain glory on the part of the scholar, than to unintelligent and indiscriminating pressure from the administration. Just as for a period the possession of a Ph.D. degree was made an indispensable qualification for a position in many colleges, on the assumption that thereby a scholarly faculty could be assembled, so some seem to have supposed that they could be kept up to standard by insisting on the frequent publication of research.

Associated with this tendency was another—to value contributions to learning in proportion to their dryness, their unintelligibility, or their remoteness from human interest. This is a natural result of the gullibility of presidents, who, being, like all of us, only partially educated, are incapable of



expert judgment in many fields. Unfortunately the effect of over-appreciation in one direction has been depreciation in the other. It has led to the regarding lightly of contributions capable of being understood by the common man, to suspicion of the larger curiosity which leads to generalisation, and to the branding of any approach to pure literature as "belletristic" and unacademic.

Here we return to the unfortunate condition I have already discussed, the failure to recognize the man capable of stimulating the intelligence of those he comes in contact with, whether students or colleagues, as more important than the merely productive scholar, and not without value even in graduate and professional schools.

### III

I wish now to discuss some questions on the relations of the Faculty to the Administration and the Trustees.

The American Association of University Professors has published a valuable report on "The Status of Faculties in University Government." For this Association I have profound respect. It has investigated a considerable number of cases of abuse of power in American Universities and colleges, and by its thoroughness, fairness, and insight has been able to render verdicts which have, as far as I know, always commanded general assent. It is probably unaware that the effect of these investigations has extended far beyond the institutions in question, that it now prevents more than it cures, since for members of my branch of the profession its tribunal has largely taken the place of the Last Judgment. I was a member of this Association from its beginning until I was evicted upon accepting my present position. I think the rule that led to my eviction is an unfortunate one. Presidents and Deans, were they permitted to be members, would always be in a small minority, and I cannot think so poorly of them or of Professors as to believe that their presence would stifle free discussion. They could learn much, and what they learned would undoubtedly conduce to a growth in humility. And they could contribute something. It is because I am not allowed to contribute at their meetings that I am abusing, as you see, my present opportunity.

It is a mistake to model an organization of University professors on the trade-union. The attitude of the trade-union is due mainly to the fact that it is a defensive association of wage-earners against a body of profit-takers. The fact that University Trustees and Presidents get no profits disables the comparison with the industrial situation. And even in industry the hopeful movement is towards common councils, not one-sided bodies.

The report on "The Status of Faculties in University Government" is a moderate and balanced document, much less biased in the direction of the indefinite extension of Faculty control than many of the discussions which preceded it. Yet its tendency is on the whole towards greater Faculty control; and it is because I have come to doubt the benefit of this in many respects for the institution and the Professors themselves that I am going to consider some of its recommendations and observations.

First, as to Trustees, I select these two sentences from the first section: "It is a somewhat rare thing to find on a board a representative of either the teaching profession or scientific research. Still rarer to find a representative of the industrial workers!" Now I have seen the experiment tried of having a professor from another institution on a Board, and the result was to bring out very clearly the fact that colleges compete with one another—for professors, for general and special endowments, for priority in educational innovations. A general extension of the practice would be likely, in my opinion, to lead to unfortunate complications. As to the representatives of the industrial workers, I should despair of finding one who could be expected to grasp the problems of University government or understand the terms in which they are discussed. The "bankers, manufacturers, commercial magnates, lawyers, physicians, and clergymen" who make up the usual Board I have found moderately well-informed, intelligent, unbiased, and in general as well suited to the rôle prescribed for them in the report as any men we are likely to select. That they should not be wholly self-perpetuating, not usually chosen for life, in part representative of the alumni, and aided in their functions by conference with faculty committees, most Trustees and Presidents would now readily grant.

I am also in agreement with most of the recommendations as to the function and powers of the President, but I am struck by the extreme simplification of his duties implied in the report. The committee seem to regard these in terms of the formulation and initiation of educational policies on the one hand and administration on the other. Perhaps that is as it should be; it is not as it is. No mention occurs in the report, so far as I have observed, of the relation of the President to the alumni, to parents, to the general public. In proportion as alumni are granted a greater share in control and are depended on to give financial support there increases the necessity of keeping them informed and stimulating their loyalty, and no small part of a President's energies is drawn on for these purposes. Similarly the President has constantly to give time to parents individually and collectively, to explain policies and regulations, to respond to calls for advice. With the general public he is expected to discuss general problems and tendencies in education, to help in the development of a public opinion on which depends in the long run the standing of the Universities in the community. Beyond all these he is expected to represent the University as well as to express his personal views on a multitude of civic and national and even international matters, to sit on boards, and—not least—to evade or outwit the ever present interviewer and reporter.

Now it is arguable that all these more extraneous activities are no proper part of the work of an academic executive. But under present conditions they are inescapable, and the ignoring of them indicates of how many elements in the problem of University government an association in which administrators are not represented may be unconscious. We should like to know whether faculties in general believe that their presiding officers should cut off those demands on their time and energy at present made by alumni and the public, and if so, how they think these outside contacts should be maintained. For maintained they must be. The University cannot exist in a vacuum. It is and ought to be in vital relation to the community and its own former students; and this relation must be maintained by persons who know what the University is doing and what it is hoping to do.

But it is in the powers of the Faculty that the Committee is chiefly interested, and especially in the matters of budget, appointment, promotion, and dismissal. The majority of the committee hold that it would be well that in all cases the Faculty should have a recognized voice in the preparation of the annual budget—in large colleges and universities, through a budget committee elected by the Faculty. This they believe would tend to allay the discontent which so frequently arises from inequities in the distribution of the salary budget.

I am not sure that this is a correct statement of what would result. There is a good chance that the resentment against supposed inequities would be transferred from the president and trustees to the committee of colleagues, with dubious advantage to the peace of the academic commonwealth. It would tend to deprive the president of one of his most useful functions—that of serving as a sort of lightning rod for discontent, or better, perhaps, a scapegoat. I cannot help feeling that it is putting a severe strain on faculty society to subject it to the temptation of personal and social influence in the allotting of the salary fund.

But the making of the budget is much more than the distribution of the salary fund. It involves decisions as to the division of income between instruction and physical equipment, and a faculty committee, to have sound judgment on such matters, would need to be informed on a large number of matters quite alien to their professional interests. All this means time and energy.

This consideration leads me to a more general criticism of the tendency to increase faculty control. The granting to the teaching staff of even consultative powers on the large variety of administrative matters that has been claimed as coming within the sphere of their rights would mean a most serious invasion of the time now at their disposal for study. My own experience leads me to believe that there is at present in our colleges and still more in our Universities much more discontent over the demands made on the time of a professor by administrative offices and committees than there is over the autocracy of the president or the trustees. What most scholarly teachers want is more time to attend to their business of learning and teaching. I have been arguing for part of their attention for

the consideration of general educational aims and methods, and I should grudge to see it spent on work that can be attended to by hired men like the president or volunteers like the trustees. My objection to the wholesale enlargement of faculty control is not at all due to a jealousy for the presidential prerogative. I think most presidents would welcome the sharing of their power and authority if this meant giving them a little leisure for meditation and prayer. But it is no lightening of the load if one has not only to inform one's self, but also to convey that information to dozens of men on committees and then weigh the result of their deliberations. The question, in sum, seems to me not so much one of democracy versus autocracy, as of the division of labor and the avoidance of waste.

One set of questions, however, stands somewhat apart and ought not without examination to be included among those I have been discussing, viz., those affecting appointment, promotion, and dismissal. With regard to the appointing of new teachers there is general agreement that as a rule these ought to be selected in consultation with the departments concerned, but that the final responsibility for recommendation to the Trustees ought to rest with the President. The matter of promotion is much more difficult. To leave it entirely to colleagues is to introduce into the life of the academic community the disturbing element already alluded to in connection with salaries. Moreover, every year between June and September scores of men receive calls which have to be met if men are to be retained, and to deprive the president of power to promote would mean the loss of many a good man. Consultation with colleagues when possible is, of course, wise and usual, but here also I believe the president must carry the final responsibility and bear the inevitable resentment.

There is less eagerness to share the burden of dismissals, and I bear a grudge against the Association of University Professors because they have done so little to help in the solution of the question of the disposal of incompetent teachers. Yet everyone knows that the level of accomplishment of our institutions is kept down more by the number of misfits than by any other one cause, with the possible exception of the scarcity of good teachers. The report goes as far as to propose that even teachers on a definite term of appointment should have the right to full

investigation by the judicial committee of the faculty of the grounds alleged for a proposed failure to reappoint.<sup>1</sup> This means a judicial trial of every one year instructor—an incredible waste of time to guard a non-existent right, it seems to me. The short term appointment is essentially a trial contract, and either party is at liberty to decline to renew it for his own reasons. It would be intolerable if one could not make an appointment for one or two years without conferring the right to permanence unless a case were made out against the appointee.

The indefinite appointment raises a more difficult question. Many a promising teacher is given a permanent appointment on what seem adequate grounds of promise and yet ceases by the time he reaches middle life to row his weight in the boat. Is the institution to waste its funds and are the students to be defrauded of their due for twenty years to ensure a livelihood to a man or woman who has proved incompetent or become intellectually stagnant? I realize the force of the plea that a board of trustees should pay for their own mistakes, but is it they who pay? I realize that security of tenure is regarded as one of the compensations for the low rate of salaries in our profession, but does this justify us in dismissing the problem when the condition is so disastrous? I do not know the answer. Perhaps life appointments for both professors and executives are a mistake. In any case, the question is one with which professors as well as executives should concern themselves. I am inclined to think that early retirement on a pension would in many cases be a better economy than to continue to pay full salaries to men who kill the interest of students and discredit their subjects. But this is a rare practice and needs nerve on the part of an administrator unless the teaching part of the profession should support it as a policy. But a careful discussion of the problem by the American Association of University Professors would do much to convince the public that they were concerned for the welfare of their students and the efficiency of their institutions as well as for justice and freedom for themselves.

<sup>1</sup> It ought, perhaps, to be emphasized that the recommendation here referred to is not part of the official policy of the Association but is merely the report of a committee.

I am loath to end on a note of acerbity. The present occasion, the honor conferred on me by my former colleagues, the papers of the afternoon, bring upon me an overwhelming nostalgia for the old ways of teaching and study and research. I try to assume the business-like pose of the executive and I have sought to present the point of view of my present position on some of our common problems, but the pull of the old task is strong. I would have you think of the branch of the profession to which I now belong less as arrogant autocrats than as harmless necessary drudges, whom you may use to rid you of thankless and vexatious tasks. So at least I seek to comfort myself as at long intervals I revisit the dusty shelves of my own unused library, and open a volume here and there with a poignant sense of exile. Again and again there come to my mind the beautiful sentences with which Mr. E. K. Chambers closed the Preface to his *Medieval Stage*, and they may serve in tone if not in detail to express the mood in which I join you once more in conference. He is lamenting his want of leisure and the spacious life. "Shades of Duke Humphrey's library," he says, "how often, as I jostled for my turn at the crowded catalogue-shelves of the British Museum, have I not envied those whose lot it is to tread your ample corridors and to bend over your yellowing folios! Amongst such happy scholars, the canons of Clio may claim implicit obedience. A silent company, they 'class' their documents and 'try' their sources from morn to eve, disturbed in the pleasant ways of research only by the green flicker of leaves in the Exeter garden, or by the statutory inconvenience of a terminal lecture—

"Tanagra! think not I forget!"

## **REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON REPRODUCTION OF MANUSCRIPTS AND RARE PRINTED BOOKS**

**TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION:**

In preparing a report on the work of the Committee on Reproduction of Manuscripts and Rare Printed Books, I shall, since I am retiring as chairman of the Committee, venture to make a kind of summary of the work of the Committee so far.

The resolution authorizing the appointment of this committee and the attempt to gather together a collection of rotographs of manuscripts and rare printed books from foreign libraries to be deposited in the Congressional Library in Washington and sent by mail to American scholars, was passed at the meeting of the Association held at Baltimore, December 28, 1921, and a committee was appointed consisting of A. R. Hohfeld, of the University of Wisconsin; G. L. Kittredge, of Harvard University; Charles Moore, of the Congressional Library; Colbert Searles, of the University of Minnesota; and Frank Aydelotte, chairman.

The Congressional Library entered heartily into the plan and and the Committee in the name of the Association undertook to secure a list of American colleges and universities who were willing to contribute \$25 per year for the purpose of making this collection. The plan was adopted of using each year only the collections of the preceding year in order not to subject the Association to the embarrassment of ordering reproductions for which it might not have the funds in hand to pay. In each of the years 1922, 1923, and 1924, this Association collected from \$1000 to \$1200 for this work. A sub-committee was appointed to consider requests for particular manuscripts and to decide which items should be reproduced and which not, and in what order. The material reproduced has been listed each year in the publications of the Association, and it is expected that as soon as the items reach a sufficient number, the Congressional Library will print cards for them which can be purchased by college and university library libraries and kept in hand for the use of scholars.

In connection with this work it is earnestly to be desired that a census should be made of reproductions of this material now



in existence in this country in order that the material in the Congressional Library should not duplicate anything which is already available. In the opinion of the Committee, the Modern Language Association should undertake to publish from time to time the results of this census in order to give American scholars fullest possible information as to the materials for scholarly work now available.

It should be quite clear that the work of the Committee during these three years has made only a start, but it is to be hoped that the start is in the right direction. As the plan develops and as its usefulness becomes more clearly established the Modern Language Association ought, in my opinion, to undertake to get from private sources contributions to supplement those received from college and university libraries. If the funds at the disposal of the Association can be increased in this way from year to year, it ought to be possible to build up in Washington within a generation the most magnificent collection of research material in literary and historical lines to be found anywhere in the world. This collection would have the advantage which no other has, of being available to any scholar for use in his own study, without risk and without expense.

FRANK AYDELOTTE, *Chairman.*

Swarthmore College, Pa., February 24, 1925.

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FRANK AYDELOTTE, *Chairman*.  
Swarthmore College, Pa., February 24, 1925.

The Association, therefore, seeks to express its loss in his death, and to extend to his colleagues and to his family its heartfelt sympathy and condolence.

(Signed) Robert P. Utter.

C. G. Allen.

L. E. Bassett.

On motion, the Secretary was instructed to extend to the librarian of the Public Library, and to the Directors of the University Club the thanks of the Association for their hospitality. The treasurer was ordered to pay \$10.00 to the Christmas fund of the waiters of the University Club.

It was also voted that the Association endorse the work of the Modern Language Survey.

The reading of papers was then resumed. About 35 members were in attendance.

The fourth session was called to order at 2 P.M. by the president. After the reading of the few remaining papers, and discussion, the Association adjourned.

ARTHUR G. KENNEDY, *Secretary.*

## PROGRAM

### FIRST SESSION

*Friday, November 28, at 10 a.m.*

1. "E. T. A. Hoffmann's Reception in England," by Dr. Erwin G. Gudde of the *University of California.*

2. "Sources of the Old English *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*," by Professor Stanley Rypins of the *San Francisco State Teachers College.*

3. "The Agora and the Trial Scene in Homer," by Mr. Thomas B. Steel of the *University of California.*

4. "The Murder of Cinna the Poet," by Professor Monroe E. Deutsch of the *University of California.*

5. "The Genesis and Sources of Corneille's *Cinna*," by Professor Laurence M. Riddle of the *University of Southern California.*

SECOND SESSION

*Friday, November 28, at 2 p.m.*

6. Annual Address of the President of the Association, Professor Arthur P. McKinlay of the *Southern Branch, University of California*: "Cicero's Conception of Literary Art."

7. "Mexico or Mejico? Observations on the Spelling, etc., of this Name," by Professor Alfred Coester of *Stanford University*.

8. "The Nature and Function of Research in Literature," by Professor Benjamin H. Lehman of the *University of California*.

9. "Wilhelm Meister's Interpretation of *Hamlet*," by Professor William Diamond of the *Southern Branch, University of California*.

10. "King Arthur Transformed into a Raven," by Dr. Hermann J. Weber.

11. "Modern Foreign Language Study," by Mr. George W. H. Shield, Director for California, Modern Language Department.

THIRD SESSION

*Saturday, November 29, at 9:30 a.m.*

12. "German Literature in Spain between 1800 and 1875; Bibliographical Notes on E. T. A. Hoffmann," by Professor Franz Schneider of the *University of California*.

13. "Syllabism and Stress Accent in Latin Poetry," by Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa of *Stanford University*.

14. "*Frankenstein*, a Document of the Romantic School," by Dr. Margery Bailey of *Stanford University*.

15. "Lydian Airs," by Professor Merritt Y. Hughes of the *University of California*.

16. "Improving Shakespeare," by Professor Hazelton Spencer of the *State College of Washington*.

17. "An Olympic Scandal: A Study in the Homeric Law of Suretyship," by Professor Max Radin of the *University of California*.

## FOURTH SESSION

*Saturday, November 29, at 2 p.m.*

18. "*Katharsis Again*," by Professor Benjamin M. Woodbridge of *Reed College*.

19. "The Position of the Object Pronouns with respect to the Progressive Tense-Forms in Spanish," by Mr. Robert K. Spaulding of the *University of California*.

20. "Studies upon the Legend of Sir Gawain in Wolfram and Chrestien, (Second Part)," by Dr. E. K. Heller of the *University of California*.

## PAPERS READ BY TITLE

21. "Three Guidos?" by Professor Herbert D. Austin of the *University of Southern California*.
22. "The Tragic Moralizing of *Lochrine*," by Professor Willard Farnham of the *University of California*.
23. "The Four Daughters of God: A Mirror of Changing Doctrine," by Professor Hope Traver of *Mills College*.
24. "Browning's Theory of Love," by Professor Louis Wann, of the *University of Southern California*.
25. "Actors' Names in Basic Shakespearean Texts," by Professor Allison Gaw of the *University of Southern California*.
26. "Codices Vaticani Reginenses Latini 208 et 1616." By Frederick M. Carey of the *Southern Branch, University of California*.
27. "Problems in the Life of Bret Harte," by Dr. George R. Stewart, Jr., of the *University of California*.
28. "Exclamations in American English," by Professor E. C. Hills of the *University of California*.

## ACTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Under date of Nov. 2, 1924, the Treasurer recommended to the Council an amendment to the rules adopted (see *Publications* for December, 1924, p. lxxxii) in regard to the number of copies of Monographs to be allowed to authors. He proposed that authors be allowed twenty-five copies instead of the twelve copies originally voted; and that the number of copies to be supplied for reviews be not to exceed twenty-five. The proposals of the Treasurer were unanimously adopted by the Council.

For the record of business transacted by the Council at the "Council Dinner" held at the Faculty House, Columbia University, on the evening of December 29, 1924, see the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting at New York City, in the *Publications* for March, 1925, pp. xiii-xiv.

Under date of March 6, 1925, the Secretary asked the members of the Council to express their opinion as to the advisability of arranging for an invitation address at the Chicago meeting of the M.L.A. and, in case the Council should vote in favor of an invitation address, he suggested the appointment of the following committee to select the speaker: Charles Read Baskervill (chairman), John L. Gerig, and Thomas Moody Campbell. The majority of the Council voted in favor of an invitation address and approved the appointment of the committee as named.

Under date of Sept. 23, 1925, the Secretary called the attention of the Council to the vacancy in the list of Honorary Members created by the death of Professor Morel-Fatio and asked the members to indicate their choice for election to the vacancy. The ballots returned were divided among four candidates, none of whom received a majority. Accordingly, the matter was postponed until the meeting of the Council at Chicago, on the evening of December 29.

CARLETON BROWN, *Secretary.*





## MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Life Members are indicated by ♦, Emeritus Members by ○.

- 
- Abbot**, Allan, Associate Professor of English, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City.
- Abbot**, Waldo M., Instructor in Rhetoric and Journalism, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1817 Washtenaw Ave.]
- Ackermann**, Rev. Carl, Head of the English Department, Capital University, Columbus, O. [2315 Main St.]
- ♦ **Adams**, Arthur, Professor of English and Librarian, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- ♦ **Adams**, Edward Larrabee, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1850 Washtenaw Ave.]
- Adams**, Eleanor N., President and Professor of English, Oxford College for Women, Oxford, O.
- Adams**, John Chester, Assistant Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
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### ROLL OF MEMBERS DECEASED

DE BACOURT, PIERRE, Columbia University, February 24, 1924  
BARBE, WAITMAN, West Virginia University, October 30, 1925  
BÉZIAT, ANDRÉ, Vanderbilt University, December 17, 1924  
CABEEN, CHARLES WILLIAM, Syracuse University, June 15, 1925  
CARRUTH, WILLIAM HERBERT, Stanford University, December 15, 1924  
CRAWFORD, DOUGLAS GORDON, Boston University, September 23, 1924  
GRAVES, THORNTON SHIPLEY, University of North Carolina, March 6, 1925  
HIRSCHY, NOAH CALVIN, Berea College, March 15, 1925  
MOREL-FATIO, ALFRED, Collège de France, October 10, 1924  
MOYSE, CHARLES EBENEZER, McGill University, June 5, 1924  
SHELDON, EDWARD STEVENS, Harvard University, October 17, 1925  
TODD, HENRY ALFRED, Columbia University, January 3, 1925  
WAHL, GEORGE MORITZ, Williams College, December 23, 1923  
WOOD, HENRY, Johns Hopkins University, August 20, 1925

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1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting are expected to prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical treatises may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten minutes. The papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than twenty (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not shall submit to the Secretary, by November 1, with its title, a typewritten synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the programme.

3. The Secretary shall select the programme from the papers thus offered trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

4. The question of publication is to be decided for each paper on its merit as a contribution to science, without regard to the form in which it has been presented at the meeting.

5. Charges exceeding an average of seventy-five cents per galley of the first proof for authors' additions and corrections in the proof of articles printed in the *Publications* shall be paid by the authors incurring them.

6. Fifty reprints (with covers) are supplied to contributors gratis. A larger number will be furnished, if desired, at the rate charged by the printers for the additional copies. Contributors wishing more than fifty reprints should specify the number desired when they return their page proof.

# The Modern Language Association of America

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The next annual meeting of the Modern Language Association  
will be held under the auspices of the *University of Chicago*  
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